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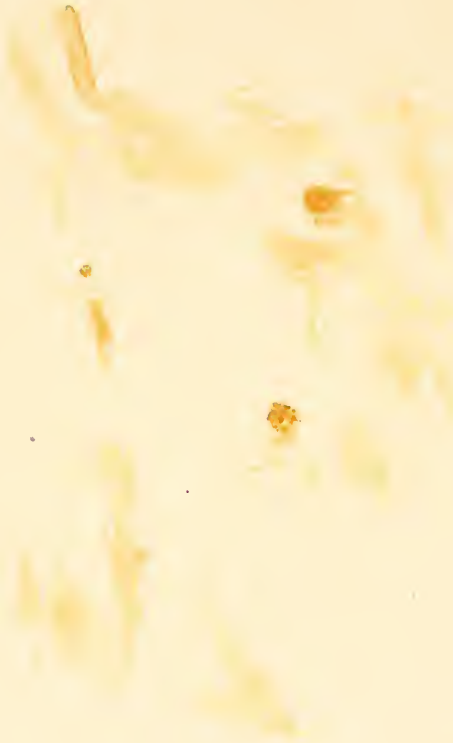

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# ANNALS OF BRATTLEBORO

From Map made by Judge N. H. Wheeler. 1891.

Black Lines - New Hampshire Grants.

Red Lines - New York Grants.

3. 4. and 5 to 14 in Ranges.

5 deeded by Samuel Wells to William Smith.

and Smith and Nicholas William Stuyvesant of New York.

# Annals of Brattleboro

## 1681-1895

Compiled and Edited by

Mary R. Cabot

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With Many Illustrations

---

The mountains win a strange love from their child:—
Back like the eagle to his eyry wild
His soul flies hither, at the time of dreams,
To loiter by the banks of those glad streams,
That have like him their birthplace in the hills.

—Reverend George P. Tyler, D. D.

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In Two Volumes

Volume I

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Brattleboro, Vermont
Press of E. L. Hildreth & Co.
1921

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1162735

# PREFACE

Grateful acknowledgment is due authors and publishers for data concerning the early history of Brattleboro:

On Certain Aspects of Local Geology, Doctor William Bullock Clark.

The Indians and Fort Dummer: a paper written by Judge Hoyt H. Wheeler, to which is added an account of the Indian attack on the family of Benjamin Moor, the contents of a diary describing a journey from Fort Dummer to Lake Champlain in 1730, the Indian alarm from Putney West Hill, from Hall's "History of Eastern Vermont"; and further information derived from Doctor George Leon Walker's address before the Pocumtuck Association in 1896, by permission of Professor Williston Walker.

The Early Settlement; Settlement on the Hill; Roads; The First Church, Reverend Lewis Grout.

Reverend William Wells, by permission of Miss Julia Chester Wells of New York.

The Militia, Brattleborough under the Jurisdiction of New York, Opposition to the Authority of New York, and Resistance to the State of Vermont, from papers by Judge Hoyt H. Wheeler and Hall's History.

Leaders in the Opposition to the Sovereignty of New York has been taken wholly from Hall's History, by permission of Appleton & Company.

The Second Church, Reverend Charles H. Merrill.

Facts relating to the Post Office, Militia, River Navigation, Chase's Stage-House, Water Supply, Insurance, Newspapers and Lottery, from Burnham's "History of Brattleboro," by permission of Mrs. Albert H. Moore (Mary H. Burnham).

The Baptist Church, from Burnham's History and an historical address by Fred S. Knight on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the church.

The Universalist Church, Reverend James Eastwood.

Church on the Common, Reverend Charles Orrin Day.

Centre Congregational Church, Reverend Harry R. Miles.

The Unitarian Church, Reverend Edmund Q. S. Osgood.

The Masons, Honorable Kittredge Haskins.

The Brattleboro Retreat, from a pamphlet by Joseph Draper, M.D.

Doctor Charles Grau and The Lawrence Water-Cure, Burt's "Guide to the Attractions of Brattleboro."

St. Michael's Episcopal Church, Reverend William J. Hamilton.

Skilled Mechanics, Ex-Governor Levi K. Fuller.

Brief Biographies of Richard Whitney, Samuel Elliot, the Fessenden Brothers, Deacon John Holbrook, Joseph Steen, Francis Goodhue, John R. Blake, George Baty Blake, Lafayette Clark, Major Henry Smith, Colonel Arnold J. Hines, George Newman, Reverend John C. Holbrook, Gardner C. Hall, Jonathan Dorr Bradley, Judge Daniel Kellogg, Larkin G. Mead, Junior, from Burnham's History.

Thomas Green Fessenden, Doctor Samuel Stearns: James R. Conland, M.D.

Chief Justice Royall Tyler, from a Memoir by Reverend Thomas P. Tyler, by permission of Miss Helen Tyler Brown.

Samuel Clark, Epaphroditus Seymour and Samuel Root: Charles K. Field.

Honorable Asa Keyes, Kittredge Haskins.

Honorable William C. Bradley, Reverend Pliny H. White.

George Chandler Hall and George Jones Brooks: Honorable Broughton D. Harris.

To Mr. H. R. Lawrence for information which, without his generous assistance, would have been inaccessible to the editor.

To Mr. W. H. Simonds for time given to examination of records in the town clerk's office.

It has been impossible to verify in every instance the genealogies, incomplete because subservient to the general purpose of the book, but which in the main have been derived from the families to whom they refer.

To avoid frequent repetition, Brattleboro is to be understood as the birthplace wherever the date of birth has been given with no mention of the place.

Important consummations taking place after 1895 in the lives of individuals who were citizens of Brattleboro before 1895, have been included, and the same course has been pursued with regard to the progress of affairs.

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George Baty Blake—Selah Chamberlain—Doctor John Wilson, "Thunderbolt"—John Humphrey Noyes. Lawyers—William H. Cary—Elisha H. Allen, 1827—Honorable Asa Keyes—Honorable William C. Bradley—Jonathan Dorr Bradley—Judge Royall Tyler—Honorable Larkin G. Mead—Honorable Edward Kirkland.

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## ERRATA

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In title under illustration facing page 5, read Venters Brook instead of Ventners Brook.

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Rufus Clark's Hotel, Canal Street . . . . . " " 404
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# INTRODUCTION

These volumes are not to be mistaken for an attempt to write a formal history of Brattleboro; in the general acceptance of the term it may be said to be a town without a history.

No permanent settlement was made here during the Colonial period, in which, therefore, its people had no part. During the time of dispute that preceded the Revolutionary War the vital issue in the minds of the settlers was the question of right to the land which had been granted to his Excellency, Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire, in 1753, and contested in 1764-1765 by New York's claim that the west bank of the Connecticut River was the boundary between the provinces of New Hampshire and New York.

The leading men in this part of the New Hampshire Grants were Tories, their legal status derived from New York under the Crown; when the royal authority was proclaimed in favor of New York, they speedily took measures to have titles to the land confirmed by that province, thereby gaining more favorable conditions than they had previously known; and in the feeling of personal security that followed years of uncertainty and discord, indifference to the larger interests of the country and blindness to the trend of the times appear to have prevailed.

Brattleboro became a Tory town, and as such had no share in the formation of the state of Vermont.

Being outside the direct action of the British forces, the full significance of the Revolutionary War also passed it by.

The growth of Brattleboro advanced in the order of many other towns, —the first settlements where Nature offered the least resistance, succeeded by a formal town on an elevation as vantage ground against danger from the Indians, a final return to the waterways for industrial privilege, and the road, bridge, inn, store, church, school,—signs of a progressive civilization. Little that is distinctive may be related of the general course of action by which these benefits were effected.

But the place Brattleboro has held in the interest and esteem of the world has been all its own, and is due to the variety of interesting personalities who have left here a rich human tradition. To preserve existing records of the men, lives and achievements contributed to this tradition

and to make them available to everyone interested in the life that preceded theirs in Brattleboro is the object of this publication.

To this end, facts from town and church records, reports of institutions, and the product of original research which has already been given to the public in pamphlets and newspapers, are here brought together for the first time in collected form and in chronological order. The brief biographies, written mainly by familiar friends of the lives considered, represent the verdict of contemporaries. Much has been made use of without alteration; in other instances the material proffered has been treated as a basis for additional information, or curtailed, as befitted the purpose of the book.

New and diverse influences have entered the town changing the direction of its life into four distinct periods, and the book has been edited with reference to these periods.

The number and variety of the illustrations are intended to include all that has come down to us of the appearance of the early village, the principal features of the change to the modern town, and portraits of well-known citizens.

M. R. C.

## ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF LOCAL GEOLOGY

When our ancestors, less than two centuries ago, entered this region and sought to establish here their future homes, they found the same mountains and hills and streams with which we are today familiar. The Connecticut received then, as now, the drainage of the same broad tract that lies between the Green Mountains upon the west and the highlands of New Hampshire on the east. Wantastiquet and Black Mountain and Wichopee, and many another landmark, presented the same characteristic outlines at that time as at the present. Recognizing this, we are impressed with the permanence of our mountains and our valleys; yet time was when they were not. The hilly country of New England is but the remnant of a once mountainous region whose lofty summits have been carried seaward, and whose process of removal we see in progress in every stream that scores the surface. The green hills of Vermont have been carved out by its many rivulets, brooks and rivers.

The rocks have been crushed and ground by stream action to form mud and sand, and the solid rocks were once similar sediments on the floor of some ancient sea that covered New England. In Vermont are some of the oldest rocks on the surface of the globe: rocks that, during the long ages since they were sand and mud and broken shells, have suffered many changes. We find on the highest points of the Green Mountains remains of marine shells imbedded in the solid rock. Sometimes these shells are so numerous that they form limestone, which, in the process of time, may be changed to marble, as in the western part of Vermont. The muddy sediments which formed on the bed of the ancient sea are today our slates, and the sand has been changed into granite and quartzite, the latter a favorite building stone quarried in the mountain opposite.

The mountains are little by little cut away by the streams, and the deposits have accumulated on the sea floor to form the thousands of feet of strata that are exposed in the mountainous regions of the globe. After accumulation has ceased and the deposits are raised above the level of the water, long ages must elapse before they can be up-folded into mountain chains. Besides the result of these agencies, as the earth cooled down from a gaseous to a molten mass, a solid crust formed, which, as the heated interior contracted, became crumbled and folded. These folds, which we call mountains, that were slowly formed, were attacked by the

streams from the first, so that they must have lost continually from their higher points as the process of development went on. The constructive forces acted more powerfully than the destructive, and, as the folding went on, the rocks were here and there disrupted, the results of which are manifested in great dislocations in which the strata are pushed at times thousands of feet out of their normal position.

The Green Mountains were formed long ago, and we have no evidence that movement is now in progress. They are, in fact, older than all the other mountain ranges on the continent, so far as we know.

There were also changes produced during the glacial period. Intense cold prevailed at that time over the northern portions of North America and Europe. Great fields of ice, similar to those now seen in Greenland and other regions of the North, extended far within the limits of the United States. This ice mass moved, as the Arctic ice moves today, slowly but surely onward. The precipitated moisture, in the form of snow, must have accumulated to great depths, for we find that the ice reached a thickness of over 5000 feet in northern New England, and thence gradually thinned down to its southern border. Our own region was entirely buried by this great ice sheet and we now find the surface of the country scored by the effect of ice and loosened débris as it was borne from one point to another. The rocks have been rounded and polished, and here and there deeply scratched or striated, by bowlders that were borne onward at the bottom of the moving ice sheet. Such rounded surfaces and striæ are seen very distinctly on the slate rock at the top of West River Hill.[1] Their direction, northwest to southeast, shows the direction of the moving ice. Oftentimes hundreds of feet of débris known as drift, composed of angular bowlders, gravel, sand and clay, were ground off the mountain-tops and accumulated in the valleys. It formed an irregular coating over the whole country, but thickest in the deepest valleys. It changed to a large degree the drainage of the country, and by blocking the streams, formed numerous lakes. Chesterfield Lake and Marlboro Pond were produced by the blocking of old stream valleys by glacial débris, and will ultimately disappear as their barriers are cut away or the basins themselves are filled up.

Much of the glacial drift came from rocks far to the north, as among the bowlders we find fragments of rock not known in this vicinity. At times bowlders of gigantic size were left lodged in critical positions on the mountain-sides. Such bowlders, the size of small dwellings, are perched upon the hillsides along the highway from Wilmington to Searsburg.

As the ice sheet melted and gradually withdrew northward over New

[1] On Putney Road.

England, the loose débris was washed into the streams and choked the valleys. Finally the ice edge withdrew beyond the sources of the Connecticut and the river was greatly reduced in volume. It could no longer spread over its broad bed, but meandered through it at the lowest point. Since that time it has been cutting down through the mass of débris and in places has again reached the solid rock of its ancient bed. In its cutting it has oscillated from side to side, and, as a result, we have the beautiful series of terraces so well shown in this region. Brattleboro is situated on a series of such terraces cut by the Connecticut and its tributaries, the West River and Whetstone Brook. Cemetery Hill and Western Avenue today mark the high level to which the valley of the Connecticut was blocked with débris while the ancient swollen stream flowed around Highland Park as an island. Later the stream cut downward until it stood at the elevation of Oak Street, then of Main Street; and finally it reached its present level.

### Fossil Elephant

The tusk of a fossil elephant was found about 1883 in a muck bed, five feet below the surface, on the farm of D. Stewart Pratt. One tusk taken out in a good state of preservation, was forty-eight inches long, eighteen inches in circumference at one end and eleven inches in circumference at the smaller end.

### The Mountain

The mountain opposite the village, first known as West River Mountain, is one thousand and sixty-one feet above the river. Later it was commonly called Chesterfield Mountain, probably because of its situation within the township of Chesterfield. In May, 1852, it was formally christened Wantastiquet, the Indian name for West River Mountain, by the editor of the *Eagle,* and a three-storied log cabin was built on the summit by patients and guests of the Water-Cure.

Mine Mountain, on the Hinsdale side, is said to have received its name as a result of mining operations which were carried on under the direction of General Arad Hunt and Francis Goodhue in search of silver. According to tradition, these pioneer prospectors sank a shaft to a depth of thirty feet in the solid rock. They did not find silver, but took out a quantity of yellow ochre; so far as is now known, no use was made of it.

A new variety of moss, *Fontinalis Frostii* (Sullivant), a moss, *Andrea Rupestris,* not common to this latitude, and a lichen, *Hydrothyria Fontana,* have been found in a swamp on the east side of the summit of Wantastiquet.

# FIRST PERIOD
# THE INDIANS—FORT DUMMER
## 1681-1753

## CHAPTER I

## THE INDIANS AND FORT DUMMER

The Indians—Vermont, a hunting-ground of the Iroquois—Pocumtucks—Squakheags—Their territory—Relics—Sculptured rocks—Capitol—Cultivated crops—Shad and salmon—Earliest conveyance of land, 1681.

Fort Dummer 1724—Equivalent Lands—Location and description of Fort—Lieutenant Timothy Dwight—Colonel John Stoddard—Indian soldiers—Scouting parties—Scout paths—Roads—Skirmishes—Joseph Kellogg, earliest interpreter—Peltry trade—Chaplains: Reverend Daniel Dwight, Reverend Ebenezer Hinsdell—Diary Account of Journey from Fort Dummer to Lake Champlain along the Indian trail—Scaticooks and Caughnanagas—Indian Treaty—Sartwell's Fort—Fort Bridgman—Hinsdell's Fort—Colonel Josiah Willard—Lieutenant Dudley Bradstreet—Captain Willard's Company—Lieutenant John Sargent—Other Sargents—Four men killed at Jamaica—Stevens' Rocks—Willards—Nathaniel French—The Ferry—Barrett's Ferry.

When Samuel de Champlain discovered the lake that bears his name, in 1609, he saw "on the east side very high mountains capped with snow," the Green Mountains of Vermont. He asked the Indians if that country was inhabited, and they answered him, "Yes, and that the inhabitants were Iroquois."

Vermont was undoubtedly a beaver-hunting ground of the Iroquois, the confederated Five Nations. But there is no evidence that the valley along the Connecticut River was ever the home of any considerable number of aborigines, although for many years the early settlements were harassed by Indian attacks and Indian depredations. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, it was for the most part a wilderness through whose solitudes only hunters, trappers or soldiers made their arduous way.

The Pocumtucks, with sub-tribes and allies, were the leading tribe of a confederation occupying the valley as far north as Brattleboro, the Squakheags occupying jointly with the Pocumtucks the territory of (now) Northfield, Vernon and Hinsdale.

The Squakheags were the only tribe left north of the Pocumtucks, above Millers Falls, after the tribe living in northern Vermont and New Hampshire returned to eastern New York, planting their tribal tree at what is now Schaghticoke, and calling themselves Schahkooks. (Sheldon says, "The Squakheags were a fugitive band from the Hudson River,

probably a fragment of the Mohicans, driven away from their original homes by the Mohawks of the Five Nations in 1610.")

The generally accepted translation of the name Squakheag has been a fishing-place, which would refer to the mouths of small streams flowing into the Connecticut River, where the best places for salmon were to be found. There is a divergence of authority as to the extent of their territory, one asserting that it extended on the east to Monadnock, on the west to the Green Mountains, and on the north to Bellows Falls and above; the others, that it extended as far north as "the little river called Wanasquatok."

Indian relics, remains of granaries, underground barns and their burial places have been discovered within the town of Vernon. In 1850 Holland Pettis, when ploughing in "The Cove" of West River, found a human skull. It was apparent, upon examination, that the individual (believed to be an Indian chief) was buried in a sitting posture, arrow-heads, pipe and pestle with him, that he might not enter upon another life without means of sustenance and protection. Indian hieroglyphics were seen upon rocks in the same cove until the setting back of the river water by the erection of the dam at Vernon.

"This Cove, which it may be believed, was anciently overrun with wild rice, has always been a famous resort of wild ducks, . . . and we may believe that the Indians were accustomed to spend many hours here watching either for waterfowl or fish. Hence the sculptures, both at the Great Falls and on West River, are to be attributed to the whim of vacant moments." Kendall's Travels, Vol. III, p. 219.

Their capitol of wigwams or tribal headquarters was on the high land between the Connecticut and Ashuelot rivers, known as Coopers Point, below the highway leading to Hinsdale. It was there their chiefs lived, the last one named Na-we-let.

Their only cultivated crops were Indian corn and pumpkins, which they raised by burning over the ground and then scratching it with a stone plow, dragged by hand. They knew how to make sugar, boiling the sap in stone vessels. The wild turkey was native to the country and with salmon furnished an important item in their subsistence. Although living mostly in villages, they had no domestic animals, except dogs. Shad and salmon were caught in scoop nets and seines in the basin below the falls of the Whetstone. In 1733 two shad sold for one penny at Northampton. Previous to 1800 they were so abundant that only the poor ate them. In 1803, as the records have it, at the mouth of West River, in the season, the water was so filled with salmon that it looked as if one could walk across them from one shore to another.

LOCATION OF INDIAN ROCK

"Indian Rock."

SITE OF FORT DUMMER

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

CHASE CASCADE VENTNERS BROOK

EARLY ROAD

EARLY ROAD

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

About 1670 white settlers began to show themselves up the Connecticut Valley. Deerfield was settled in 1671. In 1676 the battle of Turners Falls was fought to resist the encroachments of the whites, the Squakheags of the vicinity joining with other allied tribes south. Captain Turner came on from Boston with a company of provincial troops and Captain Holyoke from Springfield with another company. One hundred Indians were slain and the rest took to their canoes in the river; of these, one hundred and forty went over the falls and were drowned. This battle so weakened the local tribes that they never attempted further warlike operations on their own account. The Squakheags gradually diminished in numbers and finally, in 1687, the proprietors of Northfield bought out the Indians, and took this deed, which is the earliest conveyance of any lands in Brattleboro.

To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, Know ye that Nawelet, Gongequa, Aspiambemett, Haddarawanset, Meganichcha, wee the Indians mentioned, and for good consideration moving us hereunto, and in particular in consideration of the sum of forty-five pounds in trade goods all ready in hand paid or secured to satisfaction, the said Indians above expressed doe for themselves their heirs executors—give grant bargain and sell, and by these presents firmly pass over a certain parcel of land lying in the bounds of Northfield unto William Clarke sen. and John King sen. both of Northampton, being agents for the proprietors of Northfield, which is bounded as followeth: viz. southerly against a river called Cowas being on the east side of the Great River and soe running directly over the great river: the northerly side running to a river on the west side of the Great River called Wanascatok lying twelve miles wide six miles wide on each side of the great river; with all the privileges benefits advantages commodities and apurtenances thereon and thereunto belonging.

Witnesses: (Signed by)

Jonathan Hunt, Preserved Clap, Wm. Clark Jun., Peter Jethro, Joseph Atherton, Isaac Chauncey, Nawelet, Congequa, Aspiambemet, Haddarawansett, Meganichcha.

The river Wanascatok is West River, and this deed covers about three-fifths of the township of Brattleboro.

The Squakheags lingered hereabouts and finally drifted away, a few at a time, to join the St. Francis Indians in Canada.

The Deerfield Massacre took place February 29, 1704. Under Major Hertel de Rouville and two hundred French, the bloody deed was done by a party of about one hundred and fifty St. Francis Indians, who came down from Canada, guided by some of the Squakheags who were familiar with the country. The party left their sleds and dogs at the mouth of the West River, on the lands now owned by the Retreat and Bradley estates. The snow was four feet deep and covered with a hard crust,

as they went south by way of Guilford and Green River. The settlement was taken completely by surprise at dead of night; forty-seven of its inhabitants were killed, one hundred and twelve taken prisoners, nineteen of whom were tomahawked on their way back to Canada. From the rendezvous on West River, where they took up teams of dogs, the march up the Connecticut was made with great haste, for a thaw threatened to break up the ice. Mrs. Williams[1] gave out after fording the river in Guilford and was killed. Four other women were killed and their bodies left on the ice between here and Bellows Falls.

### Fort Dummer

The rivalries and jealousies that made France and England so long enemies in the Old World were transplanted to the new continent. The French made allies of the aborigines against the English, a combination more to be feared than any previous Indian warfare, and years of bloodshed and terrorism followed.

The first of these hostilities, known as the French and Indian War, began with William's accession to the throne of England in 1690, and was terminated in the peace of Ryswick in 1697. During the progress of these wars the territory of Vermont was often crossed and recrossed by portions of both armies, and a few military settlements sprang up.

Queen Anne's War, so called, came next. The peace signed at Utrecht, April 11, 1713, which terminated this war, brought a little breathing space to the frontiers. Agriculture began to revive, new settlements began to extend westward in Massachusetts. It was about this time that attention was being turned towards this immediate region as a desirable one for settlement. By an arrangement between Massachusetts and Connecticut, various parcels of land lying northward of existing settlements in Massachusetts were given to Connecticut in exchange for lands of which Connecticut had been deprived by a rectification of the boundary between the two colonies. One of these portions of Equivalent Lands, as they were called (within the Province of Massachusetts Bay), consisted of a section of about forty-four thousand acres on the west bank of the Connecticut, within the bounds of the now existing towns of Vernon, Brattleboro, Dummerston and Putney. The commissioners appointed to locate the Equivalent Lands were Joseph Dudley, governor of Massachusetts; Gurdon Saltonstall, governor of Connecticut; Elisha Hutchinson and Isaac Addington of Massachusetts, William Pitkin and William Whitney of Connecticut. In 1716 (April) Connecticut sold them at public vendue in Hartford and gave the proceeds to Yale College.

The proprietors of the Equivalent Lands, summoned by the following

[1] Wife of Reverend John Williams.

notice, met at the Green Dragon Tavern in Boston in June, 1718, to organize and divide the lands:

These may certify all persons concerned, but more especially the several and respective proprietors of the Equivalent Lands, so called, lying in the County of Hampshire: That pursuant to a law of the Province, and at the desire of five of the proprietors of the said lands, the Honorable Samuel Partridge, Esquire, hath appointed the first Wednesday of June next, at two o'clock in the afternoon, at the Green Dragon Tavern, in Boston, to be the time and place for the meeting of the said proprietors, in order to the choosing of a proprietors' clerk, the appointing a committee to be selected out of their number for such purposes as shall be agreed on, the devising or disposing of their said property or any part thereof, the choosing an agent or general attorney to represent, manage, and act for them, to regulate meetings for the future, etc. I do therefore, hereby, in obedience to a warrant directed to me for that end from the said justice, inform and give notice to all the proprietors of said lands, there will be a meeting at the time and place, and for the ends aforementioned, and they are hereby desired to give their attendance accordingly.

The Equivalent Lands were bid off by a group of Massachusetts, Connecticut and London capitalists, who got them for little more than a farthing an acre. The part above Northfield fell to William Dummer, lieutenant-governor and acting governor of the Province of Massachusetts, William Brattle of Cambridge, Anthony Stoddard and John White of Boston, gentlemen, and it was all called Dummerston, in honor of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in the reign of George I and was held in high esteem both by the people of the provinces and the home government. He died in 1761. The property was a valuable one. It was well diversified with hills and meadows, with forests and brooks, and it lay alongside some of the best fishing privileges of the great river. It was in the direct line of communication between the settlements in Massachusetts and those in Canada, and the hunting and pelting regions along Lakes George and Champlain, and was altogether the most desirable section of territory then accessible and unappropriated in New England.

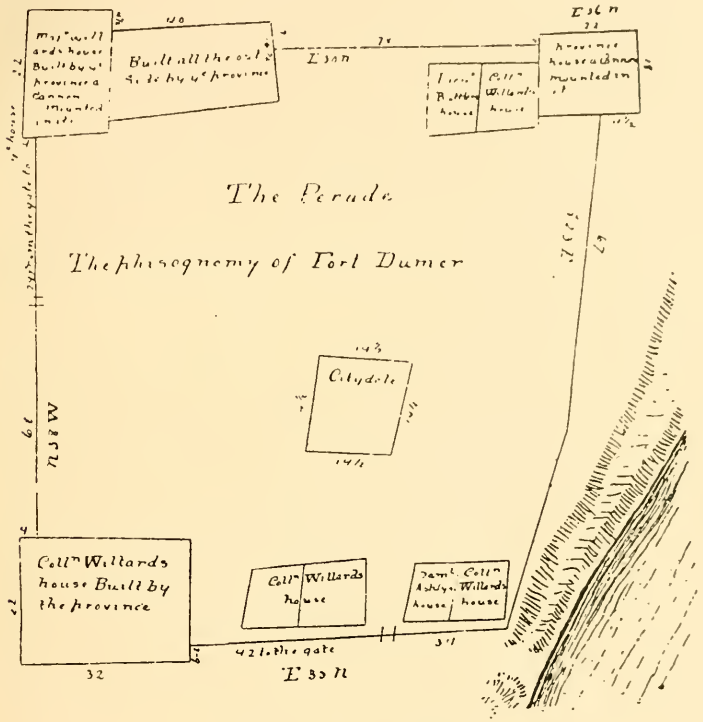
But scarcely had the lands passed into the new proprietors' possession before Indian hostilities, the result of the old race feud, broke out afresh. To diminish the perils of the situation, the Massachusetts Legislature resolved on the twenty-seventh of December, 1723, "to build a block-house, above Squakheag [Northfield] in the most convenient place on the lands called Equivalent Lands and to post in it 40 able men, English and Western Indians, to be employed in scouting a good distance up

Connecticut River, West River, Otter Creek, and sometimes eastwardly above Great Monadnock for the discovery of the enemy coming toward any of the frontier towns;" and that "so much of the said Equivalent Land as shall be necessary for a Block House, bee taking up, with the consent of the owners of said Land; Together with five or six acres of their Interval Land, to be broke up, or plowed, for the present use of Western Indians, (In case any of them shall think fit to bring their families."

Assent to the building of the fort was given, and it was located on the bank of the river where the valley between the mountains and the rugged hills toward Guilford is narrow, and where Mr. Simon Brooks lived many years. No settlements had been made above the neighborhood where Northfield village is, and the route to the place for the fort was from there up the east side of the river to opposite the place, and across the river to it. It was begun February 3, 1724, and built under Colonel John Stoddard[1] by Lieutenant Timothy Dwight of Northampton, who was the first commander of it, with three carpenters from Northfield, one John Crowfoot, an Indian from Springfield, who was paid a shilling a day more than others, twelve soldiers "with narrow axes," and two teams. They crossed the river on the ice. The fort was in shape an oblong, running in length northeast and southwest, with a corner cut off, forming a short side on the top of the bank of the river. It was built of the yellow pine timber covering the meadow, hewed square, laid up about twenty feet high and locked together at the corners. The north side was one hundred and fifty-seven and one-half feet, the west one hundred and thirty-six feet, the south one hundred and eight, the east eighty-five, the short side on the bank of the river. It had a double two-story house in the southwest corner, thirty-four by twenty-two feet, with two fireplaces below and one in a chamber; a two-story house in the northwest corner, seventeen and one-half by twenty-two feet, with two fireplaces below, and a one-story double house, forty by sixteen and one-half feet, adjoining it along the east side; a two-story house, thirty-four by twenty-two feet, in the southwest corner, with two fireplaces below; each of these houses projecting beyond the walls from four to eleven feet, forming bastions to defend the walls; a watch box in the short side on the bank of the river; a gate in the southeast and southwest sides; and a covered underground way under the short side to the river. The walls of the forts made the outer walls of the houses, and the inner walls of the houses were built like the walls of the fort inward, with doors and windows opening within the fort, which could be closed and barricaded. There was a large open

[1] "Colonel John Stoddard was the most expert military engineer of his time, in New England, one of the most important lawyers and judges of Massachusetts, and one of the wealthiest men of New England." (Roberts.)

space in the center. It was built near enough to the river to observe and command the passage by it in canoes. The fort was supplied with a well for drinking purposes, but the garrison in general went to the riverside for water for washing. Colonel Stoddard wrote to Governor Dummer, February 3, 1724: "We intend the fort shall be so built that the soldiers shall be as safe if the enemy were in the parade as if they were without




PLAN OF FORT DUMMER

the fort." It had one great gun for alarms, which could be heard at a long distance, and four small swivel guns for defense in the houses. It was completed that summer and was named Fort Dummer, in honor of the lieutenant-governor. In the official records, however, it was called the "Block House above Northfield" or simply the "Block-House." Lieutenant Dwight asked permission to bring his family to the fort, and in June of the same year permission was given by a committee.

Here is the roll of officers: Captain Timothy Dwight, Northampton; Lieutenant Elisha Searl, Northampton; Sergeant John McRanney, Springfield; Sergeant John Burke, Hatfield; Sergeant Robert Cooper, Northfield; Sachem Hendrick, a Maqua; Sachem Ampaumet, Hudson River Indian. There were thirty-six privates; seven from Springfield, five from Windsor, four from Suffield, two each from Deerfield, Northfield, Marlboro and Framingham, and the others one each from various places. Hendrick had four Maquas under him, and Ampaumet seven Hudson River Indians and one "Scaticook" under him. The Maquas were a part of the Mohawk tribe of Indians occupying the east part of the valley of the Mohawk, which was at first called the Maquese River. The Hudson River Indians were those occupying the valley of the Hudson above Albany, among whom were the Schaghticoke Indians, who went there from above Monadnock in New Hampshire about 1672.

Relieved awhile of military alarm, Fort Dummer now became for a period the scene of quiet events. Here was born within the stockade, on May 27, 1726, Timothy Dwight, the father of the future first President Dwight of Yale College.

Great importance was attached to the presence of the Indians, and various means were taken to retain them in the service. On the twentieth of June, 1724, a committee appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts to examine a demand made by the Maquas engaged in the service of the government at Fort Dummer, reported that "two shillings per day be allowed to Hendrick and Umpaumet, as they are sachems, and the first of that rank that have entered into the service of the province; That none of the Indians be stinted as to allowance of provisions; That they all have the use of their arms gratis, and their guns mended at free cost; That a supply of knives, pipes, tobacco, lead, shot, and flints, be sent to the commanding officer at the fort, to be given out to them, according to his discretion; That four barrels of rum be sent to Capt. Jon$^{a}$ Wells, at Deerfield, to be lodged in his hands, and to be delivered to the commanding officer at the Block-House as he sees occasion to send for it, that so he may be enabled to give out one gill a day to each Indian, and some to other men as occasion may require."

A committee of clergymen was desired "to procure a person of gravity, ability and prudence" for chaplain. Daniel Dwight of Northampton, brother of Colonel Timothy Dwight, was chosen; his pay was to be £100 a year, and besides his duties as chaplain he was to "instruct the Indian natives residing thereabouts in the true Christian religion."

July 25, 1724, Governor Dummer wrote to Captain Kellogg: "I would you as soon as you can Inlist a Surgeon for the service of your company and Captain Dwight and in the meantime I enclose you my warrant to

enable you to ffetch a Surgeon when you want one. I shall be glad to see a scalp or two brought downe by some of your scouts."

On June 25, 1724, the Indians belonging to the garrison found a fresh Indian trail, and, following it, discovered about forty warriors, whom, however, because of their superior force they did not attack. The enemy hovered about the region all summer at intervals, killing two men at Northfield and five at Rutland, Massachusetts, in the month of August.

When Stoddard sent in his bill in August he said: "We agreed with the carpenters at N$^{th}$field for five shillings per diem, except Crowfoot to whom I promised six, and they allow that he earned his money by doing so much more work than others. The soldiers had very hard service lying in the woods & were obliged to work hard early and late, its thought they deserve two shillings p$^{r}$ diem besides the stated pay, and the Carpenters something more. The horses were wrought very hard, and commonly had nothing to eat but oats; and I believe two shillings a day will not be thought an excess for that service," for "I think," he wrote to Governor Dummer, "it considerable probable that by means of some of our friend Indians, they may be instructed so that they will persue an enemy, & in case they should kill one Indian, it will more effectually prevent them coming than the killing many in anny other way."

Colonel John Stoddard trained large dogs to ferret out the Indian trails, which were used by scouting parties from Fort Dummer.

On October 11 the fort was attacked by about seventy of the enemy and four or five of its occupants were killed or wounded, but the attack was repulsed. It does not appear to have been attacked afterward. Captain Joseph Kellogg, a returned Deerfield captive, had a company of scouts who ranged between this fort and that at Colerain. A scout path was trod about where the east part of the land leading to the Brooks farm was, and further north towards and past the cascade into where the crossroad and old road to Guilford are. This part of the lane and these old roads are probably among the oldest roads in Vermont. On some occasions scouts were "sent up ye West River Mountain there to Lodge on ye top and view Evening and Morning for smoak, and from thence up to ye mountain at ye Great Falls, and there also to Lodge on ye top and view morning and evening for smoaks." Many exploring parties were sent out from the fort in the early days of its occupancy. The Great Falls came afterward to be called Bellows Falls. The garrison was reduced after the close of the war in 1727.

When the town of Deerfield was destroyed by the Indians on the twenty-ninth of February, 1703, Joseph Kellogg, then a lad of twelve, with his brother and two sisters, was taken captive and carried to Canada and in the distribution of captives fell to a Maqua who took him for his own.

He lived the free forest life with the Indians a year, and afterwards with the French ten years, acquiring meanwhile, with the skill of the hunter and trapper, a knowledge of French and of the language spoken by the northern tribes and by the Mohawks. Thus after his return to a more civilized life, he became of great value to the colonial leaders as an interpreter in their Indian councils, and was almost constantly employed in public service on the frontiers. He it was who, having learned the peltry trade in Canada, asked the General Court that a trading-house be established at Fort Dummer or further up the river. The fort was selected for that purpose, and he became both captain and truckmaster. June 19, 1728, the General Court set apart "£1000 equal to about £338 6s 8d sterling for the purchasing goods to be lodged at the Truck-house above Northfield to supply the Indians withal." The truckmaster was directed "to advance 50 per cent on rum sugar and molasses 25 per cent on European goods."

The Indians, finding that they could carry on a cheaper trade here than at the French trading-houses, came in large numbers, bringing with them deerskins, mooseskins and tallow. The fort was soon found to be too small to accommodate all who came to it, and Captain Kellogg was ordered, on the tenth of April, 1729, to raise an outhouse near the truck-house "for the reception of the Indians," to build a boat for transplanting the supplies, to advance 15 instead of 50 per cent on provisions and to supply the soldiers with clothing at the same price with the Indians. He was also permitted to sell beaver skins to people residing in the vicinity who should desire to obtain them for the purpose of converting them into hats.

In 1730 Reverend Ebenezer Hinsdell became the chaplain.[1] He was the son of Lieutenant Meheuman Hinsdell, who was the first-born child at Deerfield; and his second wife was Abigail, daughter of the Reverend John Williams of Deerfield. The Indians engaged at first did not long remain, but returned to their own ways. The chaplain labored with them and some came to hear him preach. One squaw presented her child for baptism, which was refused because she had not been baptized; a reason which, he wrote to the General Court, he could not make her understand.

This graphic account of a journey from Fort Dummer to Lake Champlain in 1730 is taken from an old diary:

Monday, ye 27th April, 1730, at about twelve of ye clock we left Fort Dummer, and travailed that day three miles, and lay down that night by

[1] He was ordained December 12, 1733, as one of three missionaries, appointed by the "Honorable Society for propagating Christian knowledge, and to carry the Gospel to the aboriginal natives on the borders of New England." He was founder of the town of Hinsdale.

West River, which is three miles distant from Fort Dummer. Notabene,—I travailed with twelve Canady Mohawks that drank to great excess at ye fort and killed a Skaticook Indian in their drunken condition, that came to smoke with them.

Tuesday.—We travailed upon the great river [Connecticut] about ten miles.

Wednesday.—We kept ye same course upon ye great River, travailed about ten miles, and eat a drowned Buck that night.

Thursday.—We travailed upon ye great River within two miles of ye Great Falls [Bellows Falls] in said River, then went upon Land to ye Black River above ye Great Falls, went up in that River and lodged about a mile and a half from the mouth of the Black River, which days' travail we judged about ten miles.

Fryday.—We cross Black River at ye Falls [Springfield village] afterwards travail through ye woods N. N. W. then cross Black River again about seventeen miles above our first crossing, afterwards travailed ye same course, and pitched our tent on ye homeward side of Black River.

Saturday.—We crossed Black River, left a great mountain on ye right hand and another on ye left [in Ludlow]. Keep a N. W. course till we pitch our tent after eleven miles travail by a Brook which we called a branch of Black River.

Sabbath Day.—Soon after we began our days' work, an old pregnant squaw that travailed with us, stopt alone and was delivered of a child, and by Monday noon overtook us with a living child upon her back. We travail to Black River. At ye three islands, between which and a large pound we past ye River, enter a mountain [in Plymouth], that afforded us a prospect of ye place of Fort Dummer. Soon after we enter a descending country, and travail till we arrive at Arthur Creek [Otter Creek] in a descending land. In this days' travail which is twenty-one miles, we came upon seven Brooks which run in a S. W. course at ye north end of said Mountain. From Black River to Arthur Creek we judge is twenty-five miles.

Monday.—Made Canoes.

Tuesday.—Hindered travailing by rain.

Wednesday.—We go in our Canoes upon Arthur Creek, till we meet two great falls in said river [in Rutland]. Said River is very Black and deep and surrounded with good land to ye extremity of our prospect. This days travail thirty-five miles.

Thursday.—We sail forty miles in Arthur Creek. We meet with great Falls [Middlebury falls], and a little above them we meet with two other great Falls [at Weybridge], and about ten miles below ye said

Falls we meet two other pretty large Falls [at Vergennes]. We carryd our Canoes by these Falls and came to ye Lake.

A treaty appears to have been entered into with some of the Indians in 1731. The records of the General Court for Monday, July 19, 1731, show:

A petition of Capt. Joseph Kellogg Truck Master at the Fort above Northfield praying that he may be allowed for half a Barrel of powder which he lost by the staving of a cask in transporting it, as also for three yards and a half of scarlet cloth being so much short measure in a piece he bought for the Indian trade & that he may be allowed the sum of £10 10s by him expended on the French Maquas upon their delivering the Calumet of Peace, & proposing that the roof of the Truck House be repaired, & that a separate room should be built on the back side for keeping the goods, & also that the garrison which is now very weak & small should be enlarged [when the garrison was reinforced by an addition of ten soldiers, and from that time until 1750 it seldom numbered less than twenty men, and in times of danger amounted to fifty]. In the House of Representatives Read and ordered that the memorialist be allowed out of the public treasury for the half barrel of powder, the three yards and a half of scarlet cloth at the rate he was charged therefor, and the sum of 10£ 10s be expended in Entertaining the Indians, the said Kellogg to apply to Mr. Laughton, of whom he bought the cloth for satisfaction for the short measure, and when obtained to return the same into the treasury, and that Mr. Treasurer supply the said Kellogg with materials for covering and repairing the Block House as also for building a room or separate apartment for a store house on the back of said block house. In council read & concurred. Consented to J. BELCHER.

To encourage trade and peace, October 8, 1734, Massegunn, first captain, Nannatoohan, second captain, and Massamah, lieutenant, were received into the fort as commissioners from the "Scaticook" Indians, whose headquarters were where Schaghticoke is now; and September 1, 1735, Ontausoogoe, colonel, Thyhausilhan, lieutenant-colonel, and Connerghan, major, were received from the Caughuawagas, who remained there ten years.

The most ceremonious treaty made here was that of October 6, 1737, in renewal of the former treaty, when John Stoddard, Eleazer Porter, Thomas Wallis, Joseph Kellogg and Israel Williams, commissioners of the province, met delegates of the three tribes of Caughuawagas. Among other things Ontaussoogoe said: "Brother the Broadway two years past I was at Deerfield; the matter then delivered to us by you was that the

To the Hon^ble His Majest^s Justices of the Court of Gen^ce
Sessions of the Peace holden at Northampton for the County
of Hampshire on the first Tuesday of March 1727/8.

Timothy Dwight In behalf of Doct^r Thomas Hastings
of Hatfield & for our Sovereign Lord & King Enters A Complaint Against John Love Resident
at Said Hatfield for Theft (Viz) that Some time about the 20^th
of February Last the Said Love did Steal from S^d Doct^r Hastings
About five Pounds four Shillings In Bills of Credit Con
trary to the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King his
Crown & Dignity & the Good & Wholesome Law of this
Province In such Case made & Provided — Timothy Dwight

Love Pleads not Guilty

DWIGHT, TIMOTHY, colonel, of Northampton, the son of Nathaniel, died April 30, 1771, aged 76. He was surveyor, magistrate, and judge of probate. His daughter Eleanor married Gen. Phineas Lyman, of Suffield.

old covenant of peace and unity between us might be continued. We now return answer for our three tribes that our desire is that it might remain firm and unshaken, and do from our heart promise that the covenant shall not be broken on our part, but if ever there should be any breach it shall begin on yours; and the God of Heaven who now sees us and knows what we are doing be witness of our sincerity." He then laid down a belt of wampum and said: "We your brethren of the three tribes have learned by hearsay that our Brother the Broadway has lost his wife. Such losses ought to be made up. We did not know whether the Governor would be capable of a Treaty under his affliction but find that he is and are thankful for it." He then gave a belt of wampum to quiet the governor's mind and remove his grief. The commissioners drank King George's health to them; they drank King George's health and the governor's to the commissioners, who said they would answer in the afternoon. In the afternoon the commissioners among other things said: "We do in the name and behalf of the government assure you that they will cultivate the friendship they have contracted with your tribe, and that nothing in our own hearts nor the instigation of others shall ever prevail upon us to break our solemn engagements to you, but we shall always hold ourselves under the strongest obligations to a punctual observance of what we have promised," and gave a belt of wampum. They also gave three black blankets to express their concern for the death of friends of the delegates, and to comfort their hearts. They all drank the governor's health and the commissioners made a present to the Indians "of the value of seventy pounds ten shillings."

In 1737 Josiah Sartwell built a fortified house, known as Sartwell's Fort, two miles south of Fort Dummer, which was owned by his descendants about one hundred years, and in 1837 was taken down and replaced by a house in which many of the hewn timbers from the old fort were used and still remain.

Twelve of the Sartwell family were killed or taken captive by Indians. Among the latter was Jemima Sartwell, who married Caleb Howe.[1]

Fort Bridgman was built in the same year, 1737, by Orlando Bridgman, and located one hundred rods southeast of Fort Sartwell, and about fifteen rods east of the present residence of George W. Hubbard. It was larger than Fort Sartwell, and was protected by a stockade. In 1776 the Indians who had made an attack the previous year succeeded in destroying the fort, killed several of the inhabitants and carried a number of others into captivity.

Captain Josiah Willard of Winchester was placed in command of Fort

[1] Ancestor of the Honorable George Howe, Mary Howe, the singer, and other Brattleboro people.

Dummer in 1740. On the twenty-fourth of June "for himself and those under his command" he informed the governor that they were "willing to be at the cost of putting ye garrison into a posture of defence and erect two sufficient bastions at opposite angles providing the government will be at the charge of hiring a carpenter and provide nails, iron work and boards." This was done; a stockade twenty feet high was built around the fort enclosing about four acres.[1] Sentry boxes five feet higher were placed on opposite corners, and swivels were placed in the houses projecting into the bastion for an enfilading fire. On account of the poverty of the treasury and delays in forwarding moneys, private individuals and officers advanced large sums to defray public expenses. At one time Josiah Willard advanced ten thousand pounds, and was reimbursed by the government of Massachusetts.

In 1742 Mr. Hinsdell, the chaplain, built a fort about twenty rods southwest of where the Marsh house on the west side of the road to Hinsdale stands, and a gristmill on Ash Swamp Brook below for himself; but he does not appear to have ceased then to act as chaplain at Fort Dummer. A French and Indian war broke out again in 1744; fraud and plunder had by this time entered into the white man's relation with the Indians, which destroyed the earlier confidence between the two races. The trading was discontinued and the commissioners left. The truckhouse was also discontinued. Captain Willard took grain to Hinsdell's mill to be ground July 3, 1746, and twenty men to guard the mill during the grinding. He discovered a force of Indians in ambush and attacked it so fiercely that they retreated, leaving their packs in his hands.

Lieutenant Dudley Bradstreet, son of Reverend Dudley Bradstreet of Groton, was placed in command April 15, 1747. Here is a list of the stores turned over to him by Captain Willard: "2 Carriage guns and furniture; 5 Patteraroes, one exclusive of ye five being burst, all of which belong to the Province stores of ye Truck Trade; 12 small fire arms; ½ barrel common powder; 20 lbs of other powder; 140 lbs of lead; a quantity of Flints; one large iron pot." The pay of the men was: to the captain, 25 shillings per month; to one lieutenant, 13s. 6d.; one sergeant, 13s. 6d.; one corporal, 12s.; sentinels, 10s. The rations were: to each man one pound of bread and half a pint of peas or beans per day, two pounds of pork for three days and a gallon of molasses for forty-two days; on the march a pound of bread, a pound of pork and a gill of rum. Lieutenant Bradstreet remained in command five months; at the end of that time it was restored to Captain Willard. Here is the roll of Captain Willard's company at Fort Dummer, February 12 to July 1, 1748:

[1] "An acre and a half." (Hall.)

Captain Josiah Willard
Lieutenant John Sergeant
Sergeant Nathan Willard
Sergeant William Willard
Clerk Oliver Willard
Samuel Ashley
Joshua Wells
Daniel Sergeant
Ebenezer Putnam
Robert Bafford
Moses Brewer
Eleazer Stratton
Moses Cooper
Hezekiah Elmer
Simeon Knight
Robert Cooper
Joseph Willard
Andrew Gardner, Junior
Wilder Willard
Valentine Butler
John Alexander
Joseph Rose
Ebenezer Alexander
Simeon Willard
John Fletcher
Andrew Gardner, Senior, Chaplain
Joseph Kellogg, Interpreter
Daniel Elmer

Digory Sargent first appears on the records as a soldier in King Philip's War, from Boston. He was killed in an Indian attack at Worcester in the winter of 1703-1704, and his wife and five children were taken captive. The mother and one son were also killed. Of his children by wife Mary, Daniel remained with his captors and adopted the Indian life; Thomas resided in Boston in 1715; Mary followed Daniel in captivity, and Lieutenant John Sargent, born about 1696-1697, was released from captivity about 1716.

Lieutenant Sargent was a scout and interpreter in the service of the Province of Massachusetts, especially at Northfield—he was lieutenant from 1728 to 1745 under Lieutenant Joseph Kellogg—and at Fort Dummer under Captain Josiah Willard, 1747-1748. His wife was Abigail Jones of Springfield. They had six children, Daniel, Abigail, Rufus, Thomas, John and Mary. In a petition to the General Court, dated November 29, 1738, asking for a grant of land, he says:

About the beginning of Queen Anne's war yr Petitioner's father (Digory Sargeant) then (1704) living in Worcester, had the misfortune with your petitioner's mother and one brother to be killed by the Indian enemy: At which time yr petitioner with 5 brothers, and sisters were taken into captivity where yr petitioner remained 12 or 13 years.

When Inclined to go home met with great oppossition as well from the papists as Indians: yet he came home and was at the sole cost of his redemption: That upon his arrival into his native country, he was put into the service under Capt. Kellogg, (and after under Capt. Willard) and so remains to this time: That he has been three times to Canada in the service of the Province since his redemption, and when the Truck-

house (one of the small houses in the stockade) was burnt in 1737, he lost greatly.

Two hundred acres above Northfield in the vicinity of Fort Dummer were granted to him, which would be on the meadow below Broad Brook, on which he built a house where he and his family lived. He also acquired by purchase one hundred and sixty-one acres and a "tract of land" below Fort Dummer.

Lieutenant John Sargent, his son Daniel, Moses Cooper, Joshua Wells and one other soldier started March 29, 1748, from Fort Dummer down the scout path to Colerain, for oars and paddles. When a little more than a mile from the fort, they were fired upon by an ambush of twelve or fifteen Indians. Moses Cooper was mortally wounded at the first fire, but managed with the help of a comrade to reach the fort. Lieutenant Sargent with the others retreated slowly, firing as they went. The woods were thick and the savages were well covered. Wells was soon killed. The Lieutenant encouraged his son with the assurance that help would be sent from the fort; dared the skulking enemy to come out and fight like men, and fired as often as an Indian showed himself. When near the fort Lieutenant Sargent was killed and his son was taken captive. His scalp, taken off by the Indians, was in the possession of his family for nearly eighty years. Relatives who saw the scalp describe it as having light brown hair and in size as large as a silver dollar. The next day a company of seven men went from Fort Dummer and found and buried Lieutenant Sargent. His grave was probably in sight of the fort. Daniel was taken a prisoner to Canada and kept there several years, but was returned to Fort Dummer as sentinel. He afterwards lived in Dummerston. John, the son born at the fort December 4, 1732, afterwards was Colonel John Sargent of Brattleboro. In 1755 he was sentinel in Captain Elijah Williams's company of Deerfield, Massachusetts, in the Crown Point Expedition, and in 1756 was sentinel in the command of Captain Nathan Willard at Fort Dummer. Lieutenant Thomas Sargent was born February 23, 1734-5, at Fort Dummer. Rufus Sargent was also born in the fort June 15, 1740. Rebecca, daughter of Joseph Kellogg, was born at Fort Dummer April 8, 1729; she married Major Kent of Sheffield.

Scouts under command of Captain Eleazer Melvin left Fort Dummer early in May, 1848, going westward. They reached the lake opposite Fort Frederick, a French outpost, when a party of Indians in canoes was discovered. It seems that a company of about thirty Indians had left Canada May 1 for the frontier, under the command of Sieur Manet. The Indians retreated at the first firing, which also alarmed the men at the fort; three

cannon were discharged and one hundred and fifty men turned out in pursuit of the enemy.

Captain Melvin retreated across the mountains to the head of West River, halting in the town of Londonderry May 31, long enough for his men to begin shooting salmon for breakfast, unaware that their trail had been followed by a party of two Frenchmen and nine Indians under Sieur Louis Simblin. Creeping through the underbrush until near their prey, the Indians pounced on the English who were separated from their arms in careless confidence, killing John Howard, Isaac Taylor, John Dodd, Daniel Mann and Samuel Severance, and wounding Joseph Petty. After only a slight resistance, Melvin's party, demoralized, fled to Fort Dummer. Their victors did not attempt to pursue them but returned homeward to Montreal, in triumph, with five scalps.

Captain Phineas Stevens[1] led a company to the scene of disaster, but failed to find Petty, who had given out and was left by his companions in their flight; but sixteen men from Northfield, after a search of five days, found his dead body and buried it.

The danger was so great that settlers from below (none lived above) sought shelter for their families and themselves at Fort Dummer and at Hinsdell's Fort during this season. Some small houses were built by them outside the walls, within the stockade. Twelve of Captain Willard's men and two of Captain Hobb's rangers coming from Fort Ashuelot, in what is now Keene, June 16, were ambushed opposite the mouth of Broad Brook and three were killed. The great gun at the fort was fired, seventeen men came up from Northfield and found that a large body of the enemy had been hiding about Fort Dummer and Hinsdell's Fort several days. Sergeant Taylor and others were taken captive and some wounded July 14 near the same place. The great gun was again fired for help, which did not arrive in season to save them. This event is commemorated by the monument at North Hinsdale. These disasters called forth a special sermon on Revelations iii. 3, from the Reverend Andrew Gardner, chaplain of the fort, which those who had come for aid and those who could leave Hinsdell's Fort attended to hear. Peace by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was declared October 18, 1748.

The fort had been built and the ground cleared in the vicinity by the government of Massachusetts but the claim of this state was soon contested by New Hampshire, whose government insisted that her jurisdic-

[1] Stevens' Rocks, at the base of the mountain east of Walnut Street, were named for Phineas Stevens, who commanded post number four, now Charlestown, New Hampshire. There were two objects for the naming of rocks in the river: one as points of surveys for land, the other as stopping places in voyages on the river to military posts.

tion went as far west as that of Massachusetts, which was within twenty miles of the Hudson River. This had been declared as the boundary between Massachusetts and New York in the reign of George II, in 1740, and Governor Benning Wentworth as governor of New Hampshire had been authorized by the Crown to have control of the fort. In the dispute between New Hampshire and Massachusetts relative to boundaries at the time Fort Dummer was building, the claim of Massachusetts would have made her northern boundary at the base of Ascutney Mountain on the northern side, while by the claim of New Hampshire it would have crossed Black Mountain.

The new line between the provinces, fixed in 1741, left the fort in New Hampshire; but as it was more necessary to Massachusetts Bay, it continued to be maintained by this province. The plan shows it as it was when it was expected to be, but was not, turned over to New Hampshire in 1749. Colonel Willard and Major Willard, as mentioned on the plan, got those titles otherwise than as officers of the fort. Colonel Willard died, much lamented, September 8, 1759, probably at the fort; and if there, was probably buried in the burying ground of the fort, which was in plain sight of it where the old cemetery is, on the north side of the road just beyond the bend past the mountain towards Hinsdale, and where his widow was afterwards buried. His son Josiah, who lived at Winchester, was at once put in command of the fort, and his son Nathan was made second in command. Oliver Willard removed to Hartland in 1763. His schemes for securing extensive lands for himself and his friends in the New Hampshire Grants were so successful that in 1772 he was in possession of the entire township of Woodstock, except the "Governor's lot."

In the charter of Brattleboro by Governor Benning Wentworth under King George II, December 28, 1752, "His Majestys Fort Dummer and a Tract of Land fifty rods round it, viz 50 rods West twenty five rods South & twenty five North of said Fort," was reserved. The rest of the meadow as cleared and fenced by Willard from the river to the foot of the bank on the west side was granted to him for his share. The garrison at the fort was reduced to eight men, to five and to three. In 1754 it was increased to eight and September 19 was placed under command of Nathan Willard as sergeant. Another French war came on in 1755, and the garrison was increased to nine under him as captain. Oliver Willard, Wilder Willard and William Willard were among them. The troops were dismissed from all the other forts in 1759, hostilities closed, and this ceased to be a military post in 1760.

Captain Willard, the last in command, appears to have got the land about the reservation for the fort and to have been left in possession of

the whole. Nathaniel French, father of William French, killed at the court house in Westminster, lived in the fort and this son with him in 1769. He moved to the French place by the Dummerston line the next year. From a description in a deed the fort appears to have been standing in 1772. Probably it did not remain long after that. James Hubbard, who lived opposite, January 2, 1786, petitioned to the New Hampshire Legislature for a ferry "over Connecticut river against where the Fort called Dummer formerly stood." The travel from the east side of the river came past there over the place of this ferry after it was granted in June, 1786, till the bridge at Brattleboro village was built in 1804, and a tavern was kept there. Some of the timber remained and was used about the buildings till 1831, and after many years the village boys were still making collections of arrowheads turned up with the soil on the site of the old fort.

Of the commanders, Lieutenant Dwight, the first, returned to Northampton and became judge of probate and a land surveyor. Captain Joseph Kellogg, the longest in command, was mostly afterwards engaged as an Indian interpreter. He died in 1756 at Schenectady on his way to Oswego with General Shirley. He was said to be the best interpreter New England ever had. Colonel Josiah Willard, Senior,[1] next longest in command, was a principal proprietor of Number One on the west side of the river, now Westminster, and an owner in other towns about here. He brought James Johnson, an active boy at the wharf in Boston, who married Abigail Willard, a relative, of Number Four, afterwards and now Charlestown, New Hampshire. Colonel Josiah Willard, Junior, was born in 1716, left Ashuelot and settled in Winchester in 1749, and was a large owner in Brattleboro under the New Hampshire charter. He married Thankful, daughter of Sergeant Thomas Taylor, whose captivity is commemorated by the monument at North Hinsdale. In the Worcester magazine this was printed of him: "Winchester November 19th, 1786. This day departed this life in sure hope of a glorious immortality in the seventy second year of his age, to the great loss of his family and friends as well as the public in general Josiah Willard, Esq. an affectionate husband, a tender parent, a faithful friend, a generous benefactor." In his will were these clauses:

Item. It is my will that my Negro Wench named Nancy be free at my decease, and if she should stand in need of support that she be maintained out of my estate.

Item. It is my will that my Negro Man Jacob be free at my Death and the Death of my wife, which shall last happen.

[1] Nearly all of the Willard families of New England are descendants of Major Simon Willard, who emigrated to this country from the county of Kent, England.

Captain Nathan Willard was the last. Complaint was brought against him by nine of the garrison that he favored too many of his family in houses and stores to their privation and suffering.[1] He had three sons, Nathan, Benjamin and Allin, and five daughters, Lucy, Abigail, Olive, Relief and Lois. Nathan married Submit Phips, who was taken prisoner to Canada in 1755, when nine years old, with her mother, Jemima Howe, who went back to Canada alone and brought her to the Howe place in Vernon. He and his wife, this son and his wife, are buried in that old cemetery. This inscription is on his gravestone:

Nathan Willard, Esq.
Departed this life
March 12th, 1784 in ye
60th year of his age.

Tho death a mighty victor stands,
And loth to yield his prey,
Yet by the power of Gods command,
Resistless, must obey.

Tho in the grave my body lies
Slain by Death's fatal wound;
The wished for hour with speed draws nigher,
That frees me from the ground.

Of the soldiers at the fort a few of the later ones became settlers in the neighborhood; of Lieutenant Dwight's company but one, Robert Cooper, did so; he settled upon and gave the name to Coopers Point in Hinsdale.

### The Old Ferry

There was a crossing place from the east side of the river to the old Brooks place when Colonel John Stoddard and Lieutenant Timothy Dwight came to locate Fort Dummer in 1723. The principal travel of the river came that way afterwards, and there was much passing between Shattuck's Fort on the meadow, Hinsdell's Fort at the Marsh place, and Fort Dummer, after they were built, about 1735. Such a ferry with the privilege of taking toll is a franchise, and to be well founded must be granted by the sovereign power, which, as the river belongs to New Hampshire, has, since the Revolution, been the Legislature of that state. Before that it was the King of Great Britain through the royal governor.

It was at this place that James Hubbard made a petition, January 2,

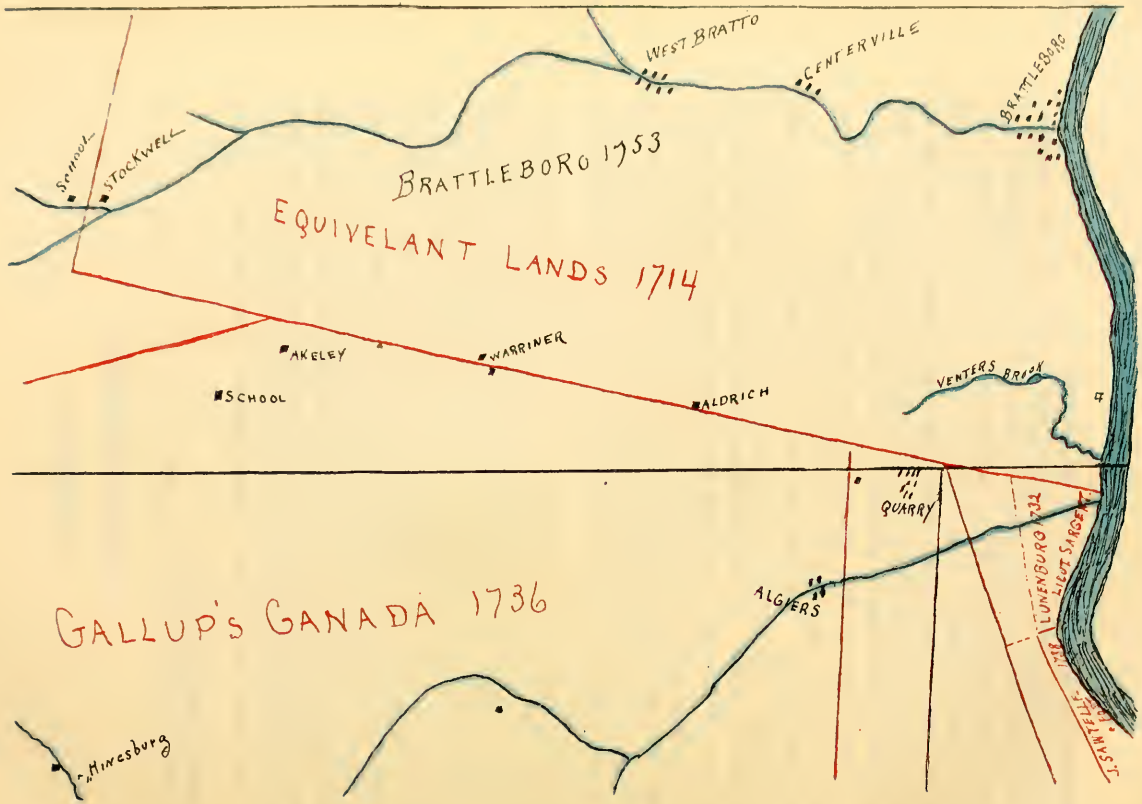
[1] For complaints, see Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 75, p. 547.

1786, for a ferry "over Connecticut river against where the Fort called Dummer formerly stood." In the petition he set forth that he owned the land, and had a dwelling house about eight rods from the ferry landing on the east side of the river,[1] which was the only house within half a mile of there.

That was the only crossing place near here till one was made from the foot of the road leading down by the machine shop to the electric power house across to the island. This was Barrett's ferry, and the landing on this side was where the north end of the railroad arch stands. There was no road down the brook on the south side below the Main Street bridge till the Connecticut River bridge was built in 1804. The rocks there came up to the brook, making a deep gorge till they were blasted away to make the road to the river bridge.

[1] Where the railroad bridge of the Boston & Maine was laid in 1912-1913.

# SECOND PERIOD
# THE CHARTER—EARLY SETTLEMENT
## 1753-1811


WEST BRATTO
CENTERVILLE
BRATTLEBORO
BRATTLEBORO 1753
EQUIVELANT LANDS 1714
SCHOOL
STOCKWELL
AKELEY
WARRINER
SCHOOL
ALDRICH
VENTERS BRIDGE
QUARRY
LUNENBURG 1732
LIEUT SARGENT
ALGIERS
GALLUP'S CANADA 1736
HINESBURG

## CHAPTER II

## BRATTLEBOROUGH

Brattleborough, Origin of Name—William Brattle—The Charter 1753—Names of grantees—Amendment of 1761.

There were two brothers, Thomas Brattle, a merchant, and William Brattle, a minister and scholar, who were men of prominence in Boston and Cambridge in the last part of the seventeenth century. William Brattle, Junior, who gave the name to Brattleboro, was born in Cambridge in 1702, was graduated at Harvard College, studied theology and became a preacher, but afterwards took up the practice of law and was for many years a member of the Legislature and Governor's Council. He was evidently a man of versatile attainments, for he also practiced medicine extensively and was prominent in the military affairs of the province, becoming a captain of artillery, and afterwards major-general of militia. He was a favorite with the governor, and generally popular. His social connections, especially his attachment to General Gage, led him to side with the British.

William Brattle had become Colonel Brattle and had married Katherine, daughter of Governor Saltonstall, when he acted as agent for the other owners and for himself in taking out the charters. As he chose shares of land on which the town of Brattleboro was subsequently built, his name was given to the town. His claim also covered some of the best land in the town of Putney. But William Brattle, being loyal to the King, fled to Nova Scotia at the commencement of the Revolutionary War and died at Halifax in 1776. After the "Jay treaty" it is said that his heirs made efforts to recover his confiscated property in this country.

The shares of Governor Dummer and Anthony Stoddard were located in Fulham (Dummerston) and those of the heirs of John White in Putney. Brattleboro contained about nineteen thousand five hundred acres and the shares of the grantees were three hundred and sixty each, except that of Oliver Willard. The rest of the town was a dense forest, and none of the other grantees became settlers in it. It was twenty-nine years after the erection of "His Majestys Fort Dummer" that Brattleboro was chartered under George II, and Josiah Willard, Esquire, was chosen or appointed moderator of the first town meeting.

## CHARTER OF BRATTLEBORO;[1] BY KING GEORGE THE SECOND, 1753

PROVINCE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

(L. S.) George the Second, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To all persons to whom these presence shall come, greeting:

Know ye that we of our special grace and certain knowledge and mere motion, for the due Encouragement of settling a new plantation within our said Province. By and with the advice of our trusty and well-beloved Benning Wentworth, Esq., our Governor and Commander-in-Chief of our said Province of New Hampshire in America, and of our Council of the said Province, have upon the conditions and reservations hereafter made, Given & Granted and by these Presents for us our Heirs & successors Do Give and Grant in equal Shares unto our Loveing Subjects Inhabitants of our said Province of New Hampshire and his Majesty's other Governments and to their heirs and assigns forever whose Names are Entered on this Grant to be divided to and amongst them into fifty-six shares, Two of which shares to be laid out in one Tract of the contents of Eight Hundred acres for his Excellency Benning Wentworth, Esq., and is in full for his two shares, which Tract is bounded as follows, viz:

Beginning at the rocks at the upper end of the Fort meadow so called. Thence up Connecticut River Two hundred and forty rods, & to carry that breadth back West ten degrees North so far as to contain Eight Hundred acres, All that Tract or parcel of Land situate, lying & being within our Province of New Hampshire containing by measurement Nineteen Thousand Three Hundred and sixty acres, which Tract is to contain five miles and one-half mile square & no more, out of which an allowance is to be made for high ways & unimprovable lands by rocks, mountains, Ponds & Rivers, one thousand and forty acres free according to a plan thereof made & presented by our said Governors orders & hereunto annexed, Butted & bounded as follows, viz: Beginning at the mouth of Venters Brook so called where it empties itself in to Connecticut River, & runs from thence six miles or thereabouts to the South East corner of Marlebrough thence five miles, North ten degrees East by Marlebrough aforesaid to a stake & stones in said Line. Thence East 10 degrees south to Connecticut River aforesaid, then down said River to the bounds first mentioned at Venters Brook, Except a Tract of land lying in the said East corner of said Township containing about Two Hundred acres as the same is now fenced in and improved, which is hereby granted & assigned to Oliver Willard and to his heirs & assigns one of the within Grantees, He having heretofore cleared and improved the said Tract and is to be in full for his share & proportion of the said Township, said Two hundred acres are bounded as follows, viz: Beginning at Venters Brook and runs West ten degrees North sixty rods to a Hill and then runs under the Hill round as the Hill runs to the rocks at the upper end of the Meadow called fort meadow, thence down the river to Venter Brook and that the same be and is incorporated into a Township by the name of Brattleborough, and that the Inhabitants that

[1] This charter was amended in 1761, in 1832, and again amended seven times. In 1872 a new charter was obtained by Colonel Kittredge Haskins, then a member of the Legislature, which has been amended eleven times. 1913.

do or shall hereafter Inhabit said Township are hereby Declared to be Enfranchised with and entitled to all & every the priviledges & Immunities that other Towns within our said Province by law exercise and enjoy, and further that the said town as soon as there shall be fifty Familys resident and settled therein shall have the liberty of holding Two Fairs, one of which shall be held on the first Thursday in October annually, and the other on the first Thursday in February annually, which Fairs are not to continue & be held longer than the respective Saturday following the said respective Thursday, and as soon as said town shall consist of fifty familys a market shall be opened and kept one or more days in each week as may be tho't most advantagious to the Inhabitants. Also that the first meeting for the choice of Town Officers agreeable to the laws of our said Province shall be held on the fifteen Day of Jan'ry next which meeting shall be notifyed by Josiah Willard, Esq. who is hereby also appointed Moderator of the said first meeting which he is to notify and govern agreeable to the laws and customs of our said Province, and that the annual meeting forever hereafter for the choice of such officers of said Town shall be on the first Wednesday in March annually. To have and to hold the said Tract of Land as above expressed together with all the Priviledges and appurtenances to them and their respective heirs & assigns forever, upon the following conditions Viz: That every Grantee, his heirs or assigns shall Plant or cultivate five acres of land within the term of five years for every fifty acres contained in his or their share or Proportion of Land in said Township, and continue to improve and settle the same by additional cultivations on Penalty of the Forfeiture of his Grant or share in said Township, & its reverting to his Majesty his heirs & successors to be by him or them regranted to such of his subjects as shall effectually settle & cultivate the same. That all White or other Pine Trees within the said Township fit for Masting our Royal Navy be carefully Preserved for that use, and none to be cut or felled without his Majestys Especial Lycence for so doing first had and obtained upon the penalty of forfeiture of the right of such Grantee his heirs & assigns to us our heirs & successors as well as being subject to the Penalty of any act or acts of Parliament that now are or hereafter shall be enacted. Also his fort Dummer & a Tract of land of fifty rods square round it, viz: fifty rods West, twenty-five rods South and twenty-five rods North of said Fort. That before any Division of the land be made to and amongst the Grantees, a Tract of Land as near the center of the Township as the land will admit of shall be reserved and marked out for Town Lots, one of which shall be allotted to each Grantee of the contents of one acre yielding and paying therefor to us our heirs & successors for the space of ten years to be computed from the date hereof the rent of one Ear of Indian corn only on the first day of January annually if Lawfully Demanded, the first payment to be made on the first day of January after the first of January next ensuing the date hereof, and every Proprietor, Settler or Inhabitant shall yield and pay to us our heirs and successors yearly & every year forever from and after the expiration of the ten years, from the date hereof. Namely on the first day of January which will be in the year of Our Lord Christ one thousand Seven Hundred & Sixty-four, one shilling Proclamation money for every hundred acres he so owns, settles or possesses, and so in proportion for a Greater or Lesser Tract of the said Land, which money shall be paid by the respective persons above said their heirs or assigns, in our Council Chamber in Portsmouth or to such officer or

officers as shall be appointed to receive the same, and this to be in lieu of all other rents and services whatsoever in Testimony hereof we have caused the seal of our said Province to be hereunto affixed. Witness Benning Wentworth, Esq., our Governor & Commander in Chief of our said Province the Twenty-six day of December in the year of our Lord Christ 1753 and in the Twenty-seventh year of our Reign.

B. WENTWORTH.

By his Excellencys command with advice of Council.

THEODORE ATKINSON,
*Secty.*

Entered and Recorded according to the original under the Province Seal, this 27th day of December 1753.

Pr THEODORE ATKINSON,
*Secty.*

Names of the Grantees of Brattleborough, viz:

William Brattle, Jacob Wendell, James Read, Isaac Brodish, Owen Warland, William Lee, Ebenezer Smith, William Gammage, John Hicks, Ebenezer Bradish, James Whitemore, William Manning, Thomas Sherren, Thomas Hastings, Jonathan Sprague, John Warland, Benjamin Lynde, Andrew Oliver Junr., William Bowls, Cornelius Woodbury, William Willard, Oliver Willard, Samuel Allen, Moses Wright, Sampson French, Joseph French, William Fessenden, Stephen Palmer, Stephen Palmer Junr., William Barrett, Daniel Printice, Caleb Prentice, Ebenezer Stedman, Edward Marrett, Junr., Abner Hasey, Benjamin French, Thomas Blanchard, Thomas Blanchard, Junr, Jacob Fletcher, Samuel Searle, Samuel French, Sampson Willard, Oliver Coleburne, Jeremiah Coleburn, Peter Powers, Stephen Powers, Daniel Emerton, William Laurence, Abel Laurance, Mather Livermore.

Also by Theodore Atkinson, his Excellency Benning Wentworth a Tract of Land to contain Eight Hundred acres which is to be accounted Two of the within mentioned shares and Laid out and bounded as within mentioned, one whole share for the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, one whole share for the first settled Minister of the Gospel in said Town, one whole share for a Glebe for the Ministry of the Church of England as by law Established. Also his Majestys Fort Dummer, and a Tract of Land fifty rods round it, viz: 50 rods West, twenty-five rods South and twenty-five North of said Fort.

Recorded from the Back of the Charter for Brattleborough the 27th day of December, 1753.

Pr THEODORE ATKINSON,
*Secty.*

Particular care was taken that the rights of the original grantees should not be infringed, but frauds were alleged, and several protests and contests arose until it was finally settled to the satisfaction of all.

With their utmost effort it proved impracticable for the grantees to fulfill the conditions of the charter in five years, that is, to settle, clear and cultivate five acres for every fifty in the township while they were being thrown into confusion by the Indian War.

In 1761 the Governor of New Hampshire was petitioned for an extension of the time required to confirm the grants and the petition was met by an amendment to the charter as follows:

PROVINCE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Geoorge the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France & Ireland, King Defender of the Faith &c.
To all whom these Presents shall come

Greeting:

Whereas our late Royall Grandfather King George the Second of Glorious Memory did of his Special grace and mere motion for the Encouragement of setting a New Plantation within our said Province of New Hampshire by his Letters Patent or Charter under the Seal of our said Province dated the 26th day Decemr 1753 & in the 27th year of his Majestys reign Grant a Tract of Land equal to five & ½ miles square Bounded as therein expressed to a Number of our Loyal Subjects whose Names are entered on the same to hold to them their Heirs or Assigns on the Conditions therein Declared to be a Town Corporate by the Name of Brattleborough as by reference to the said Charter may more fully appear.

And whereas the said Grantees have Represented that by the Intervention of an Indian War since making ye said Grant it has been Impracticable to comply with and fulfill the Conditions & humbly Supplicated us not to take Advantage of the Breach of said Conditions but to Lengthen out & Grant them some Reasonable time for Performance thereof after the said Impediment shall cease.

Now Know Ye that We being willing to Promote the end Proposed have of our Further Grace & Favour Suspended our Claim of the Forfeiture which the said Grantees may have Incurred & by these Presents do grant unto the said Grantees their Heirs & Assigns the Term of One Year for Performing & Fulfilling the Conditions Matters & Things by them to be done which Term is to be Renewed Annually untill our Plenary Instructions shall be Received Relating to the Incident that has Prevented a Compliance with the said Charter according to the Intent & meaning of the same.

In Testimony whereof we have Caused the Seal of our said Province to be hereunto affixed.

Witness Benning Wentworth Esq. our Governour and Commander in Chief of our Province aforesaid the 6th day of July in the Year of our Lord Christ 1761, and on the first Year of his Majesty's Reign.
By his Excellency's Command
with advice of Council.

THEODR. ATKINSON, *Secy.* B. WENTWORTH.

## CHAPTER III

## EARLY SETTLERS

Early Settlement—The Moors—Capture of Mrs. Moor—Colonel John Sargent—Deed of Sargent land—Thomas Sargent—John Arms—Arms Tavern—Samuel Wells—Roads—Division of lots—Gristmill at falls of Whetstone—Brattleboro in the Province of New York—Petition for holding lands under New York—Stephen Greenleaf, first store—Samuel Knight, first house in village—Matthew Martin—Samuel Elliot, Junior—Lieutenant Oliver Waters—Joshua Wilder—Benjamin Butterfield—William Harris of West Brattleboro—Jacob Spaulding—Jesse Frost—Daniel Whipple—First town meeting—Plan of town.

Though Brattleboro was chartered in 1753, except for the clearing of two hundred acres by Oliver Willard in 1752 around and under the protection of Fort Dummer, few attempts at settlements were made till the French war was ended in 1760. No highway was laid out till that year. Only the old Indian road[1] along the Great River gave indication that the country had ever been disturbed by the presence of human beings.

And yet many of the more adventuresome and enterprising men of New England had passed up and down the state from Massachusetts and Connecticut to the scene of hostilities on Lake George and Lake Champlain, and had thus formed some idea of its fertile soil and abundant water-power. The promise of safety given by the conquest of Canada served to stimulate a desire to emigrate to this attractive country, and settlements increased with rapidity after 1760—although for some years the land included in the present village of Brattleboro was covered with a dense forest of primeval pines.

"In 1757 Fairbank and Benjamin Moor came from Fort Dummer and blazed a trail over Cemetery Hill across where Main Street now is, back of where the Chase Street schoolhouse stands to the terrace above the Retreat farmhouse. They made a clearing and built a log house. They brought Mrs. Benjamin Moor and her three children. On the sixth of March, 1758, a party of Indians attacked the log house in which the Moor family were living. Surrounding the building, they burst in the door, killed with hatchets and scalped Captain Fairbank Moor, the father, and

[1] From Northfield to Fort Dummer, to West River, the Connecticut, Black River, two miles below the Great Falls, Otter Creek, Lake Champlain.

GREEN DRAGON INN, BOSTON

FALLS OF THE WHEATSTONE

ARMS TAVERN

John Arms

LOCATION OF OLD FERRY

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

Benjamin, the son, but not until one of their number had been slain and several wounded. Captain Fairbank Moor had been in Captain Elijah Williams's company in the Crown Point Expedition in 1755 and a soldier at Fort Dummer, where two of his children were captured. Two skeletons were found where the Retreat farm barns stand, about 1864. An old-fashioned lead musket ball was found in one of the skulls and a hole where the ball entered. It is possible that these were the remains of Fairbank Moor and his wife.

"Mrs. Moor,—Margaret, daughter of Captain John and Martha (Moor) Kathan of Fulham,—the wife of Benjamin, and mother of four children, the youngest of whom was but three or four weeks old, sprang from the bed and in her confusion hastily drew on three pairs of Captain Moor's long stockings, which were the means of preserving her life. Snatching up the baby and the child next in age, she endeavored to escape by a sled path, in which her husband had been drawing wood the day before. She had gone but a short distance when the Indians overtook her and brought her back. They then searched for portable provisions, and having found a quantity of beans, they mixed them with about twenty pounds of tallow and boiled them in it. This compound, being cooled, was put in sacks and served them for food on the road.

"Mrs. Moor was then provided with snowshoes, her babe committed to her own care, the house burned, and the party set out on their long march, the children being led or carried by the Indians. They reached Fort Ticonderoga in safety, on the tenth day after their departure, having crossed the Green Mountains in the most inclement season of the year. Thence Mrs. Moor and her children were taken to Montreal, where they remained in captivity until the year 1762, when they were all redeemed by Colonel Peter Schuyler for four hundred livres ($74) and returned to their friends. The youngest child had not been named when they were taken and was afterwards called Mary Captive."

Colonel John Sargent, son of Lieutenant John Sargent, who has been reputed to be the first white male born in Vermont[1] (Fort Dummer, December 4, 1732), was a brother-in-law of Mrs. Moor. He was the Sargent who had been sentinel in Captain Elijah Williams's company of Deerfield in the Crown Point Expedition, and later was in 1756 under Captain Nathan Willard at Fort Dummer. February 26, 1776, Brattleboro then being in the county of Cumberland, state of New York, he was commissioned a captain of the Brattleboro company in the First or Lower Regiment, and on August 18 of that year he was commissioned colonel of the same regiment. He married, December 10, 1760, Mary, daughter of Captain and Martha (Moor) Kathan.

[1] Timothy Dwight was born at Fort Dummer, May 27, 1726. (Hall.)

In 1762 Lieutenant Thomas Sargent, born also at Fort Dummer (February 23, 1734-5), and his brother, Colonel John Sargent, purchased a tract of four hundred and sixty-three acres in the West River district where many of his descendants have lived.[1]

THIS INDENTURE

Made the Twentieth Day of April in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy BETWEEN Samuel Wells of Brattleborough in the County of Cumberland and Province of New York Eq$^{r}$ of the first Part; And John Sergeant & Thomas. Both of said Brattleborough of the second Part, WITNESSETH; That the said Party of the first Part, for the Consideration of Two Hundred & Eighty Six Pounds Lawful Money of New York, already by him received, and from which he doth release and discharge the said Party of the second Part, and their Heirs and Assigns; HATH granted, bargained and sold, aliened, released and confirmed; And hereby DOTH grant, bargain and sell, alien, release and confirm, unto the said Party of the second Part (in their actual Possession now, being by Virtue of an Indenture of Bargain and Sale for a Year, dated Yesterday, and of the Statute for transferring Uses into Possession) and to their Heirs and Assigns for ever: ALL that Certain Tract or Parcel of land lying in Brattleborough aforesaid Containing Four Hundred and sixty three acres Bounded as follows (viz) Beginning at the North East Corner of the said Township of Brattleborough Joining on Connecticut River From thence West Ten Degrees North on the North Line of said Township three hundred and sixty six Rods— From thence South thirty Degrees West Two Hundred and fifty Eight Rods— thence South Fifty five Degrees East one Hundred and sixty Rods To said Connecticut River From thence up said River to the Place of Beginning.

The farm, comprising the meadow now owned by the Retreat, was first owned by Thomas Sargent, his house being on the meadow just east of Linden Lodge. West River was the name given to settlements along the river of that name. He had a second house on the Putney road at the foot of the hill beyond where George Sargent lived. Colonel Sargent built a large two-story, gambrel-roof house, which became a noted rendezvous for the neighborhood, and also for the entertainment of travelers

[1] Another tradition has come down in the Sargent family that John Sargent (father of Colonel John) and a brother James purchased the land between the West and Connecticut rivers to the Dummerston line, on what is now called West River. On account of the hostility of the Indians, it was not deemed prudent to build and occupy, so they, with their families, took refuge in Fort Dummer.

and officers of military posts up and down the river. This house was situated on the south side of the road leading to the Suspension Bridge, where the Henry Sargent farm is. He owned all the land from the Connecticut to West River, and was buried in the cemetery made on his property. This stone is at the head of the grave.

1162735

It was during the same year, 1762, of the settlement of Benjamin Moor and the Sargents along the West River, that John Arms, who became Major Arms, settled where the Retreat farmhouse stands. He established the first tavern there (the inn spoken of by Thompson in his "Rangers, or the Tory's Daughter") and kept it till his death from the kick of a horse, March 6, 1770, when he was sheriff of Cumberland County. He was also the first postmaster, and the first post office was at the Arms Tavern. His widow Susannah[1] maintained the tavern after his death and she was succeeded by her son Josiah.[2] The copy of the commission received by Major John Arms from Governor Sir Henry Moore, written on parchment, is in existence. (See p. 62.)

[1] Daughter of Colonel Josiah Willard.

[2] Born December 6, 1760; Representative to the Legislature, 1793-1796. He died 1803.

The character of Major Arms is expressed on his tombstone in the old burying ground on Meeting-House Hill:

In Memory of Majr. John Arms Esq.
Who Departed this Life
Mar. ye 6th 1770 in the 48th
Year of his age.

Beneath the sacred Honours of the Tomb,
In awful Silence and Majestic gloom,
The man of mercy here conceals his head,
Amidst the awful mansions of the Dead.
No more his liberal hand shall help the poor
Relieve Distress and scatter Joy no more.

Descendants of Major Arms to the fourth generation have been citizens of this town.

Samuel Wells[1] and Hannah (Sheldon) Wells, his wife, came from Deerfield to Brattleboro in 1762, and began a settlement in a log house west of Linden Lodge;[2] some ten years later, he built on his farm of six hundred acres what was the main part of the Lodge. Some of the original cupboards, shutters and wainscoting remain.[3] Here were born many of his family of thirteen children. "Judge Wells was a large man, above medium height, stern in bearing and countenance, but affable in manner. His dress was in the style of the landed gentry of the period, half military, half yeoman."

Samuel Wells was an active and consistent Tory throughout his life, and the chief military man in the southern part of the county. The persecution which befell other men of his allegiance was meted out to him in scant measure because of his recognized superiority of character and remarkable tact.

Three years after the peace of 1783 he died. A plain white stone in the old burying ground on Meeting-House Hill marks the spot where his mortal remains repose, and bears this inscription:

His friends, the stranger and the poor have lost
A kind companion and a generous host:
When he fell,—the statesman fell
And left the world his worth to tell.

In 1766 Obadiah Wells (born in 1716 in Southold, Long Island) and his son Henry (Doctor Henry) became patentees, with a number of others, of two of the tracts of land granted by Sir Henry Moore, governor of New York.

[1] For Samuel Wells, see p. 130. [2] See p. 434. [3] 1919.

The earliest road came from Fort Dummer up Venter's Brook, on which is the Chase Cascade, to where the old road to Guilford is, and then turned southwest. This was begun as a scout path to the fort at Colerain before there was any town of Guilford or of Brattleboro.

The first roads were hardly more than footpaths until they were widened enough, by cutting away the trees on either side, for an oxsled or cart to make its way; though it was long before all the stumps, roots and big stones were removed. The paths and roads were extended roughly from one settlement to another, here and there, as new emigrants came in and made new homes.

The passing of people on foot or horseback up and down the Connecticut, previous to 1762 and before wagons had come into use, made a track from the ferry opposite Hinsdale, now the Vernon line, by the Wood place over the (Cemetery) hill to a bridge across Whetstone Brook about where the present bridge stands. From this point it passed through the woods along near the front of the American House and farther east than Main Street now goes, around a low place opposite the Brooks Library, along the Linden Street line, past the Retreat and the Arms Tavern and where the Weld place is, across the West River by a ford, across the meadow and up the hill beyond, to where the present Dummerston road is and to the Dummerston line beyond—and was called the Great River Road.

As none of the original grantees of Brattleboro became settlers, the reservations of land were not appropriated for the purposes defined in the charter, with the exception of the land covered by the village, which was owned by Governor Benning Wentworth of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

The town was surveyed into lots for division among the proprietors, and a center line, which is often referred to for a boundary, was run parallel with the north and south lines through the town. This line passed through the cemetery on top of Meeting-House Hill, north of Centerville. At about the time of the renewal of the charter, John Arms and Samuel Wells obtained the right of many of the proprietors, whose lots were north of the center line, and of "Sampson's tract," probably the share of Sampson Willard between the center line and the "Governor's right." They deeded one thousand six hundred acres to Colonel Josiah Willard of Winchester, October 22, 1761.

Before 1765 one hundred and fifty townships had been granted by Governor Wentworth to purchasers who were influential citizens of the New England colonies. These lands were known as the New Hampshire Grants. Only about seventy families could be counted as inhabitants of the dozen townships that were situate on the Connecticut River. Most of the land in these towns was laid out without a surveyor's compass.

The "Town Measurers" had a measuring chain and a square to form angles. Their calculations were in general sufficiently accurate, if not exact.

The beginning of the village proper was the building of a gristmill—probably owned by Major John Arms—at the falls of Whetstone Brook (Wheatstone River, as it was laid down on a map in the old Indian Chronicle), just above the Main Street bridge, in 1762, by Governor Wentworth, to encourage settlers, nor does there seem to have been any other building on that tract till a sawmill was built at the same place in 1768, owned by Judge Wells. A receipt undoubtedly referring to the gristmill reads:

Bratt Dec 6, 1762.

Then received of Wilder Willard four pounds ten shillings sterling, in full for an axx that was damnified by bringing His Excellency the Governor's millstone.

Paid me, JOHN ARMS.

There was no miller to the mill, but settlers themselves could go and grind as they might have occasion. This mill was on the eight hundred acres reserved for the royal governor, "the governor's farm," which extended from the lower end of the depot yard nearly to the foot of Walnut Street (another account says "on the river on Mr. Bradley's land nearly opposite the east end of Keyes Lane") and along Whetstone Brook till it took in the Benson farm and most of the O. L. Miner tract—which now includes a great part of the East Village and Esteyville, all of Western Avenue and Centerville—the northwest corner being between two roads which divide south of Meeting-House Hill. It is to the water power of the Whetstone that the East Village owed its origin and its economic support for nearly a century.

On July 20, 1764, the boundary line between the provinces of New Hampshire and New York was fixed by the King in council at "the western bank of the Connecticut river where it enters the province of Massachusetts bay, as far north as the 45 degree of northern latitude" . . . "for the time being," and Brattleboro, with all the rest of what is now Vermont, became a part of the Province of New York. Then, supposing that titles to the lands must be acquired from the governor of that province, Samuel Wells and nineteen others procured from Sir Henry Moore, the governor, a grant of the township of Brattleboro,[1] after presenting this petition:

[1] Brattleboro, Putney, Westminster and Newfane were the only towns organized under the New York charters.

By his Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq.r Capt Genral Governor & Commr
in Chief in & over his Majestys Prov.e of New Hampshire

To either of the Ordaind Ministers of the Gospel in s.d Prov.e Except One Dronne

You are hereby Authorizd & Impowerd to join together in Holy Matrimony
Ebenezer Sibberry and Hannah Moor

Unless some Lawful Impediment appears to you to the Contrary

Given at Portsm.o the 26th Day of November 1766

B Wentworth

PETITION

To the Honorable Cadwallader Golden Esq Lieut Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Province of New Yorke & Territories depending thereon in America in Council October 9th, 1765—

The Petition of Samuel Wells in behalf of himself & twenty other Persons Humbly Shews—That there is a Tract of Land now Lying in Said Province of New York, known by ye Name of Brattleborough. Beginning at the Mouth of Venters Brook so called where it enters Connecticut River thence Running West 10 North to the South East Corner of Marlborough about Six Miles thence Five miles North 10 Degrees East by Marlborough aforesaid to a stake and stones in said Line thence East ten Degrees South to Connecticut River aforesaid thence down said River to ye Bounds forst mentioned where Venters Brook emptys into sd River on which said Tract of Land your Petitioner and Associates have settled themselves and have Improved a Considerable part of said Land in Consequence of Grant made of said Tract under the Seal of the Province of New Hampshire, but Finding by his Majestys order in Council of the twentieth Day of July 1764 that the Beforementioned Tract of Land is within the Province of New York, and your Petitioner and his Associates Being desirous of securing their Possessions Property and Improvements by Obtaining his Majesty's Grant under the Seal of this Province Your Petitioner therefore in behalf of himself and his Associates, Humbly Pray, that your Honors will be Favorable pleased to Grant to your Petitioners and his Associates Their Heirs and Assigns Forever The Tract of Land above described & Incorporated into a Town & Vested with the Privileges usually granted to other towns within the Province, as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

SAML. WELLS.

Associates: David Wells, Joseph Barnard, jun., Susanah Arms, Nathan Willard, Eliakim Arms, Remembrance Sheldon, John Arms, Daniel Arms, Joseph Smead, Hannah Wells, Wildar Willard, William Arms, Elijah Sheldon, Seth Catling, Joseph Barnard, David Hoit, Elisha Hinsdale, Saml. Taylor, Henry Wells, Amasa Sheldon.

Judge Wells deeded the southwest quarter of the town 5400 acres, which had few settlers, to William and Thomas Smith and Nicholas Stuyvesant, all of New York, the former its chief justice.

None of these were settlers except Samuel Wells, John Arms, Nathan Willard and Wildar Willard. In granting lands to private persons only one thousand acres to each were allowed, and twenty grantees were necessary.

The others deeded their shares and rights to Wells, and he became the sole owner of the New York title, which included all of Governor Wentworth's reservation except that on which he had made improvements (tradition says for five oxen),[1] and then in 1771 the Judge sold the whole eight hundred acres to Stephen Greenleaf. This tract, perhaps as valu-

[1] The governor's rights were, by the confirmation of the New York charter, given to those who should clear and cultivate the land.

able now as any single private grant in the state, is not holden by any connecting chain of titles which the courts of the state could uphold—but titles within the tract are held under that deed which became good by possession.

Stephen Greenleaf had come from Boston the year before (1770) and was living near the southwest corner of the fairground, on a part of the Richardson farm, probably at the ice pond. He opened a store in 1771 above and near where Union Block is. "The Tory's Daughter" speaks of it in 1775 as "resting on the Connecticut River" at the mouth of the Whetstone. He divided the tract into two parts, by a line running from

the east side of Crowell's Park near the north end of the reservoir, across Whipple, School and Elm streets to Central, which cut off two hundred acres towards the river, and included the saw- and gristmills and their privileges.

He paid one hundred pounds down, and was to pay two hundred pounds lawful money to New York on the first day of May in 1772, 1773 and 1774, and one hundred pounds lawful money of Massachusetts Bay "in good merchantable white pine boards at the cash price" on the twelfth day of August in 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776 and 1777; two thousand one hundred pounds in all.

In 1772 Samuel Knight,[1] who had lived northwest of Samuel Wells—where there is a cellar beyond the Kane Pine, on an old road to Newfane in the Retreat grounds—and had just been admitted to the bar of the New York court, bought twenty-six and three-fourths acres of the north end of this two hundred acres, which came down below Terrace Street and below Oak to the lower end of High, and built a house just north of the library and lived there. This was the first sizable house, and probably the first house, in what is now Brattleboro Village, and the only one between Stephen Greenleaf's (where the American Building is) and Major Arms's farm. Samuel Knight was the first lawyer in the town and was judge of the Supreme Court of Vermont, 1788-1795. He was an active Tory. The land where the railroad depot stands was used by Mr. Greenleaf for a goat pasture, where Flat Street now is for goats, and the rest of the land on which the village is situated, not crossed with a forest, was a cow pasture.

Mr. Greenleaf in 1772 built a new sawmill which was about where the factory in Centerville now is. The town was divided into highway districts soon after this, and the plan of these districts defines the position of the sawmill.[2] He was made justice of the peace by the governor of the province, April 14, 1772, and soon afterwards became known as Esquire Greenleaf. He had been an extensive merchant in Boston, importing goods from England, but came to Brattleboro, through some misfortune, heavily burdened by debt, and soon (August 7, 1773) mortgaged the west six hundred acres, on which the new sawmill stood, to Judge Wells, to secure the balance of unpaid purchase money for the whole, and a month later (September 28) the east two hundred acres, except what had been

[1] See p. 134.

[2] The line between districts Nos. 2 and 3 ran from the northeast corner of Guilford to Esquire Greenleaf's new sawmill, and thence to the center line by Ebenezer Fisher's, which was where Mr. Brown lived many years. This line must have run to Centerville, to include in No. 2 those who lived in that district, and a later deed shows the sawmill to have been at that place.

sold to Mr. Knight, to include "one grist and one saw mill standing on the premises on Whetstone Brook, with sundry small dwelling-houses" to Peter Johannot, distiller, to secure £173.83, lawful money of Massachusetts Bay, both of Boston, and payable one-fifth part in each year for five years. The land probably went on the mortgage, for Judge Wells was soon selling that in the west part and others that in the east part, and he not any of it.

Matthew Martin, formerly of Townshend (born 1737, died 1831), soon had the mills on the east part. The land he bought of Stephen Greenleaf he mortgaged back to secure £210 13s. 4d., and the mortgage was assigned to Samuel Elliot, Junior, of Boston, and in 1784 remained unpaid. A land tax of ten shillings on each acre was said to have been paid by Martin on his land to Richard Prouty, collector, and repaid to have land sold for the tax, which was done August 16, 1784. The mode of sale was for the bidder to say for how little land he would pay the tax and costs.

Lieutenant Oliver Waters, "gentleman," of Halifax was the lowest bidder for an acre and a quarter—which included the house where the American Building is, and the mills and land on both sides of the brook at its mouth. The tax amounted to £1 1s. 3d.

Mr. Elliot died and his widow applied to the Legislature for relief by extension of the time of redemption, or by declaring the sale void, setting forth these facts and that the principal value consisted in the mills and buildings, the soil of the land being but indifferent, and "that from the Idea she entertains of the Legislative Body of the State of Vermont she has the most unshaken confidence that they will not be less disposed to grant her relief because this request comes from a widow and a stranger, and on behalf of several helpless orphan children who without justice being done in this matter must be reduced to the most extreme penury." Her petition was referred to a committee, but no definite action appears to have been taken upon it.

When Governor Wentworth built his gristmill and Major Arms his tavern, the track that led up along where the buildings on the east side of Main Street are, through Linden Street, began to put on the semblance of a highway and to have a rapid extension towards the north, northeast and northwest.

Passing the Arms place the road led on north and west to the Wells place, where it opened into two, one of which turned to the right and east, down to West River and the ford, and led on past the several Sargents and Frenches towards Dummerston, the only road from Brattleboro in that direction till 1796;[1] while the other branch continued straight

[1] When the Putney road was built.

on westward, passing the Dunklee homestead, Oliver Carpenter's, Wicopee Hill and eventually the old meeting-house on Dummerston Hill, to Williamsville, Newfane Hill and thence to Chester, the shire town of Cumberland County when the state was under the rule of New York Province. Still another road struck out from near the Wells place, going first south of west, then west, passing near Samuel Knight's place, then Pastor Reeve's and Ebenezer Fisher's, and came in 1768 upon Meeting-House Hill from the north.

Joshua Wilder came from Westminster and settled at "Wilder Farm" in 1765. At one time this father, son, grandson and great-grandson resided on the same farm, cultivating it in common. They produced all they consumed, carrying on tanning and other mechanical labor in this connection. At the age of eighty-eight, Deacon Joshua built a covered wagon, a sort of prairie schooner, in which representatives of the four generations on Sunday mornings made their way to the church in Dummerston Center.

Benjamin Butterfield in 1766 settled where Doctor Bemis lived, taking up one hundred rods wide on the river, to extend back far enough to make one hundred acres, for which he paid £120. This land adjoined the farms of John and Thomas Sargent. He was a captain of New York militia, justice of the peace and a man of influence, being a firm supporter of the government. He was also called "Esquire Butterfield." Benjamin Butterfield, Junior, about 1772 built and lived in a house where there is a cellar in the northwest corner of the roads west of the Sargent cemetery, and probably kept a tavern at this place.

At this time there was an increase of settlers to the farming region around and beyond West Brattleboro. The beginning of this influx was the settlement of William Harris, who came from Holden, Massachusetts, in 1768 and settled at the southwest corner of his farm of one hundred acres, which extended south just west of the tavern and of Potato Lane. The land east and as far south as where the seminary buildings and the Meeting-House now are was surveyed out to Malachi Church, who had built a sawmill about where the shop is on Whetstone Brook. This land was conveyed to John Houghton, who afterwards lived there in front of the tavern and gave the land for the meeting-house.

Jacob Spaulding was just below Waite's corner in 1769 and Jesse Frost took up sixty-seven acres that year, the "Frost Farm," and lived on the east side of the Dummerston road next above Daniel Whipple's. There are a number of old deeds of this farm, one of them being given under King George of England in the year 1769 in "Brattleborough in the County of Cumberland and Province of New York," to Jesse Frost, and the grants provisioned for paying yearly, beginning with the date February 4,

1769, a peppercorn for the term of one year. Five shillings was the amount paid at the signing of the deed. From time to time more land was added; fifty acres in 1787.

When Daniel Whipple came in 1769 he purchased two hundred and twenty acres of land, the Bradley farm, just over West River. The house stood on the road after it turned beyond the Thomas houses to cross the river towards Judge Wells's. He was appointed sheriff of the county by commission from the colonial government of New York, April 17, 1770, in the place of John Arms, resigned, but was dismissed in 1772, having been accused by the judges presiding in the courts of his bailiwick of charging and receiving mileage fees, when by law he was entitled to none, of remissness and negligence in the execution of his office, of exacting exorbitant and unlawful fees, and of refusing to receive prisoners into custody who had been taken on execution. Conduct like this they declared to be "totally subversive of the authority of the civil magistracy" in the county and "highly prejudicial and displeasing to the well disposed inhabitants" therein residing. Letters of administration were taken out by his wife in May, 1775.

Brattleboro was the first town organized in Cumberland County, a town meeting being held on the first Tuesday of March, 1768, probably at the house of Doctor Henry Wells, agreeable to the time prefixed by the patent for annual town meetings,—when such officers were elected as were required for towns in the Province of New York.

John Arms was the moderator of that meeting; names of other officials were Doctor Henry Wells, Judge Samuel Wells and Captain Benjamin Butterfield. Naturally no ballot box would be provided for that meeting. The next meeting was holden in March, 1769, probably at the Meeting-House, which had been built the year before. A square ballot box made of cherry, now preserved in the Brooks Library, was doubtless used at the meeting in 1769.

The original plan of the town of Brattleboro, as granted by the Crown through his representatives of Cumberland County in the state of New York, dated June 25, 1766, is on file in Albany, New York, in the Colonial Manuscript Land Papers, 1766, Vol. XXI, p. 81.

In the town clerk's office in Brattleboro is on file a sketch of the plan, and attached to the sketch is a typewritten report in considerable detail giving boundary lines as follows: "548 chains west from where Venters brook enters the Connecticut river north 400 chains east 590 chains to the Connecticut river, thence following river to point of beginning." Reservations are made for church, minister and school-teacher, these reservations being in the northwestern corner and extending south. The southwestern part is blocked off into five ranges of fourteen lots each.

Each lot contains one hundred acres. The balance of the grant is marked "Samuel Wells and associates."

There is also on file the grant from the state of New Hampshire. There are no records available between June 25, 1766 (the date of the grant), and August, 1781. From August, 1781, to June, 1799, the records are very unsatisfactory, as no knowledge is to be obtained as to the location of the property conveyed. For instance: "June 24th 1785, Samuel Wells to Isabel Cook. A tract of land beginning at a stake and stones standing on the west line of lot formerly belonging to Thomas Cook and joining on the land of Doctor Dickerman, thence running north twenty degrees east, ten chains and fifteen links to a stake and stones." The other boundaries are of a similar nature.

In the absence of an unbroken chain of deeds from 1766, it would be impossible to get satisfactory data of transfers of land. There are some records quite clear in transferring the lots in the ranges. Instances are noted where clear titles would be lacking.

Lot 7. Range 2 September 15th 1783

Micah Townsend

On March 17th 1786. to Abner Scovell Jr.

Samuel Wells deeds one half of this same lot to Jonathan Stoddard.

This shows that the transfer of Abner Scovel, Junior, to some other party has not been recorded.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE SETTLEMENT ON MEETING-HOUSE HILL

Settlement on the Hill—General location—Meeting-House—Graveyard—Common—The Covenanters—Census—Customs of early settlers—Jonathan Dunklee, shoemaker—Ebenezer Fisher arrested for felling white pines—Mrs. Dunklee's adventure with wolves—Rutherford Hayes and wife Chloe—Hayes Tavern—Locations of settlers—Character of settlers.

According to the prevailing judgment of the earliest settlers, the town was built upon a high hill from which a survey of the surrounding country enabled them to guard against sudden attacks from the Indians.

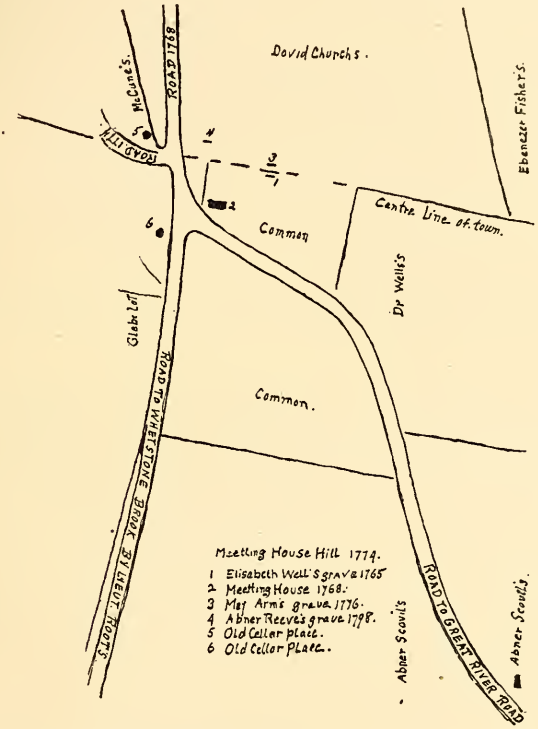
When the proprietors of the New Hampshire charter of Brattleboro had the town surveyed and divided into lots they made a plan of it, and on this plan five acres[1] were reserved for a common and a burying ground, and then, when the charter was annulled by the town's coming under the jurisdiction of New York, Judge Wells obtained a grant of it from that province; after which, July 30, 1774, he conveyed essentially the same five acres to the trustees of the town for essentially the same purposes. A law was passed in 1773 authorizing trustees of towns to take grants of lands for meeting-houses to stand upon.[2]

The following is a description of the land and the uses to be made of it, as given in the deed: "Commonly called and known by the name of Meeting House Hill, a part of which is used for a burying ground, bounded northerly by land belonging to David Church, westerly by a road or highway, until the same enters into another road, which last mentioned road runs through the hereby granted tract of land, and partly by lands now belonging to Abner Scovil, and easterly partly by part of the aforesaid road, which, turning its course, runs through the said hereby granted tract, and partly by lands belonging to Henry Wells; containing about six acres of land, be the same more or less; In trust, that in some convenient part or parts thereof on the north side of said road which passes through the said hereby granted tract, a building or buildings for the public worship of Almighty God be erected, and a con-

[1] Of the north end of lot 6 in the fifth range of fifty-acre lots.

[2] In the first settlements, house lots were built around the meeting-house, and the common or undivided lands served for pasturage of flocks and herds.

venient part or parts around said building or buildings be applied for the purpose of a burying place or places, the profits of the said burying place or places, and all that part of the hereby granted premises, which lies on the north side of the aforesaid road, is hereby declared to be given and granted to the use of such minister or ministers respectively for the time being, as shall officiate there, and the other part of the said hereby




granted premises, lying on the south side of the aforesaid road, which runs through the said hereby granted tract to be applied for the use of building thereon any other public building, which shall at any time hereafter be found necessary for the service of said township of Brattleborough, and for training and exercising the inhabitants in the use of arms or in other useful and entertaining exercise, and for any and every other public use or service of the said township, and for no other ends, intentions, meanings or purposes whatsoever."

The general location of the hill was probably selected by Colonel Josiah Willard of Winchester, New Hampshire, the commander at Fort Dummer, who was greatly interested in the town, and who reserved one lot as his personal property. He was a member of the Assembly of the Province of New Hampshire and possessed great influence among the inhabitants of the "Grants." He bought three shares of land in Fulham in 1754, and gave Mrs. Moor a deed of fifty acres of land which he owned in Brattleboro, dated February 16, 1763. This lot lies southwest of the cemetery on the hill north of Centerville, and a short distance westerly from the settlement where she was captured by the Indians. She was married to Moses Johnson of Putney, by the Reverend Bunker Gay of Hinsdale, January 26, 1764. They sold the land November 23, 1767, to Abner Scovel for £10 3d. in money, a note of £10, and another note of £1 6s. 8d. "to be left at Major John Arms'," who purchased, after the death of Captain Moor and his son, the farm on which they settled in 1757. She died October 18, 1779, aged forty-nine.

The lots not fixed by the charter were drawn by chance. The five acres reserved for a common and burying place included the southern part of the cemetery as it now is, and a part of the open level field south of the cemetery.

The precise location and date of building of the first Meeting-House has been a subject of discussion and some disagreement. The earliest town record is that of the annual town meeting on the first Tuesday in March, 1769, recording that "Israel Field was chosen Surveyor and overseer of the highways to inspect and oversee that the road from Nathaniel Church's to the Meeting House" among others, was kept in good repair. (Nathaniel Church lived on the west side of the river road where the Marsh building is.) This shows the Meeting-House to have been built before that time, and as it would not be built in the winter, it must have been built as early as the fall before, in 1768, especially as the winter of 1770 was known as the hard winter.

A road was laid, June 23, 1774, from the Meeting-House to Ebenezer Haws's[1] and according to the description of this road, the Meeting-House must have been on the common a little west of where the southwest corner of the cemetery now is, but no road led to the hill until the Meeting-House was in process of construction. For some time all the roads there were, were farther north. Nearly all the roads led to and from the

[1] "Beginning at the burying ground in the center line, from thence running with the center line on the south side of said line the north side of the meeting-house to William McCune's land. The center line was the north side of the common; and the road was on the south side of that line and the meeting-house was south of the road."

Meeting-House Hill, that place being in all respects the greater center of the town's life. The road up the hill northward did not go on the east side of the cemetery, but went westward across the common and then turned north and went west of the cemetery and down the hill to the road along West River. A road was built from the east near where the road goes part way up the hill, and then turned to the left on the common. Another was built from near the first bridge at West Brattleboro up to the west side of the common.

The Meeting-House was built by private enterprise, which at that time was a matter of no small account, the entire population of the town being so small—all the "grown men" numbering but seventy-five, and almost every one of them at his wit's end to know how and where to get the means to build his own house, extend his clearing, feed his pig, keep his cow and horse and support his family.

The house was framed, was longest east and west, and fronted south.

In the historical address given by Charles K. Field, Esquire, at the Brattleboro Centennial Celebration on the Fourth of July, 1876, he spoke of it as reputed to have been built of logs, like a blockhouse, in 1770. There may have been a blockhouse of logs, used for a time for public worship until another could be built. But there is no doubt that the first Meeting-House, as we know of it, was a framed building. When steps were taken for the building of a new house the town authorized the selling of the old one to Mr. Israel Smith, and some of the older inhabitants have said that it was taken down and moved a mile to the northward, to the Hapgood or Kittredge place, there set up and occupied for some years as a dwelling house and finally consumed by fire. It is also said that the porch of it was brought down to Elliot Street and used for some years by Samuel Elliot, Esquire, as a lawyer's office, and that this part of it is still extant in the ground story of the house at the east end of the West Village, just the other side of the covered bridge.

In those early days the laws of Vermont required every town to have a good pair of stocks, with a lock and key, sufficient to hold and secure such offenders as should be sentenced to sit therein, "to be set in the most public place; and in the same place, a signpost, on which all notifications, warrants, etc. for meetings, etc. shall be set up." At a meeting held September 14, 1781, the town, in compliance with this law of Vermont—

Voted to build a pair of stocks and a signpost.
Voted to sett the signpost near the meeting-house.
Voted to fitt the stocks into the signpost.

While digging to locate evidences of the foundation of the old structure, Ezra E. Fisher found the fire pit where the housewives of a century and a half ago replenished their footstoves while attending worship.

About fifty rods west of the cemetery may be found the old well where the church's men gathered and drank their noggin of rum between services on Sundays. In the near-by pasture may be found cellar holes of the houses of those who settled about the Meeting-House. The outlines of the old north road can easily be traced, though the old thoroughfare is overgrown with tall trees.

The English church's custom of keeping the dead in a graveyard close to the house of prayer was retained by the colonists for about forty years, and nine years previous to the granting of the deed a portion of the land on the hill had begun to be used for one of the purposes specified in the deed, when Elizabeth, a beloved daughter of Judge and Mrs. Hannah Wells, was buried there in 1765. When that little grave was made—probably the first in all that region—it was in the lone woods, amid primeval trees, the entire hill being then covered with one dense, unbroken forest. From that grave westward there was only a trail, a footpath, then a bridle path, and not until 1774 an open road full of stumps and stones, just passable for an oxcart or sled, the only vehicle they had in those days. And here it was that our earliest town fathers gave themselves, promptly, to the development of church and state.

A few feet west of the granite memorial with its tablet of bronze, in about the center of the cemetery, will be found the marble headstone of Colonel Wells, and beside his grave that of his daughter, who was the first white child born in Brattleboro. A short distance away is the grave of Thomas Sargent, who died August 6, 1786. Joseph Williams, "an eminent merchant in the town of Norwich, Connecticut," is buried in this cemetery. He died January 10, 1776. Four of his sons having joined the army of Washington, he broke up his household and mercantile establishment in Norwich, came to Brattleboro and lived in a small house "on the Connecticut River." Zipporah, his daughter, was married June 6, 1776, to Timothy Church. Near the center of the cemetery is the grave of Daniel Stearns, a Revolutionary soldier, who died in 1824.

The visitor cannot fail to be impressed with the inscriptions on many of the older stones. The Arms lot, where Major Arms was buried, contains a row of slate stones that show but little effect of the ravages of time and the dates and inscriptions are perfectly legible.

The stone above the grave of Timothy Whipple, who died November 24, 1796, aged seventy-two years, bears an inscription that doubtless refers to the affliction with which he died. The inscription reads:

Deliriums' state was worse than fate,
And vacancy of mind;
But real grace filled up the space
And left a hope behind.

The short life story of a seven-year-old, Silvanus Blodgett, son of Samuel and Mary Blodgett, is told in the pious training which the boy received, as testified to by the statement on his tiny tombstone. The inscription contains that olden hymn, "Hark, from the tombs a doleful sound," etc., to which is added the statement that the little fellow sang these lines the day before he died. The grave is overrun with rose bushes and a big pine tree casts a shadow over the place.

Facing the old north road is the Reeve lot, where were buried Reverend Abner Reeve, the first minister, his wife Phœbe, and son Obadiah. North of the site of the Meeting-House stands a granite marker bearing a bronze tablet in memory of Benjamin Hadley, descendant of George Hadley. He was born in Chelmsford, Massachusetts, in 1685, and died in 1776. The old stone erected to the memory of Mr. Hadley still stands, and near by is a tiny grave, quite likely one of the first to be made following the birth of the nation. It is a little mound with a slate stone, stating that beneath lies Joseph, the two-year-old son of Jesse and Joanna Frost. The child died September 11, 1776. So far as the inscriptions on the stones show, this was the first death in Brattleboro to follow the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776. Captain Oliver Cook and his wife Beulah are buried here, and the inscription upon the stone of Mrs. Cook testifies to the character of this woman of a hundred and fifty years ago. Moss has partly filled the cutting on the stone but there can be read these lines:

Calm were her passions;
Constant was her mind,
To her neighbors friendly;
To her consort kind.

(Thomas Cook, the blacksmith, lived on the road coming from the north, which became "the Doctor Dickerman place," now McVeigh's.)

Isaac Amsden, who operated a woolen mill on the Brook Road, is buried on the crest of the hill in this cemetery. Ebenezer and Bathsheba Fisher, who were great-grandparents of Ezra E. Fisher, are buried there also. Ebenezer Fisher came when there were but fourteen settlers and lived where the little brick house stands east of the old Meeting-House.

The old New England meeting-house was everywhere something more than a place of worship. Within its walls were gathered the social, intellectual and civil life of the community. This Meeting-House was in use

for town meetings as well as for public worship, being, as it was, the only public building in town for some years. Until 1772 business meetings were held in private houses, usually in the house of Doctor Henry Wells. In 1773 the March meeting for the town was called at the Meeting-House for the first time, and from this date to 1785 the house was in regular use, by both church and town, for business meetings. The land around it, save the cemetery on the north of it, was used as a public common and a field for training till 1785. Here the troops of General Stephen Bradley's brigade, mustered in 1784 to suppress opposition to the state of Vermont, camped over Sunday before proceeding to Guilford.

After building a meeting-house on the hill, when the people began a search and effort to obtain a suitable minister for the pulpit and other parish work, they formed themselves, in 1770, into a society called "the Covenanters," no less than seventy out of the seventy-five men of the town at that time giving in their names as severally agreeing, covenanting and promising to abide and stand by certain measures and articles for settling and maintaining a true gospel minister in town. This was an association of a twofold character, answering to what was, later, divided into the two distinct bodies of church and society, which was devoted to the transaction of business as well as religious interests. This agreement of Covenant was originally all the constitution there was of the Brattleboro (now West Brattleboro) church and society. The Covenanters were in fellowship with a similar association in Guilford.

At the time of which we speak, when the Meeting-House was built and a church formed, a census of the town put the number of "grown men" at seventy-five, and the entire population at four hundred and three: one hundred and two males (white) above sixteen and under sixty, seventy-nine females above sixteen. The following are the names of the men and the localities in which they lived at that time:

Josiah White, John White, Abijah White, Tilly Wilder, Tilly Wilder, Junior, Wildar Willard, Benjamin Nourse, Samuel Brown and Willard King, who lived south of where the village is; William King, who lived up the hill above the cider mill at Mr. Thayer's, was further west; John Sargent, Thomas Sargent, Benjamin Butterfield, Benjamin Butterfield, Junior, Jesse Frost, Jacob Spaulding, Joshua Wilder, Lemuel Kendrick, Benjamin Gold, Nathan Gold and Levi Baldwin above West River; Samuel Wells, Elias Wilder, Elias Wilder, Junior, Isaac Earheart, Joel Atchinson, John Arms, Josiah Arms, Joseph Herrick, Jonathan Herrick, William Nichols, Oliver Harris, Oliver Harris, Junior, Ephraim Knapp, Jonathan Church, William Ellis, Thomas Ellis, Samuel Knight, John Baldwin, Jonathan Hobs and Daniel Baldwin northwest of where the

Retreat is; Timothy Church, Nathaniel Church, David Church, William Cranny, Israel Field, Richard Prouty, Samuel Kent, William Goss, Ebenezer Knapp, John Pike and Jacob Pike in the neighborhood of Oscar Ware's; Doctor Henry Wells, Joshua Pardridge, Ebenezer Fisher, Alexander Youngs, John Campton, Jacob Ball, Shadrach Ball, William McCune, Isaac McCune and Elijah Prouty in the neighborhood east and north of the common where the Meeting-House was built; and a Mr. Burnap, Reuben Bump, Nathaniel Church, Eben Church, Jabez Davis, Edward King, Samuel Bennet, Thomas Cooke, Oliver Cooke, John Alexander, James Knapp, Jonas Knapp and Sawyer Wright northwest of there towards Wicopee Hill.

That no one among them had more than two names is to be noticed.

The men who made the first permanent settlements in New England were united by a common purpose and struggle for religious and political liberty; their conception of liberty had been incorporated into the life and customs of four generations before the coming of settlers to Brattleboro, whose motives for migration were almost as various as the individuality of the men themselves. They were from different colonies in which liberation from the authority of the old world had taken separate lines of advance, and they came bringing ideas, traits and habits developed by the conditions into which they were born. Hall says that part of the New Hampshire Grants now the state of Vermont was "the abode of a mixed and heterogenous population."

Indian fighters from Fort Dummer made the first clearings, choosing to wrestle with the forces of nature in the wilderness to which they had become wonted rather than return to the tamer life of Massachusetts Bay.

About this time resentment towards certain aristocratic tendencies of the government of that colony, an impulse for freedom from some exactions of the Puritan Code, and a belief that the most fertile land had been appropriated, gave an impetus towards removal to a near and open country.

Under the seal of New Hampshire, as later, from the government of the Province of New York there were sent, not a few, on some official mission,—but whether by authority of the Crown, patentee, surveyor, lawyer, innkeeper, adventurer, all farmed the land of which the greater number were purchasers—others were squatters, a "wild and rough lot."

### Customs of Early Settlers

Little, if anything, has come down to us, by writing or tradition, of the domestic life and social customs in the settlement on the hill.

It was a rude and laborious life for those whose part it was to clear the land, build houses and barns when beams and planks were felled and

turned by hand, care for live stock and make a living out of the soil. To produce a regular supply of food required continual exertion, although the land was productive enough after the first clearings were made. The entire food of a family was derived from the farm. In New England, Indian corn, rye, potatoes, peas and beans were planted first; flax, pumpkins, turnips and parsnips, later. Pork was the meat in general use. Fish and game were plentiful in season, and growing wild on the hillsides were blackberries, huckleberries and strawberries. In 1780 tradition says the settlers everywhere in Vermont suffered greatly for food.

The roads radiating from the hill that traverse the country in every direction, with the old stone walls and less frequently a stump fence, remain the only visible witness to the unceasing toil of the early settlers.

Besides the preparation of food, which was cooked in the huge fireplace which took up one side of the room,—the fire lighted by flint, steel and tinder, or by a bit of coal from a neighbor's hearth,—the material for clothing the men, as well as the women, and all household linen were made by hand in the home. The hum of the spinning wheel and the thud of the loom's beam were familiar sounds in every house. Girls spun and their mothers wove wool for winter wear, and flax into linen in checks, for gowns and aprons. Men wore tow cloth in summer and a dark gray homespun in winter. "Coloring" (dyeing) was done by the women from plants and trees about them in Nature's store. Leather was also made into garments, yellow buckskin being commonly used for men's breeches. Children generally went barefoot, and many women and men protected their feet with pieces of undressed leather for lack of boots and shoes. After a time shoemakers went from house to house once a year, when a stock of footwear was laid in for the family. There was a shoemaker very early who was also a prosperous farmer. In his old account book, Jonathan Dunklee makes a record of boots, shoes, and shoes for infants made by him and repairs on the same, also of pewter spoons made in sets of six or twelve. He owned a sleigh, renting it as he had the opportunity, and he paid a tax on a "four-wheeled vehicle called a waggon." Tallow candles and oil for the lamps and soap were of home manufacture.

There was little leisure, when the common conveniences of life were only in the making. Work and play, however, met in raising, logging, stone and husking bees, when necessity created a mutual dependence and combination of forces. Wherever stumps were to be pulled, stones lifted or piled, a house, barn, church or school raised, neighborly feeling turned to practical helpfulness. Raising bees were occasions for forming "Wrestling Rings," the victor being the "Bully of the Ring."

At the raising of the church in West Brattleboro in 1785, the Guilford boys were challenged by the Brattleboro boys for a wrestling match, twelve men to each side. In nothing was neighborliness more constantly shown than in the custom of watching with the sick—only friendly hands were laid on the dead.

As early as 1726 timber was being floated down the river. In 1733 a company of men in Connecticut had been formed for cutting and floating down the river white pine logs for the British Navy. They sent a ship-load of this timber from New London, and had then "in the woods, near 70 miles above Fort Dummer a considerable number of men cutting and preparing another ship load, and had expended 1200 pounds."

By the assertion of royal authority lands were to revert to the King when those who held them were guilty of cutting pine trees without a license, but the lands were granted upon condition that three acres for every fifty granted should be cultivated within three years of the grant, and the settler could not cultivate without cutting down trees in which he was in danger of persecution and fines. Ebenezer Fisher of Brattleboro was arrested for felling white pines, when he swore that the trees had been dead before he had taken up the land.

The difficulties which they were compelled to encounter called forth special energies of mind and body. Women matched the courage and endurance of the men. Mrs. Dunklee, wife of Jonathan, who was one of the earliest settlers, on Road 4, while on a horseback journey to the western part of the town, was chased by wolves, and only escaped by climbing the branches of a tree, when the horse made his way home and brought the family to her rescue.

The first Rutherford Hayes must have come from New Haven, Connecticut, about 1778, when he was just of age. He was a blacksmith by trade. The few settlers, wishing such a workman to locate among them, made a bee, shoveled away the deep snow, helped to build a shop, and in less than a month he was using his tools. This was in what is now the West Village. He also kept a tavern, combining this with farming. It is related of his wife Chloe, daughter of Israel Smith, that on a special occasion she waited on guests at a country ball in the tavern all night, and started with her husband in the morning on horseback for Bainbridge, New York. The journey was two hundred miles or more, and she returned in her usual health and strength.

The sign of the old tavern is in existence at the very house to which it once attracted the traveler. It reads:

R. Hayes
Entertainment

and underneath is a gorgeous painting of a jockey in yellow smallclothes and black top-boots, holding a spirited steed. The remains of earlier decorations are to be seen, with the dates of 1776 and 1791.

The interest in religion and the meetings which were its characteristic, where there were no amusements to divert the thoughts of men, was a bond most effective in drawing all together into a real community of feeling. Judge Wells, from his estate three miles distant; Deacon Wilder, from across West River by way of the ford; Esquire Warriner, from an opposite direction; and from the nearer distances some on horseback, women and children on pillions behind the men, and women, in the absence of any fire, carrying the footstoves, others in oxcarts, which were used for families as well as for hauling loads,—all came to the Meeting-House on the hill.

The noon respite from the long sermon of the morning, which was the event of the week, gave an hour for friendly visiting, when gossip, social and political, brightened the countenances of our forefathers, and at the end of the afternoon session they wended their way back, singly or in groups, to their simple homes. It was a New England custom with regard to Sunday, that it began at sunset on Saturday. If there were those who were not fully in accord with a strict Sabbath observance, they were held in the leash of the Connecticut law-book, the law for "keeping the first day of the week, as the Sabbath or Lord's day," being, "whoever should be guilty of any rude, profane, or unlawful conduct on the Lords-days, in words or action, by clamorous discourse, shouting, halloeing, screaming, running, riding, dancing, jumping" was to be fined forty shillings for each offense and "whipped on the naked back, not exceeding ten stripes, nor less than five."

They were for the most part a sturdy but uncultivated race of men, pioneers in spirit as they were in the realm of nature, who migrated from other parts of New England not so much for material advantage as from a desire to be allowed a larger liberty in all that concerned the life of the time. And whether it was in the development of the town meeting, in defense of their rights against oppression from powers beyond their borders or as founders of religious and educational institutions, the history of Brattleboro in the first period is remarkable for its variety of strong and independent characters.

Among the leaders were also men of the finest inheritance, graduates of colleges, whose ability and attainment might have filled places of distinction in the larger world. Such were Doctor Henry Wells, Brattleboro's first physician; Reverend Abner Reeve, the pastor of the first Meeting-House; Judge Samuel Wells and his sons-in-law, Samuel Gale, Judge Samuel Knight and Micah Townsend, and the Reverend William Wells,

first pastor of the Church on the Common. (It is to be noted that the name Wells has always been a name to conjure with in Brattleboro.) Their biographers like to dwell on their culture and their gracious and finished manners, yet the common tasks must have called out an impulse for association and for mutual respect, a recognition of individual values as well as of class consciousness. "Mr.," "Esquire," "Gentleman," were titles of dignity—and the dress which came with them from ancestral lands comported with their social importance. "Gentlemen" wore cloth coats with high collars; more or less silk with embroidered waistcoats for full dress; knee breeches and stockings; full ruffles at the shirt front; hair craped, curled and powdered when wigs were not worn. The dress for ladies was elaborate and costly. The hair was dressed over a silk cushion stuffed with wool, necessitating a calash of silk, ribbed and bulging in the wind, that swayed and bobbed as the lady moved. Reverend William Wells was the first gentleman of the town, the heaviest taxpayer, and the only man who owned a gold watch.

The first house of any size or claim to substantiality was that of Doctor Henry Wells, of which a description is in existence. (See p. 266.)

The house of Judge Samuel Wells conformed in essentials to the colonial pattern, square with a chimney of huge dimensions in the center, four large, square rooms on each floor opening off a large entrance hall—solid beams across the ceilings, floors of heavy planks, wainscoting of wood, closets and cupboards made by hand. Big fireplaces with the ever present backlog afforded the only means of warmth. Houses of this kind were lighted from outside by windows made up of many small panes of glass.

The minister was a little apart in dress, manners and speech, and was looked to and respected as a leader not only in religion, but in intellectual and political thinking. When the minister entered, the congregation would rise and stand, while their pastor walked slowly up the aisle to the steps that led to the pulpit. The ministers appeared at every important crisis in civil affairs, and the influence of the church organization can hardly be overestimated. The kind of men and women able to found a community were those who thought most of the meeting, and they aimed at a civil society which should be in harmony with the methods and spirit of the church. The ministry of the church in Brattleboro was in the possession of men of large human attributes, which could not be stifled by a Puritanic system of opinions. Having found within the orthodox creed room for spiritual growth, their minds and hearts were in accord, and their social development, genial and kindly, tended to elevate the tone of the people to whom they gave themselves in Christian service.

## CHAPTER V

## BRATTLEBORO UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF NEW YORK

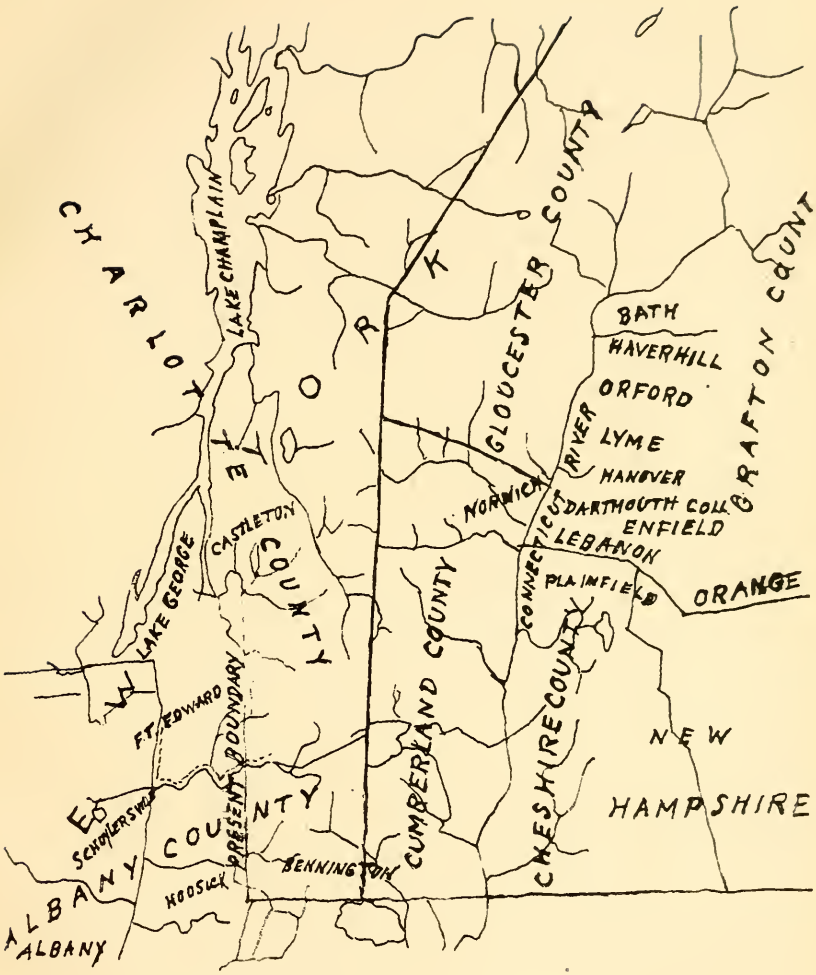
Brattleboro under the Jurisdiction of New York—West bank of Connecticut River proclaimed the boundary between New Hampshire and New York—Albany County—Cumberland County—Warrant for Charter of Brattleboro as part of Cumberland County in Province of New York—Brattleboro organized first town in county—Samuel Wells appointed Judge of Court of Common Pleas—Committees of remonstrance against maladministration of Courts.

When Charles II gave the province of New York to his brother James in 1664, its area included "all the land from the west side of Connecticut river to the east of Delaware Bay," which grant confirmed later had never been set aside; consequently the grants made by Governor Benning Wentworth were without authority, "null and void."

Encroachments on the territory by Massachusetts and Connecticut had been temporarily adjusted, but beginning with 1750, Governor Benning Wentworth made grants of land west of the Connecticut River, north of the Massachusetts line, and by the end of the French War, had divided the New Hampshire Grants into townships which were distributed among his favorites and followers, many of them being men of little capacity or character.

On the twenty-eighth of December, 1763, a proclamation issued by Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden of New York declared the Connecticut River to be the eastern boundary of that province, and commanded "all judges, justices and other civil officers holding commissions under New York to exercise jurisdiction in their respective functions as far as the banks of the Connecticut river," and he furthermore enjoined the sheriff of Albany County to secure and return to him the names of all persons "who under the Grants of the government of New Hampshire" held lands west of the Connecticut River, that they might "be proceeded against according to law."

Titles to the land were the first concern of the settlers, who having in all sincerity paid for them, and raised companies of militia to protect them, refused to be dispossessed of their rights—although as they declared in a petition for a fair decision of their claims they "were unacquainted with the laws of the province (of New York) and the modes of dispensing justice therein." Governor Wentworth published a counter-proclama-




FIRST POLITICAL DIVISION OF VERMONT

tion on the thirteenth of March, 1764, asserting the rights of New Hampshire.

The case was laid before the King, but his declaration was open to verbal misconstruction, and thus further contention with fresh arguments continued for ten years to retard the progress of civilization in the disputed territory.

The royal governor of the Province of New York resided in the city of New York, and the government was located there. When the boundary between this province and that of New Hampshire was fixed, July 20, 1764, at the west bank of the Connecticut River, what is now Vermont became a part of Albany County, the shire of which was at Albany. Not only jurisdiction, but the right of making void all that had already been done by New Hampshire was argued as their right. There was no money in circulation and knowing that men had no way of paying debts, they took their land by execution and sold it.

Twenty-one additional justices of the peace were appointed for the administration of the laws within the county of Albany, of whom Samuel Wells and John Arms appointed January 20, 1766, lived in Brattleboro. They were allowed to hold a court for the trial of cases to the value of five pounds and under. Holding office by appointment, many of these officials kept themselves aloof from the interests of the people and their decisions were often influenced by their own predispositions. It was with the New York government and, in the main, with the inferior officials that the contention of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants increased in intensity, for the King in 1767 forbade the New York authorities to molest any person who could produce a valid deed for land under the Province of New Hampshire. Ejectments attended by violence, on the refusal to obtain deeds for land under the jurisdiction of New York were attempted on the western side of the mountains which roused men to action for protection and defense and the formation of the regiment of Green Mountain Boys. The sheriff of Albany County could with difficulty act in the northern part of his bailiwick or convey prisoners across the mountain to the jail at Albany without an armed guard. Besought by the people for a divided county, the governor and council of New York proposed a plan for turning what is now Windham and Windsor counties into a new county, named Cumberland,[1] July 3, 1766, with a shire at

[1] In the laws of Vermont passed October, 1780, Cumberland County was referred to as being divided into the half-shires of Cumberland and Gloucester, the line between them being about where the northern boundary of Windsor County now is. February, 1781, the County of Cumberland as established in 1778 or 1779 was subdivided into the counties of Windham, Windsor and Orange. (Some changes in boundary since.)

Chester. The act was laid before the King for his "royal approbation or disallowance," and he declared it "void and of non effect." The "royal will" afterwards became favorable to such a county and the governor was advised, February 10, 1768, to have an ordinance prepared for it, which was completed March 19 following, and Judge Wells was appointed one of the judges of the court of common pleas, and John Arms the sheriff. Brattleboro was organized in the meantime, the first town in the county. The county was named from Prince William, Duke of Cumberland, who in 1746 met with distinguished success in opposing the rebels in Scotland. It was bounded on the south by the north line of Massachusetts, on the east by the Connecticut River, on the north by the south line of the Province of Quebec.

## WARRANT FOR THE CHARTER OF BRATTLEBORO AS PART OF THE COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND, PROVINCE OF NEW YORK

By his Excellency Sir Henry Moore Baronet, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of New York, and the Territories depending thereon in America, Chancellor and Vice Admiral of the same—

To John Tabor Kempe Esquire, his Majesty's Attorney General for the Province of New York Greeting:

You are hereby directed and required to prepare a Draft of Letters Patent to Samuel Wells, John Arms, Seth Catling, David Wells, Daniel Arms, Joseph Barnard, Joseph Barnard, Junior, Joseph Smead, David Hoit, Susannah Arms, Hannah Wells, Elisha Hinsdale, Nathan Willard, Wilder Willard, Samuel Taylor, Eliakim Arms, William Arms, Henry Wells, Remembrance Shelden, Elijah Shelden, and Amasa Shelden, for all that certain Tract or Parcel of Land situate lying and being in the County of Cumberland within the Province of New York, on the West side of the Connecticut River, called and known by the name of Brattleborough, containing Nineteen thousand five hundred acres; and being further Bounded and described as by the Certificate of the Commissioners appointed for the setting out of all Lands to be Granted within the Province, bearing date the sixteenth day of July Instant (a copy whereof is hereunto annexed) may more fully appear; under such Quit Rent, Provisoes, Limitations and Restrictions as are directed and appointed by his Majesty's Instructions; with proper Clauses erecting the said Lands into a Township by the Name of Brattleboro, with such Powers and Privileges as the Inhabitants of other Townships in this Province have and do Enjoy and granting such Shares of the Premises and for such uses as are particularly expressed in the Certificate aforesaid, and for so doing this share be your Warrant.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms—at Fort George in the City of New York—the Seventeenth day of July, One thousand seven hundred and Sixty-six.

H. Moore.

By his Excellency's Command,
Geo. Banyar, D. Secy.

William Smith, chief-justice of New York, had a New York title to a large part of the southeast quarter of Brattleboro.

Committees were appointed representative of the settlers who met in convention to devise means of remonstrance when maladministration of justice became almost unbearable; petitions were sent to the government of New York praying for such laws as would tend to improve the mode of administering justice, protesting against the "great expense and heavy burdens" imposed on the county by additional courts established whereby lawsuits increased. Charges were multiplied and families nearly beggared, and, among other hardships, was the calling from their business of more than seventy farmers at each of the quarterly sessions of court to act as jurors. Furthermore, the court and public elections held at Albany were one hundred and fifty miles distant, and the difficulty and expense of getting there an added burden to the settlers.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE MILITIA

Militia—Six hundred men capable of bearing arms in 1766, between Connecticut River and Green Mountains—Commission of John Arms—Militia Companies, Brattleboro: The Floodwood, Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery—June Training—Indian alarm at Putney West Hill—Officers Brattleboro companies.

In 1766 at the request of Sir Henry Moore, governor of New York, measures were taken to ascertain the number of men between Connecticut River and the Green Mountains capable of bearing arms. According to the report of Thomas Chandler, presented on the twentieth of January, there were in the southern portion of that district about six hundred men,[1] and in the northern portion about one-half that number, answering to this description. A proposition was then made, that two regiments should be formed, and that the command of the southern one should be assigned to Thomas Chandler, and military companies were formed in several towns. John Arms received his commission as major in that regiment.

Copy of the commission of Major John Armes, 1766.

By his Excellency, Sir Henry Moore, Baronet, Captain-General and General-in-chief in and over the Province of New York and the Territories depending thereon in America, Chancellor and Vice Admiral of the same,

To John Armes, Esquire, Greeting!

[1] In a letter from Sir Henry Moore, to the Earl of Shelburn, dated "Fort George, New York, 9th June, 1767," are these words: "I afterwards issued out Commissions for forming a Militia in those parts, and in some months afterwards a return was made to me of the Regiment formed there, which amounted to upwards of six hundred men. I could not help expressing much satisfaction at seeing so large a Return, and expected to find that the number of families was in proportion to it, but the Officer who made it, would not impose on me, and told me in a very ingenious manner, that a great number of Families concerned in those Lands, resided either in New England, New Hampshire, or Connecticut, and had never been upon them; that some of the most active young People out of each family were sent there to begin the Settlements, many of whom at the close of the summer returned to their Homes, while others more industrious, continued there in the Winter that by forwarding their improvements, they might more readily pave the way for those who did not choose to encounter all the difficultys of a New Settlement, but would rather wait till some improvements were made before they removed."

Reposing special Trust and confidence as well in the Care, Diligence and circumspection, as in the Loyalty, Courage and Braveness of you to do his Majesty good and faithful service, I have nominated, constituted and appointed you, the said John Armes, to be Major of the Regiment Foot in the said Province, whereof Thos. Chandler, Esquire is Colonel. You are, therefore, to take the said Regiment into your Charge and Care as Major thereof, and duly to Exercise both the Officers and Soldiers of that Regiment in Arms. And as they are hereby commanded to obey you as their Major, so are you likewise to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from Time to Time as you shall receive from me or any other your Superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you, and for so Doing this shall be your commission.

Given under my Hand and Seal at arms in New York, the Twentieth day of Janna'y in the sixth year of his Majestys Reign, Annoque Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty Six.

H. Moore.

By His Excellencys Command.

John French.

Early in 1775 a project was under consideration by the New York Provincial Congress of creating two regiments in Cumberland County, one of which was to be called the lower regiment, and the other the upper regiment.

On the twenty-second of August, 1775, it was voted that the militia of the counties of Charlotte, Cumberland and Gloucester should be formed into one brigade. On the twenty-first of November following, the field officers for the lower and upper regiments, and for a regiment of minutemen, were nominated at a convention of representatives from the towns in Cumberland County, held at Westminster. On the fourth of January, 1776, during the recess of the New York Provincial Congress, the committee of safety for that colony confirmed the nominations of the officers for the upper regiment and the regiment of minutemen, but refused to act upon the nominations of the officers of the lower regiment, on account of the political character of some of those whose names were presented.

On the sixth of February, 1776, in a letter dated at Guilford, Benjamin Carpenter, chairman of the committee of safety for Cumberland County, communicated to the New York Provincial Congress a list of militia officers, chosen in the different towns comprised in the lower regiment. From Brattleboro were John Sergeant, Captain; Oliver Cooke, First Lieutenant; Timothy Church, Second Lieutenant; John Alexander, Ensign.

This warrant was found by Mr. Zenas Frost among old papers of his grandfather, of which the following is a copy:

To Corporal Jesse Frost

(L. S.) In His Majestys Name you are hereby commanded to Warn all the Soldiers herein Named to appear on Tuesday ye thurteenth day of November next at Nine of the clock Before Noon at the house of the Widow Susanna Arms, compleat with Arms and Aminition as ye Law Directs in Order for Vewing hearof fail not at ye Pearel of ye Law and make Due Return of your Doings to me

Given under my hand and Seal at Arms in Brattleborough this eigth Day of October 1770 in ye tenth year of his Majestys Reign.

Benja. Butterfield, Capt.

Notify ye Sargents

John Ellis, Nath'el french, Jr. Benja Butterfield, jur. Phillip Paddleford, Oliver Wells, Thomas Sergeants, Josiah Armes, Jon't Wells, Wm. Rice.

In the records of the New York Provincial Congress, at New York, under date: "Die Veneris, 9 ho., A. M. July 21, 1775," is this entry:

A letter from Elisha Benedict was read and filed and is in the words following, to wit:

ALBANY, July 14, 1775.

Sir, According to your instructions I went into Cumberland County to deliver a copy to the Lieutenant, Samuel Fletcher, who was appointed the First Lieutenant, and is with the army at Cambridge. I took the advice of the leading men there and they nominated William McCune[1] in his place, and he is enlisting of men. Alexander Brink the second Lieutenant lives in the upper part of the County. I sent a man with his instructions. I have enlisted forty men, and if I had the money to pay the men a small matter my company would be full in two or three days' time.

I am your humble servant

Elisha Benedict.

To P. V. B. Livingston, Esq.

President New York Provincial Congress N. B. I should be glad if Mr. McCune might be the First Lieutenant in place of Mr. Fletcher.

The first company here was the "Floodwood." Each member was obliged to furnish his own long-barreled musket, bullet pouch and powder-horn and other equipment. They were without uniforms, the only similarity

[1] Of Brattleboro.

in dress being that they all wore short breeches in homespun, with deerskin jackets and long stockings. The lack of military effect was the reason for the name given to them by the uniformed companies. Benjamin Butterfield was the first captain. "The Brattleborough Light Infantry," "Brattleborough Artillery" and part of a cavalry company came later.

The infantry and cavalry were volunteer companies, and prided themselves on their exceedingly martial uniforms. The infantry wore a blue coat trimmed with yellow, adorned by large eagle buttons, white vest, leather stock, white drill pants, gaiters or boots, leather helmet with high tin crest from which waved a long, red horsehair, while from a cockade on the left stood very erect a tall red feathered plume with white top. No drill or parade was complete without the provision of pails of whiskey dealt out unsparingly. Captain Benjamin Smead, editor of *The Federal Galaxy,* was their commander in 1797.

The Brattleborough Artillery came into existence soon after the infantry, and Jacob Stoddard was the first captain. Their uniform consisted of "long, black, swallow-tail coats, profusely covered with brass buttons of the size and shape of a large musket-ball,—tall, bell-shaped, black leather caps, mounted by long waving black plumes, which gave this company such a solemn, funeral air when in parade that they might be taken for undertakers of the regiment."

June trainings on the first Tuesday in June, when every company was inspected, continued to be held on the Common of Meeting-House Hill for years after the hill was deserted, when patriotism was enlivened by a flowing accompaniment of New England flip or toddy. In the late autumn, when the crops were gathered, companies from neighboring towns joined for a general muster and for sham battles. Sometimes Indian warfare was feigned, a band of men representing Indians making the attack.

To the music of bass drum, bugle and clarionet, resounding from one hill after another, the troops marched and countermarched in their striking uniforms, and stirred further the enthusiasm of the people who participated as onlookers, by firing blank cartridges in rapid succession. The climax was reached when the cavalry dashed in, their red coats, blue pants and helmets trimmed with bearskin, as were their holsters, adding a higher note of color, while the movement of horses and flashing of long sabres—which with braces of mounted pistols comprised their arms—combined to furnish a spirited military spectacle.

In fulfilling a citizen's duty, every man who participated in these military efforts derived an enjoyment which tended to stimulate his otherwise monotonous life and to promote patriotic feeling.

Still exposed to the inroads of the Indians, some of the inhabitants of the more distant sections of Albany County, and many of the inhabitants

of Tryon, Charlotte, Gloucester, Cumberland, Ulster and Orange counties, moved into the interior. To prevent these removals, and to afford protection against the savages, a Convention resolved, on the twenty-third of July, 1776, to raise ranging parties in the above-named counties, to scour the woods and expel the Indians who infested them. Cumberland and Gloucester were ordered to raise, together, two hundred and fifty-two men, "for the joint defence of both counties." This force was to be divided into four companies, and each company was to consist of one captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals and fifty-four privates. The commissioned officers were to be nominated by the mutual consent of the committees of both counties, and it was recommended that they should be "persons of sober and active dispositions." The command of the companies was vested in a major, to be appointed by the Convention. This officer was required to "march to the relief of any of the neighboring counties or states, upon a mutual application from the county committees of such respective counties or states, or upon an application from the continental officer commanding in the northern department." A provision was, however, inserted, by which the continental officer was not permitted to order the companies beyond the limits of the counties of Cumberland, Gloucester and Charlotte. The pay of the officers and privates was the same as that of the continental troops. A bounty of $25 was allowed to each non-commissioned officer and private "upon his passing muster."[1] In lieu of rations, a certain sum was paid, weekly, in the following ratio: to each captain, 16s.; to each lieutenant, 14s.; and to each non-commissioned officer and private, 10s.

By a law enacted at the fourth session of the General Assembly of Vermont in February, 1779, all male persons between the ages of sixteen and fifty were required to "bear arms, and duly attend all musters and military exercises" of the companies to which they belonged, with the exception of "ministers of the gospel; councillors; justices of the peace; the secretary (of state); judges of probate and of superior and inferior courts; the president, tutors, and students at collegiate schools; masters of arts; allowed physicians and surgeons; representatives or deputies for the time being; schoolmasters; attornies-at-law; one miller to each grist-mill; sheriffs and constables for the time being; constant jurymen; tanners, who make it their constant business; and lamed persons or others disabled in body." Each soldier and householder was required to be always pro-

[1] By a subsequent resolution, one-half of this sum was to be paid "to every able bodied man" who should pass muster; the other half as soon as "the first muster roll of every company" should be received by the Convention. For the payment of the first half of the bounty, the sum of £1200 was advanced to the deputies of Cumberland County.—*Journal New York Prov. Cong.*, i, 539, 640.

vided with, and to have in constant readiness, "a well fixed firelock, the barrel not less than three feet and a half long, or other good fire-arms, to the satisfaction of the commissioned officers of the company to which he doth belong, or in the limits of which he dwells; a good sword, cutlass, tomahawk, or bayonet; a worm and priming-wire fit for each gun; a cartouch-box or powder-horn, and bullet-pouch; one pound of good powder; four pounds of bullets fit for his gun; and six good flints."

The militia of Cumberland County formed a brigade, subsequently divided by the Legislature of New York into the northern regiment and the southern regiment. The officers of the southern regiment, who received their commissions from the Council of Appointment of that state, August 18, 1778, were, in Brattleboro, Timothy Church, Captain; James Blakslee, First Lieutenant; Jonathan Church, Second Lieutenant; Samuel Root, Ensign.

In 1780 individuals of a party surveying in Brookline were observed by some sportsmen hunting on Putney West Hill. One of the latter, who had practiced imitating the Indian war whoop, took it into his head to surprise the surveyors with an exhibition of his accomplishments in that line. In addition to the whoop, he repeated again and again the shrieks of the savage. The surveyors ran precipitately, giving the alarm, "The Indians are coming!" The panic was increased by farmers in Newfane who were burning brushwood and old logs, the flames looming up as the darkness fell, until the inhabitants far and near were convinced that the neighboring houses and barns were burning. They fled from all directions towards Brattleboro and Fort Dummer. "The cattle were left, dwellings deserted, teams left harnessed in the fields, food being cooked left at the hearthstones." The report was spread that "every log-house in the pleasant vales and upon the heights of Newfane" and Athens had been destroyed. The people from Athens added to their numbers on the journey until, on reaching Putney, they amounted to between two and three hundred.

From Dummerston the alarm reached Colonel Sargent of Brattleboro, who gave notice to Mr. Stockwell of Marlboro to call in the town militia. Companies from Westminster, Brattleboro and Marlboro were soon on the way, and companies from Halifax and Colrain assembled in Brattleboro. A severe snowstorm coming on checked the flight of the people, and the soldiers became satisfied that even the Indians could not extend their ravages, and forthwith returned home.

But there was a mighty spirit for the event that required it, and feeling mounted higher and higher, as the encroachments of the British were to be reckoned with. Besides general disturbances arising from disaffection

with the mother country, fostered by a growing feeling of independence, there were suspicions that the court sitting at Westminster would give decisions against titles to land claims.

General Burgoyne, in a letter to the minister of war, spoke of the New Hampshire Grants as "a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war" (the French War of 1756-1763) "now abounds in the most active and rebellious race of the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm upon my left."

The act of the government of New York in making Cumberland County, and the assumption of increasing authority, tended to add to the uncertainty of the settlers as to where their allegiance belonged. Meeting-House Hill was in the line of conflict between the opposing forces.[1]

On the fifth of June and the twenty-fourth of July, 1782, were chosen officers of the southern regiment: Timothy Church, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant; Elisha Pierce, Quartermaster.

On the twenty-fourth of July, 1782, the officers chosen to the command of the companies in the southern regiment were: for the South Company, in Brattleboro, Artemas How, Captain; Reuben Church, First Lieutenant; Isaac Crosby, Second Lieutenant; Rutherford Hayes, Ensign. In the North Company were, Richard Prouty, Captain; John Alexander, First Lieutenant; Francis Prouty, Second Lieutenant; Jonathan Alexander, Ensign.

[1] General Stark, on his way from Manchester, New Hampshire, to the Battle of Bennington, crossed the Connecticut River above the mouth of West River. Amos Thomas, who lived on the east side of the river, rowed him across in a little old dugout or canoe.

## CHAPTER VII

## FIRST CHURCH IN BRATTLEBORO

First Church, 1768-1770—Reverend Abner Reeve, first pastor—The Covenant—Glebe—Pastorates of Reverend William Wells and Reverend Caleb Burge—Biographical sketch of Reverend William Wells—Poem by Chief Justice Royall Tyler—Captain Ebenezer Wells—Other children and descendants.

The following ancient papers relate to the earliest religious history of the town.

Brattleborough April 18 1769.

At a meeting of the subscribers of the agreement, relating to the settling of a Minister, on Tuesday the 18th day of April, 1769, regularly warned at one o'clock in the afternoon, after choosing John Arms, Esq'r Moderator the following Votes were pass'd 1st Voted that those subscribers who shall move out of Town shall be released from paying any moneys in consequence of their Becoming subscribers to the above mentioned agreement, except such monies as shall be assessed prior to their Removal. 2d Voted to chose Mess Sam'l Wells Esqr John Arms and Henry Wells, that they be a committee to confer with Guilford committee as to what proportion Each Town must Pay towards settleing a Minister, & towards his sallary & for what time to Join Together & make report of their Doings to the adjourned Meeting, that the subscribers may approve or Disapprove thereof. 3d Voted that this meeting be adjourned to Friday the 21st Instant, at 2 o'clock.

At the adjourned meeting of the subscribers on Friday the 21st of April at Two o'clock in the afternoon, after choosing Benjn Butterfield Moderator in the Barn of John Arms who was so much Indisposed he could not attend, the following Votes were passed:

1st Voted that a Minister be procured to preach for the Term three Months upon probation for settling him & The Town of Guilford to pay for one Month & have preaching one third of the Time. 2nd Voted that the Sum of Sixteen Pounds, York Currency, be raised, for the Purpose

Brattleborough Feby 19th 1770

We the Subscribers Desire the Town Clerk to Warn a Meeting of the Subscribers to the Agreement relating to the Settling of a Minisster

to be held at Major Arms on the first Tuesday of March next at one oClock in the afternoon To act & Vote upon the Following articles Viz 1st to chusse a Moderator 2dly To Signify their Minds With respect to hiring a Minisster upon Probation for Settling, or otherwise, as they Chuse 3dly if they Chuse to hire, to chuse a Committee to procure a Minisster.

Signed Danl Whipple Malachi Church Israel Field Jasper Partridge Sylvester Wright John Arms Saml Wells William Nichols Nathan Church Jonathan Church Israel Field.

BRATTLEBOROUGH July 5th 1770.

After Choosing Capt Butterfield Moderator the following Votes were Pass'd of the Notification Voted to Hire Mr. Reeve to preach for Two Sabbaths upon Probation for Settling, one at Guilford & one here.

Art 4. Voted that Saml Wells Esqr Henry Wells & Nathan Church be a Committee to agree with Mr Reeve.

7th Art Voted to Join With Guilford for three years in Settling Mr Reeve. Lastly Voted to adjourn this Meeting, after choosing Capt Butterfield, Oliver Harris & Oliver Cooke assessors

Article 9th Voted that Timothy Church be the Person to sue those Who Neglect or refuse paying their proportion of any assessments. Voted that we will Join with Guilford for three years, they to Pay half the Salary & one sixth Part of the Settlement & Mr Reeve preach half the Time for them, they Loseing the Time when bad weather prevents his preaching There

Art 3 Voted to Settle Mr Reeve.

A Copy of the Agreement of the Committee with Mr Reeve

We the Subscribers being Duly Chosen a Committee to Agree with the Reverend Abner Reeve with Respect to his Settlement & Sallary, by the Subscribers, relating to the settling a Minisster in the Town of Brattleborough, do hereby Agree in behalf of Said Subscribers, in Manner & Form Following. That if Mr. Reeve Shall return to preach for us & Bring a Recommendation from under the Hand of Ten of the Members of the Church of Blooming Grove—that he has presided over, or from one of the neighboring Minissters Signifying that he has been in Good Standing as a Minisster of the Gospel & sustained a Good Character while he has resided there, We Engage to pay the said Mr Reeve the Sum of fifty Pounds New York Currency towards his settlement, one third part in cash yearly until Paid. Also the Sum of Thirty Pounds said Currency for the first years Sallary & the sum of Thirty Two Pounds of said Currency for the Second Years Sallary, also the sum of Thirty Four Pounds said Currency for the Third Years Sallary, Provided Mr Reeve

Continues to Supply the Pulpit in Brattleborough half the Time for & During the said Three years, Sickness only Excepted. The Above said yearly Payments to be made one Third Cash—The Other Two Thirds in Merchantable Produce at the Market Price to be Delivered at such Place as Mr Reeve shall appoint in said Brattleborough. Whereunto we have set our Hands this Day July 3d 1770 at Brattleborough

Signed Saml Wells
Nathl Church
Henry Wells

We the Subscribers desire the Town Clerk to warn a Meeting of the Subscribers to the Agreement relating to Settling a minister To be held at Esqr Wells's on Monday the twelfth Day of November Next one oClock in the afternoon to Vote and act upon the following Articles Viz 1st To chuse a Moderator. 2dly to reconsider the Vote passed at the Last Meeting in order to raise money for Mr Reeves Settlement and Sallary. 3dly To pass a vote to pay the Collector for his Trouble of Collecting. 4thly to Raise money to pay the Charge of bringing Mr Reeves Family & Goods from Hadley. 5thly To raise money to make up Deficiency of Last Years rate.

Brattleborough Oct 25th 1770

Signed Saml Wells
Benjamin Butterfield
Danl Whipple
John Sargent
Nathan Church Junr
Elijah Prouty

The names below, not given heretofore, as follows, 1769 to 1786: Jacob Spaldin, Abner Scovell, Oliver Harris, Josiah Wheeler, Thos. Cumpton, Wm. M'Cune, Wm. Brall, Richard Prouty, Doct. Dickerman, John Houghton, Elisha Pierce, Eben'r Howze, Wm. Ellas, Benj'm Gorten, Joseph Whipple, David Church, Lemuel Kendrick, Seth Smith, Joshua Wilder, Ebenezer Hadley, Jonathan Herrick, Silas Houghton, Joseph Burt, Eben'r Fisher, O. Cook, John Griffin, Sam'l Warriner, Daniel Johnson.

At a meeting June 19, 1770, they voted to hire the Reverend Abner Reeve to preach two Sabbaths for settling, one at Guilford and one here. On July 3 they voted:

That we will join with Guilford for three years, they to pay one-half of the salary and one-sixth part of the settlement, and have Mr. Reeve

to preach half the time for them, they losing the time when bad weather prevents his preaching there.
And to raise £60 pounds New York currency for his settlement and the same for a year's salary.

A formal agreement was entered into between a committee and Mr. Reeve for supplying the pulpit in Brattleboro half the time for three years, "sickness only excepted," for £50 New York currency, one-third of it yearly, toward his settlement, and £30 the first year, £32 the second and £34 the third, for his salary. A meeting was held November 12, 1770, when this agreement presented by Mr. Marshall, which had been previously drawn up by Judge Wells in handsome writing upon parchment, was dated and probably largely signed. Here is a copy of it:

Whereas it is the Desire of us the subscribers, Inhabitants of the Township of Brattleborough, to come into some measures for the settlement and maintaining of an Orthodox Gospel Minister in the Town, and in order to put in Execution such a necessary and salutary scheme, and likewise to prevent any misunderstanding that might otherwise arise, We the subscribers do hereby severally agree, covenant and promise to abide and stand by the following articles, viz.:

1st. That at all meetings of the subscribers for the Future, all matters that shall be transacted, whether the raising of money or any other thing relative to the settling and maintaining a minister, shall be governed by the majority of votes of the subscribers that shall be present; A Record of said votes to be made by the Town Clerk or by some other person the subscribers may appoint their clerk, which votes, so recorded, shall be binding upon us the subscribers during our residence in the Town Of Brattleborough.

2d. That when and so often as six or more of the said subscribers shall signify under their Hands to the clerk their Desire to have a meeting of said subscribers called for any of the aforesaid Purposes, and in their application to the clerk for any such meeting shall insert every particular Article that is to be acted upon; then the clerk shall warn said meeting by setting a Notification at some Public Place in said Town, fourteen days before said meeting is to be held, and in said Notification insert every Article to be acted upon; And all votes passed at said meeting, so called as aforesaid and relative to such Matters as are notified by the Notification aforesaid, shall be binding upon us the subscribers; And that any Matter or thing that shall or may be voted or determined that is not so inserted in said application for a meeting, shall not be binding upon us the subscribers.

3d. That this Covenant shall, for the future, be kept by the clerk as

aforesaid or his successor till it shall be otherwise determined by a majority of votes of us the subscribers.

November 12th, 1770.

Samuel Wells,
Henry Wells,
Benjamin Butterfield,
Josiah Bumpus,
Oliver Harris,
Daniel Whipple,
William McCune,
Jacob Spaulding,
Oliver Cook,
Elias Wilder,
Israel Field,
Timothy Church,
William Brace,
Elijah Prouty,
John Sargeants,
Eber Church,
David Church,
Richard Prouty,
Joseph Burt,
Samuel Knight,
Joshua Wilder,
John Baldwin,
Jonathan Church,
Susanna Arms,
John Campton,
William Ellas,
Benjamin Gorton,
Nathaniel Church,
Malachi Church,
Ebenezer Fisher,
Jonathan Herrick,
Nathaniel Church, jr.,
Ebenezer Haws,
Thomas Sargeant,
Reuben Field,
William Nichols,
Joseph Whipple,
William Gould,
Isaac McCune,
John Houghton,
John Williams,
Benjamin Butterfield, jr.,
John Alexander,
Benjamin Church,
Edward Jewett,
Seth Smith,
Daniel Fraser,
Stephen Greenleaf,
Oliver Harris, jr.,
Benjamin Baker,
Francis Prouty,
Abner Scovel,
Silas Houghton,
Joel Atchison,
Simeon Eaton,
Thomas Reeve,
Ebenezer Hadley,
Frederick Williams,
Jonathan Wells,
Elisha Pierce,
David Houghton,
Lemuel Kendrick,
Joseph Chamberlain,
Daniel Johnson,
David Pierks,
Jeremiah Hopkins,
Stephen Greenleaf, jr.,
Isaac Crosby,
Bethuel Church,
George Dickson.

The next day Judge Wells deeded to him the lot of fifty-seven and two-fifths acres next east of then Ebenezer Fisher's, east of the Meeting-House, and a lot of one hundred and fifty acres, covering the rest of

the school lot and extending up over the hill eastward to the mowing on Meeting-House Hill. He was described in the deed as "Abner Reeve of Cornwall Precinct in the County of Orange and Province of New York, Clerk." The addition of clerk to a man's name then meant clergyman. That part of Cornwall in which he lived lies among the mountains west of West Point and became Blooming Grove in 1799. Mr. Reeve came immediately to the place east of Mr. Fisher's and lived there.

There seems to have been, from the beginning, considerable difficulty in raising sufficient money for the payment of Mr. Reeve's salary. The annual meeting, as long as he was their pastor, was mainly concerned with this issue. Some items of the annual discussion are of interest as they refer to methods employed.

The salary, September, 1774, was £76. At a meeting held the year following, April 3, 1775, it was "voted to get Mr. Reeve's fire wood by rate. Also voted not to have persons' names put into the minister's rate who have not signed the Covenant. Also, That the treasurer shall sue the collectors for the minister's rate, if they neglect collecting the rates. Voted, further, to allow Mr. Reeve's interest for his money if not punctually paid." At the meeting in May, 1776, having voted the salary, they voted to get Mr. Reeve's firewood, fifty cords, by rate, and raised £10 to pay for getting it—the assessors to have charge of the work. Stephen Greenleaf, Clerk. A meeting was held in November of this year (1776), among other things, "to empower the collectors to strain for the rates, or contrive some other method whereby the minister's rate may be effectually collected, and to raise Mr. Reeve's salary somewhat higher on account of the present advanced price of Produce. Voted to let Mr. Reeve have the Produce at the price it was, when the covenant was made with him."

From 1769 to 1781 or 1782, some twelve or thirteen years, the obtaining of a minister, the raising of his salary and all the affairs of this kind seem to have been the work of the association called the "Covenanters"; but all business of this kind, by the laws of Vermont to support the ministry, now passed into the hands of the town, and there it remained for some twenty years, or till 1802 or 1803, and the record of the same is kept with the other records of the proceedings of the town.

March, 1773, at an adjourned meeting of "the freeholders of the town of Brattleborough, in the county of Cumberland, it was voted that the Supervisor of the town give certain instructions to the Assemblymen of this county [representatives, probably, to the Provincial Assembly of New York], viz.: to ask leave of the Assembly to bring in several Bills, one about the poor, one about taxing unimproved lands, one about electing Assemblymen; and the 4th, a Bill to have any person allowed to give a deed of land to any town, i.e., to trustees and their successors, for the

purpose of setting up Dissenting Meeting Houses in this county; and 5th, that the Supervisor instruct the Assemblymen to use their utmost influence to hinder any act being passed to oblige the people of this country to pay ministers of the church of England; also to oppose, with all their might, any act of Assembly which shall in any way or manner tend to introduce a Bishop into America."

At the March meeting in 1780 the town chose three tithingmen and two gravediggers, and adjourned to the last Wednesday in May, to see about building a new meeting-house. At this meeting, in May, they voted to build such a house, and appointed a committee of three to select a committee of three from the adjoining towns to "prefix" a place on which to build, and also choose another committee of five to "weight" on the above from abroad. But this last committee of five found themselves unable to proceed, because the town had made no provision to pay the committee from abroad. A meeting being called in June to see if this town would raise money to pay the aforesaid committee from abroad, it was voted not to do so.

September, 1781, in which the records of the proceedings of the "Covenanters" fail us in respect to Mr. Reeve, he begins to appear in the records of the town. And yet some three years elapse before we find the town really making any provision for him. There seems to have been much hesitation or opposition in regard to declaring him the settled minister of the town, because of the effect this might be supposed to have on his claims to lands set apart by government, in those days, for ministers of that class, the first settled.

About this time the glebe became, by several laws, the first of which was passed in 1779, school lands; and neither the first settled minister nor any religious society had anything to do with them. The shares were of about three hundred acres each, divided into two one-hundred-acre lots and one lot about one hundred and sixty acres. The first settled minister had lived on one of the one-hundred-acre lots, and probably sold the other two. One of the one-hundred-acre school lots, originally glebe lots, had its southwest corner at the old graveyard back of the Hayes House, and extended north one hundred and sixty rods and east one hundred rods.

The twenty-eighth of June, 1784, it was voted "that the Reverend Abner Reeve be the settled minister of this town for the future upon conditions following, viz.: That the vote shall never be construed to give Mr. Reeve any greater or other title to any public lands in this town than that which he hath by virtue of his ministerial labors in the town previous to passing this vote; and that Mr. Reeve shall not be entitled by this vote to any greater or other salary from the town than that which he was

entitled to by virtue of his settling in the town, from the individual persons who settled him. Voted, also, to raise £60, lawful money, by a tax upon the polls and rateable estate in this town, upon the list of the year 1783, for the purpose of paying Mr. Reeve's salary for the year 1783."

But, for some reason, this action of the town seems to have been defective or illegal, at least not satisfactory; for, in less than three months, September 7, we find the town called together again to do the same thing. This meeting was adjourned to the twenty-third, when they met and voted "that this town will not make good to the Rev. Mr. Reeve the arrearages of his salary which have already become due. Voted to choose a committee—Messrs. Butterfield, Warriner and Knight—to confer with Mr. Reeve, and know of him upon what condition he will agree to be the settled minister of the town. Voted that the Rev. Mr. Abner Reeve be the settled minister of this town upon his acceptance hereof, and relinquishing from this date the covenant made with him by many of the inhabitants of this town for his support, for so long a time (and no longer) as he is able to supply the pulpit with preaching; on this condition, however, that the said Reeve by virtue hereof be not entitled to any land in this town given by public authority to the first settled minister. Voted that the salary of Mr. Reeve, during his officiating as Public Preacher in this town, be at the rate of £60 per annum, payable two-thirds in produce at the market price, and one-third in cash. Voted that the aforesaid committee (Benjamin Butterfield, Samuel Warriner and Samuel Knight), lay the foregoing votes before the Rev. Mr. Reeve,"—to which Mr. Reeve was pleased to return the following answer, viz.:

Gentlemen,—You have sent me a conditional vote, with which I cordially comply, if your meaning and intention be not to weaken or destroy my claim to the land in the town, granted to the first settled minister of the gospel, previous to the passing of said vote, as witness my hand.

Abner Reeve.

In reply to this it was voted that the town do not intend, by the preceding vote, to weaken or destroy any claim which the Reverend Mr. Reeve had to the right of land in this town, granted to the first settled minister, or to add any strength to such claim. And the town clerk, Samuel Knight at that time, concludes the foregoing record with the remark, the like to which was often appended to other similar proceedings, "I do hereby certify that in passing the foregoing votes respecting the settling Mr. Reeve, there were more than twenty-five legal voters in the affirmative."

And here we introduce a communication from the hand of Reverend Mr. Reeve, an original document, written and signed by himself, and

bearing date of the same day and year as the action of the town, October 3, 1792. It is beautifully written, penmanship, erasures, interlinings, and all,—just as it came from his own hand and heart. The paper reads as follows:

There being unhappily, to my great Grief of Mind, differences subsisting in the Town of Brattleboro' with respect to my further preaching the Gospel to the Inhabitants of said Town in virtue of a former vote thereof—For healing said Differences, and for uniting the said Inhabitants in brotherly Love in the service of our common Lord and Master, and in full hope that these very important purposes will be answered, I do hereby disclaim for myself, my Heirs Ex'ors and Adm'ors, all pretence to any salary by virtue of any vote of the Inhabitants of said Town, in legal meeting assembled, to become due and payable after the date hereof,—Provided always, and this writing is on this express condition, that all arrearages of salary, including the time to the date hereof, be settled or paid to me my heirs ex'ors or adm'ors, the one-half on or before the 3d of April next and the other half on or before the 3d day of October next; and that I may have the privilege of preaching in the meeting house, as heretofore, when no other preacher shall be employed by the Selectmen of said Town for that purpose, upon such pay only as shall gratuitously be given me by said Inhabitants thereof.

Given under my hand the 3d Oct'r 1792.

Abner Reeve.

April 16, 1793, a resolution was passed that sundry sums voted Mr. Reeve in past years be paid into the treasury by the third of October next (1793),—which seems to have been the last action recorded, as taken by the town, in respect to the Reverend Abner Reeve. Early in the succeeding year, April 2, 1794, we find the town taking measures to engage the Reverend William Wells.

About Mr. Reeve's right to land of which so much is said in the records of the proceedings of the town in those early days—this land, now belonging to the Brattleboro Retreat, embraced the farm generally known as the Shepard Rice place, being situated about a mile directly east from the cemetery near which the first Meeting-House stood. In the grants of townships in this state by the Provincial Government of New Hampshire, three rights were reserved for the support and propagation of Christianity,—one a glebe for the minister of the Church of England, one for the Society for Propagating the Gospel and one for the minister that should be first settled in the town. In the Vermont grants of townships, two rights were reserved for the support of the clergy,—one for the first settled minister, to be his own personal property, for the sake of encour-

aging such settlements; and one for a parsonage, designed to go towards the minister's support, and never to be alienated to any other purpose.

The tract to which we now refer as coming into the hands of Mr. Reeve is spoken of, in the charter, as one whole share; and as the governor's two shares contained eight hundred acres, this would seem to have been originally four hundred. But some of the older inhabitants of the town had the impression that it was two hundred; while others have thought it was only one hundred. Whatever may have been its original size, after it had passed through several hands it had come to be so reduced as to contain only some fifty or sixty acres when it came to be known as the Rice place. Here it was that Mr. Reeve lived, even after the new meeting-house was built in the West Village, though the change in the place of worship put him some two miles away—at least twice the distance he was from the first place of worship. Here he reared the younger portion of his large family, doing pulpit and parish work, and, with the help of his sons, especially Silas, the youngest, carrying on the farm to eke out the small and somewhat uncertain or irregular salary which his people of the town paid or promised him. Eventually, however, he made an exchange with a Mr. Patterson, and obtained what used to be known as the Reeve farm, which extended from the cemetery, of which we have spoken, down the hill westward to Whetstone Brook, and embraced the premises which now constitute the Pettee place.

### Reverend Abner Reeve

The Reverend Abner Reeve is said to have been of Scotch descent. He was a descendant of Sergeant Nott, who settled Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1640, through the eldest daughter of Nott, who married Robert Reeve. His father, Thomas Reeve, was born October 3, 1678, and died November 9, 1735, the very year his son entered the ministry.

Reverend Abner Reeve was born in Southold (Southwold or Southold, as the name is variously written), Long Island, New York, February 21, 1708. He pursued his collegiate studies at Yale, New Haven, and graduated from that institution in 1731, at the age of twenty-three; and the next year, October 16, 1732, he was married to his first wife, Mary, in his native place. He entered on the ministry at the age of twenty-seven, and commenced pastoral labor in 1735, in the old church at Nissiquasque or Nesaquake, now Smithtown, Long Island. Here he remained something more than six years. During this time there were born to him three sons and one daughter. In 1741 his wife Mary died, and in December, 1843, he was married to Miss Deborah Tapping of Brookhaven. From this marriage he had two sons, Tapping and Erastus. His second wife died in 1759; and in 1761 he was married to his third, Miss Phœbe

Foster of Southampton, Long Island, of whom were born to him five children, John, Phœbe, Obadiah, Deborah and Silas. The three younger of them were born in Blooming Grove, New York, where, having left his first parish, Smithtown, and preached for some fifteen years in Southhaven and other places, he was settled in 1756. Here he remained some fourteen years, or till he came to Brattleboro in 1770.

Of his five children by his third wife, a son died in infancy. His second son, Obadiah, was killed at the age of sixteen, by falling into a well they were digging on the minister's lot (the Rice place). His grave is in the old burying ground on the hill. His eldest daughter (by his third wife) married Captain James Blakeslee, who lived on the meadow farm, half a mile out from the village, where Samuel Sargent was the last owner and resident. The other daughter, Deborah, married a brother of the Captain, Nathaniel Blakeslee.

Silas, the youngest of these five, and indeed the youngest of all the eleven, inherited his father's farm, the so-called Reeve place, as has been said, and spent his days in West Brattleboro, being an active, consistent member of the church, an intelligent, enterprising citizen, a good neighbor, "upright, gentle and beloved, and against whose name I never heard a word." He was born in 1769, was married by his father to Miss Rhoda Blakeslee in 1788, in the twentieth year of his age, and had eight children, two of whom, Mrs. Rhoda Adams, the eldest, and Miss Eliza, next to the youngest, were living in West Brattleboro in the memory of the present inhabitants.

Of the Reverend Mr. Reeve's other children, there was one by his second wife who took his mother's name, Tapping, for a Christian name, concerning whose memory scholars and Christians will love to talk and hear and think for many generations. He was born September 20, 1744, some say at Southold, some at Brookhaven, where, it would seem, his father preached for a time. This son, sometimes called Judge Reeve, and sometimes the Honorable Tapping Reeve, established a law school in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1784, which was for a long time the most celebrated institution of the kind in the United States, and was author of "Reeve's Domestic Relations," a law book; he married a sister of Aaron Burr. Allen's American Biographical Dictionary tells us that "he was not only a profound lawyer, but also an eminent Christian," that "his charities were extensive" and that "much of his time was employed in devotion." This son of his was "a worthy son of a worthy sire." Doctor Lyman Beecher, for many years the son's pastor, has left us a beautiful outline of these traits, when, on the occasion of the son's funeral, the Doctor says that "he was blessed with a mind of the first order. His person was well-proportioned and commanding, his countenance regular

and interesting, his eye especially was filled with mild but most animated expression. His voice was full-toned and musical, and his eloquence, when his soul was roused and his heart awake, was powerful,—the eloquence of a vigorous mind, a vivid imagination and an expansive heart. His humor was genuine, his sensibilities exquisite, his affections copious and ardent. Few minds are formed to receive or communicate more social enjoyment, or to inspire or feel more ardent affection. The manners of Judge Reeve were equally removed from repulsive haughtiness and unbecoming familiarity, and were strongly marked by a guileless simplicity combined with a real dignity of demeanor."

The Reverend Abner Reeve was described, by those who knew him personally, as a fine-looking man, well built, large and portly, dignified yet easy and gracious in his carriage, noble and generous in mind and heart, and much beloved by his people. Some of his grandchildren have told of their riding behind him horseback, on a pillion, in going with him to meeting. A chair of his, very antique in appearance, and a few books that he once owned and used, such as Cruden's Concordance, a very old edition published in London, and dedicated to the Queen, and an Exposition of the Bible, or a portion of it, in Latin, are still extant.

In religious and doctrinal views and teaching, the Reverend Mr. Reeve was an Orthodox Congregational minister,—such, at least, the Covenanters sought. And when he came among them, they required of him that he bring good, clean papers to this effect from his former charge, or from ministers of his acquaintance in that neighborhood, certifying also to his good moral character. And, judged of by his teachings during his twenty-five years' labor here, he came to be spoken of in history as "of the order called New England Calvinistic Congregational." "He was an earnest, faithful, cultured, modest and loving Christian minister."

Mr. Reeve took a generous and active part in religious and ministerial labors outside of his own particular parish. And here, too, it is worthy of record that the first Ministerial Association ever formed in the state of Vermont, was organized in Brattleboro at the house of the Reverend Abner Reeve, October 17, 1775. By what preliminary movement the brethren were called together does not appear; but the Preamble to the Articles of the Association Covenant is worth quoting: "We, the subscribers, Ministers of the Gospel in the County of Cumberland and State of New York, being desirous of promoting the interest of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the spiritual good of the church and people, as far as we have charge, opportunity and influence; and having a divine direction to do all things decently and in order, which respect God's house and worship, and being instructed by the sacred oracles to be modest, humble and self-diffident, and that in the multitude of council

there is safety; and finding (Acts 15) that even inspired men took council one of another; think it expedient and our duty to associate and unite in an ecclesiastical body, for the more effectual service of Christ in his church, and for our own mutual assistance in matters of weight and difficulty respecting our ministerial office—do now engage to be one body, and to abide by the following Articles, till our associated body shall find good reason to alter or exchange any of them or add thereto." Among the articles adopted by them, there was one forbidding that any but ministers sound in the faith should be admitted as members. Another is: "We will hold ministerial and Christian communion with neighboring ministers and churches, and invite them occasionally to our assistance."

Having resigned his charge and retired from official service, Mr. Reeve passed two or three years of comparative quiet with his son Silas, at his new home on the so-called Reeve farm, of which we have already spoken. In the spring of 1798, his son being for many weeks very sick, he was invited to go and stop for a time with his daughter Phœbe, the wife of Captain Blakeslee, where he soon departed this life, and went home to the "rest that remaineth." His mortal part was interred in the graveyard, just in the rear, or to the east.

### Reverend William Wells

Reverend William Wells was settled, as a dissenting minister, for twenty-three years at Bloomsgrove, in Worcestershire, England. Leaving that field, he came to this country and landed with his family in Boston, June 13, 1793. From thence he came to Brattleboro in March, 1794, and settled on a farm,—wishing to avoid by this means the charge of a parish, but still be useful as a preacher,—now Linden Lodge, on the West River road, about a mile north of the present Brattleboro Retreat. On his arrival here the clerk of the town was requested to call a meeting to see if his services could be secured for the desk of the church; thus: "We, the Subscribers, Inhabitants and Freeholders of the Town of Brattlebo'ugh, impressed with a sense that it is of the utmost importance to the welfare of ourselves and families, and highly essential to the peace and good order of the inhabitants in general, that the precepts of christianity and the rules of morality should be publickly and uniformly inculcated among us,—do hereby request you to warn a meeting of said inhabitants to be holden on Wednesday, the 2d day of April (1794)"—to see, among other things, "whether said inhabitants will agree to employ the Rev. William Wells to preach with us, and what sum of money they will raise for that purpose." Signed: William Harris, Jonathan Dunklee, Lemuel Dickerman, C. Harris, Samuel Greenleaf, Jonas Knapp.

At this meeting the town voted to employ Mr. Wells, and allow him thirty shillings per Sabbath for his services. On the thirtieth of December the town voted to offer him £60 a year, and chose Messrs. Jonathan Goodenough, Samuel Warriner and Doctor Lemuel Dickerman a committee to see if he would accept this amount. March 31, 1795, a meeting being called to see if the town would agree on any method to procure preaching in "Abner Reeve's congregation," and raise money for said purpose, they voted to employ Mr. Wells the ensuing year, and appointed a committee to report to him their action, and ask him to preach in the meeting-house on the next Sabbath. The next meeting was held September 30, 1795, "at the house of Rutherford Hays, Innkeeper," to see about building a belfry, partly by "private subscription." In this and in other things, we now begin to see the coming in of new ideas as to the proper way of managing and supporting religious interests, though the transition from the town to the society is gradual.

The following year, April 20, 1796, it was voted that the town clerk is a proper and legal clerk to serve in society business (as respecting the minister), and voted to employ Mr. Wells on a salary of £80 the ensuing year; the salary to be assessed on the list of 1796 and paid by the first of June, 1797. A meeting of the "Town or Society" being called for May 1, 1797, to see if the "Town or Society" will take measures to procure preaching, it was voted to "improve" [employ] the Reverend William Wells as a preacher the ensuing year, or until the town shall or may procure a candidate for the gospel ministry in this Town (if such a thing should happen to be within a year); if the said Wells shall agree to preach at the rate of £80 a year, the same to be raised by assessments.

A distinct society, aside from the town organization, for the support of the gospel, seems now to have come into being and operation, as witness the following record: "April 15, 1799: Whereas, the inhabitants of the Congregational Society have voted to hire a young candidate on probation, to preach in this place, therefore voted *unanimously* that the Reverend William Wells be presented with the grateful thanks of said Society for his former eminent and useful services, together with an expression of their highest wishes for his future happiness and prosperity." A committee having been appointed to wait on Mr. Wells with the above, it was voted that the town clerk, treasurer and collector, be the clerk, treasurer and collector for the society, and that the selectmen be the assessors for the society.

But the move for a new minister does not seem to have been successful. For, the next year, March 29, 1800, "The Society for the support of the gospel in this town," having been convened at the meeting-house, it was voted to hire the Reverend Mr. Wells for the ensuing year, and raise

$260, the same to be assessed, for the expense of preaching, a committee being chosen to carry this resolve into effect and take care of the prudential affairs of the society. A year later, March 6, 1801, the society having met and taken about the same action in respect to a minister and his salary, and having chosen Messrs. Lemuel Whitney, John W. Blake and Doctor George H. Hall a prudential committee, it was voted to dismiss the fourth article of the warrant in relation to the raising of money for "the encouragement of *social worship* so far as it respects singing."

The first record of the Congregational Church in West Brattleboro, as distinct from the Society or Association of Covenanters for the support of the gospel in this town, bears date the twelfth day of June, 1799; the second record, November 30, 1802, speaks of a meeting of the church at the hall of Mr. Rutherford Hayes, where it was opened with prayer by the Reverend William Wells, and a committee, Benjamin Baker and Deacon Joshua Wilder, chosen to consider a case of discipline. This case, together with others, constituted the chief business for the next three meetings, though at one of those meetings the clerk was instructed to purchase a book in which to keep a record of the proceedings of the church at their meetings. It was also voted that the Reverend William Wells be requested (on communion days) to invite any members of regular standing in other churches to commune and partake with this church at the Lord's Table.

At a meeting of the church in January, 1803, which the Reverend William Wells opened by an address to the Throne of Grace, a committee was chosen with discretionary powers to invite such persons of the Baptist persuasion in this town and others who make application and who are of regular standing in the Baptist Church, to commune and partake with this church at the table of our common Lord. At a previous meeting, December 28, 1802, it was voted, almost without a dissenting voice, that their opinion of the method of admitting church members is briefly but clearly expressed in the following observations: "As to candidates for church membership giving an account of their experience, in a minute and circumstantial manner, to the whole body of the church or to a committee appointed by the church,—as it has no foundation (as we can find) in Scripture, it is putting persons to an unnecessary piece of mortification, hurts the modesty of the most diffident and humble, gratifies the spirit of vanity and pride of such as value themselves upon their religious knowledge and attainments, and is the occasion of preventing many worthy persons from church communion." This action of the church was followed by two pages of remarks and explanations by the pastor.

It is however presumed that though this Church does not think they have any right to pry into the secrets of mens hearts, which after all are, and can be known only to God and themselves, Yet it is their opinion, not only that it is the indispensible duty of every one to look into his own heart, & examine himself before he enters upon a public profession of religion, but that it may be very useful for intimate friends to communicate their religious experience to each other for their mutual edification & comfort. And that it is particularly incumbent upon Aged & judicious Christians to speak to others of the things of God, to inform their Children & other Young People of God's gracious dealings with them in bringing them into & keeping them in his good ways. It may also prevent a great deal of unnecessary perplexity & distress, for persons under concern of soul, to make known their difficulties & troubles, to a Godly Minister, and to their own minister in particular, or to some eminently serious & judicious Christian, to receive the benefit of their counsels & prayers.—Men of genuine piety and devotion who have themselves tasted that the Lord is gracious, & have experienced the pleasure & profit of a proper attendance at the table of the Lord, might be very useful, by inviting their serious & well disposed Neighbors to that ordinance; And it is to be hoped, if they considered the matter aright, they would esteem it an important & delightful duty, as they are not only to use their utmost endeavours to get to heaven themselves, but to take as many with them as possible.—And when a person wishes to become a Church member, it is highly proper, if he desires it, to converse with the Minister, or with some of the more intelligent members, on the nature & design of baptism & the Lord's Supper, that he may receive suitable information from conversation or from proper books, And if there should be any part of his experience which he wishes to communicate to them, for his own satisfaction, they ought certainly to hear it.—There is no occasion for Gods servants to be mute in their way to a better world. Let them commune together respecting their difficulties, dangers & temptations, their joys and sorrows, fears and hopes. But all these things must be matter of personal choice. The prophet says Malachi 3. 16. They that feared the Lord spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened, and heard it, and a Book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord and thought upon his name.

Wm. Wells.

A true Copy from the minutes.

Stephen Greenleaf, *Church Clerk.*

The time had now come for a still further separation to be made between the ordinary and proper affairs of the town and those of the

Congregational Society. This is seen in the fact that, with the opening of the following year, 1803, a record of the proceedings of the latter was made in a book of its own, procured for the purpose, and by a clerk of its own appointing. In 1799 the warrant calling a meeting to provide for preaching was addressed to all the inhabitants of the town except those who were legally exempt from paying taxes for this purpose. But the practice of levying a tax upon all except this class, annually, for raising the salary, which had prevailed now some eighteen years, was attended with both difficulty and more or less of discontent; and from this time onward the notification and warrant is addressed only to the inhabitants and members of the Congregational Society, and the assessment made only upon such members.

The first entry in the "Records of the Congregational Society," as made in their new book, bears date, "Brattleborough, 7th April, 1803," and is in substance as follows: Pursuant to a legal request, the inhabitants of the Congregational Society were notified and warned to convene at the meeting-house on the nineteenth of April, inst., at 2 p.m. The meeting being opened agreeable to warning, proceeded to choose Lemuel Whitney, Esquire, moderator; Stephen Greenleaf, clerk; Valentine Harris, treasurer; Messrs. Asa W. Burnap and S. Greenleaf, assessors; and Benjamin Baker, collector. Voted to have preaching the ensuing year, to employ Reverend William Wells, and raise $300 for salary and other expenses; the same to be assessed on the valuation list of 1803, and paid into the treasury on the first day of March, 1804. Rutherford Hayes, Esquire, Waitsill Orvis, Esquire, and Samuel Warriner, Esquire, were chosen a committee to have care of the prudentials of the Society, abate such taxes as they might deem necessary, make such repairs in the meeting-house as they might think proper, and take such measures with any person or persons who may do injury to the meeting-house as they may think expedient. The number of votes in respect to the minister and his salary, as above noticed, was more than twenty-five in the affirmative. The next year, 1804, the number was twenty-nine. In 1807 the number of votes in the affirmative was thirty, being the whole meeting.

At the annual meeting the following year, April 6, 1808, a committee of twenty-one persons volunteered and were chosen to agree with Mr. Wells to supply the pulpit and be responsible to him to make up any deficiency in the sum of $266.67, in case the collection thereof should be found impracticable; namely, Samuel Warriner, Jonathan Goodenough, Lemuel Dickerman, John W. Blake, Rutherford Hayes, Noah Bennett, Joshua Wilder, Samuel Elliot, Nathaniel Barker, William Whipple, Calvin Harris, Jonathan Dunklee, Jonas Mann, Silas Reeve, Solomon Wilder, James

Blakeslee, John Steward, Nathaniel Blakeslee, Safford Bennett, Jonathan Townsend and William Holden.

The amount raised for the salary and contingent expenses in 1809 was only $245. In 1810 it was voted to raise $300; and seventy-three persons, their names given in the record, voluntarily associated and covenanted, each with the other, by vote, to pay their proportion of all arrearages, in the manner heretofore noticed. In April, 1811, the "Cong' Soc." met and passed the usual votes, and fifty-seven covenanted, as in former years, to pay arrearages. Similar action was taken in 1812.

At the annual meeting in April, 1813, they voted that the committee use their discretion in hiring some person to supply the pulpit the ensuing year, that two cents on the dollar of the list be assessed to defray expenses, and that the committee ascertain of Mr. Wells if he can supply the pulpit any part of the ensuing year.

Judging from the records of the church, it would seem that matters of discipline had a large place in the proceedings of that body during these years. July 4, 1805, a case of discipline having been considered, it was voted that any occasional communicant shall be indulged to sit and commune with this church, unless some special reason shall be assigned to the contrary. In 1809 there were two additions to the church, which made a membership of one hundred and thirty-five. In 1811, October 13, a meeting was called by request of one of the members of the church, who submitted a paper to the effect that he regarded the system of doctrine called Calvinism, as set forth by some of the neighboring churches, to be according to the Scriptures, and that to explain away or deny any of these doctrines tends to unbelief and self-righteousness: therefore requested that the church would commit him to the care of the church in Marlboro, under the pastoral care of Reverend G. C. Lyman. The petition was unanimously rejected by the church, but the petitioner allowed full liberty to commune with the church in Marlboro, without abridging his privileges to commune and fellowship with the church in Brattleboro.

In the latter part of March, 1814, Reverend William Wells gave up his pastorate on account of advancing age and on the twentieth of June, 1814, "the Congregational or Presbyterian Society" met, as warned, ninety-three out of one hundred and thirty associates being present, and of these, ninety-one voted to invite the Reverend Mr. Caleb Burge to settle and be installed among them as the pastor of the church in Brattleboro, and continue in that relation during his life, or until he shall be dismissed by the Society. At an adjourned meeting, July 2, it was voted that the salary should be $600 annually, the trustees to raise and collect the same by assessments, deducting what may accrue from donations. The salary was to be paid on the first of January each year, and the stated

services to be at the Meeting-House, lectures and funerals excepted,—one hundred and eight out of one hundred and eleven in the affirmative.

At a meeting of the church at the Meeting-House, dated Brattleboro, June 30, 1814, Deacon Nathaniel Samson, moderator, a committee of two members of the church, Doctor Lemuel Dickerman and Deacon Nathaniel Samson, was chosen to join the "Trustees of the Brattleborough Congregational or Presbyterian Society for supporting the gospel," to wait on Reverend Caleb Burge with a united call and invitation for him to accept the pastoral care and perform the ministerial labors for the church and people in this town by being installed as their pastor and minister; and also to express the satisfaction of this church with his performance in the pulpit as a candidate, and their sincere desire to reap further benefits from his continued labors of love. At a joint meeting of the church and the trustees of the society, July 25, 1814, it was unanimously agreed to accept the answer of Reverend Caleb Burge to the invitation to be installed as their minister. September 14, 1814, Doctor Lemuel Dickerman was chosen a delegate of the church "to attend, with Reverend Caleb Burge, at the Consociation in Dummerston, that this church may be united with and become a member of said Consociation."

At a meeting of the society, April 10, 1815, the following officers were chosen: Jonas Mann, moderator; Stephen Greenleaf, clerk; Silas Reeve, treasurer; Nathaniel Samson, Waitsill Orvis and Valentine Harris, trustees; John Kelsey, Abisha Samson and Reuben Stearns, committee; Russell Hayes, collector, to be paid six dollars for his services; salary and other expenses, $600. In 1816, November 25, it was moved by Colonel Daniel Stewart that the question be tried relative to the second article of the warrant, namely, to dismiss the Reverend Caleb Burge. The yeas and nays were taken by dividing the house, and only eleven voted for dismissal. The question was thus decided in the negative. In 1817 the inhabitants comprising "the First Congregational Society in Brattleborough" were warned to meet at the "West Meeting house in said Brattleborough." For salary and other expenses they raised $550. The year following, in April, they voted to raise $500. Six months later, October 5, a meeting was called to see if the existing relation with Mr. Burge could be dissolved, and a committee was chosen to confer with him on the necessity of dissolving the contract now existing by covenant between him and the society, and the making of a new contract on the ground of a subscription for his salary. The meeting was adjourned twice and then dissolved.

At a church meeting held in July, 1818, Reverend Caleb Burge, moderator, the church adopted a covenant and a confession of faith,—both

given in the records of the church,—the following persons being present: Deacon Joshua Wilder, Deacon Nathaniel Samson, William Bigelow, Moses Nash, Ebenezer Hawes, Jonas Rice, Jonathan Herrick, Thadeus Miller, Rutherford Hayes, Isaiah Richardson, David Harris, Silas Reeve, Nathaniel Blakeslee, Samuel Bailey, Jonathan Dunklee, Stephen Greenleaf. Among these we find the name of the brother who, in 1811, asked to be let off from this church, that he might go where he thought he could get sounder doctrine. At this meeting it was voted to admit members only when they have been previously examined by the pastor and brethren of the church and duly propounded; that public offenses require public confession; and that credible evidence of piety ought to be made the ground of fellowship and Christian communion.

Admonition to the individual under censure was given in private, according to "the regular steps of the Gospel for convincing and reclaiming said person." Unless a satisfactory explanation followed, a "citation" of the offense was read before a committee of church members, when a public confession and promise of amendment was necessary to restoration in the privileges of the church. The majority of these occasions of offense were due to neglect of religious observances. Mrs. A., who "manifested no desire to attend meetings," in 1799 was excommunicated.

In 1802 Benjamin Baker and Deacon Joshua Wilder were "chosen committee to hear Mr. Benj. Gould in vindication of himself, for absenting from the Table of the Lord and Public Worship." His reason for absence, as reported, was bodily weakness.

Deacon Horton was voted "at Liberty to return to all the privileges of this church, and to overlook and pass over his withdrawing, considering him to be an aged man."

Work on the Sabbath was second in the character of complaints. There were verbal confessions made by those who had so labored. Two loads of hay were brought in on a Sabbath for Albert Bennet, who should have protested at sight of the first load.

Thomas Crosby would not appear at the Meeting-House to answer to complaints that he had labored on the Sabbath, as he "believed that the Sabbath was no more Holy than the other days of the week."

Slander was under severe discipline, and false speaking.

In 1779 it was "voted that Mr. J. H.'s written acknowledgment and retraction of false speaking [concerning work at a certain School-House] exhibited to this church, be a sufficient apology and satisfaction, and that he is discharged from further examination on the subject."

Another example is Stephen Greenleaf, Junior, clerk, vs. Ebenezer Fisher.

At a justice court before Samuel Warriner, Esq., said Fisher alleges that s[d] Smith uttered things in said court which were not true, particularly respecting one and an half bushel of rye which s[d] Fisher sold Levi Church, s[d] Smith said he gave no orders for the delivery of s[d] rye, nor had any benefit from its being delivered. Also respecting labour, which s[d] Smith denied to have done on Cart Wheels when at work for me the said Fisher, which things were not true, were injurious to me, and to the evil example of others, and I pray the cognizance of the Church to be taken on the same.

EBENEZER FISHER.

There were citations for the use of ardent spirits to intoxication, of immorality and a few of theft, "embezzling money of the Singing-School, and making effort to secure property from taxation."

Caleb Burge was born in Tolland, Connecticut, May 26, 1782, and moved with his parents, Nathaniel and Lucretia S. Burgess, to Springfield, Vermont, in 1783. Here the name "Burgess" was changed, for a time, to "Burge." He graduated from Middlebury College in 1806, and was ordained first pastor of the church in Guildhall, Vermont, in August, 1808, where he was greatly blessed in his labors, seventy-four being added to his church in 1810. But for want of adequate support, as alleged, he was dismissed February 16, 1814. In June, 1814, a very unanimous call was extended to him by this church and society to settle here, which he accepted, and was, apparently, installed early in the following August. Here he remained until 1819. For his first wife he married Roxana Chapin, and for his second, Jerusha Hall, both of them natives of this county. He lived about two miles northwest of the village, on what was afterwards known as the "Harris place." He was honored with the degree of M.D. by Castleton Medical College in 1828. Doctor Chapin, in an exhaustive memorial address in 1853, says that "for a few years preceding his death he gave up preaching and confined himself to the practice of medicine." He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

Reverend Caleb Burge preached a sermon on his first communion Sunday defining his theological position,—but theology could not have been a first essential with him, as his reply to someone who asked him if there were Arians and Socinians in the region, was that there were worse men than that—thieves, immoral men. He is said to have been "a powerful preacher," but "imperious." While living in Brattleboro he wrote a "very able and notable book"—"An Essay on the Scriptural Doctrine of the Atonement; Showing its Nature, its Necessity and its Extent," which was published in 1822 in Hartford, Connecticut. Installed

in August, 1814, he seems to have been dismissed in 1819, but at what particular date does not appear. During his ministry of five years no less than ninety-six persons were admitted to the church: three in 1814, twenty-six in 1815, twenty-four in 1816, thirty-nine in 1817 and four in 1818.

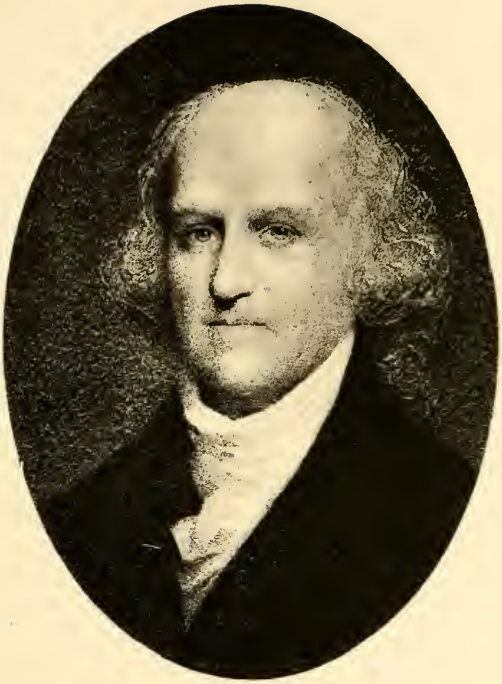
At a church meeting held in the Meeting-House, September 9, 1819, Deacon Nathaniel Samson, Silas Reeve and Asa Stoddard were chosen a committee to aid and assist in settling difficulties. Cases of discipline were considered, and the meeting adjourned to September 30, when cases of discipline were taken up again, one of which was whether a member be guilty of a breach of moral obligation in putting his property out of the reach of covenant taxation. This was decided in the affirmative by a unanimous vote of sixteen. Three subsequent meetings, one at the schoolroom in the Academy Hall and one at the house of Anthony Van Doorn, were devoted chiefly to matters of discipline.

September 4, 1820, having chosen officers, among whom were Nathaniel Samson, Stephen Greenleaf, Rutherford Hayes, Lemuel Dickerman, Moses Van Doorn and Anthony Van Doorn, they voted full satisfaction with the ministerial performance of Jedediah Stark, expressed a wish to call and settle him, and voted to raise a salary of $400 per annum.

October 5, 1820, a church meeting was held in the West Parish Meeting-House, twenty-two members present, Reverend Mr. McGee in the chair, and a vote passed, twenty in the affirmative, to give Mr. Jedediah L. Stark a call to the pastoral care of the church, the society concurring; and Rutherford Hayes, Deacon Samson and Doctor Dickerman were chosen a committee for the purpose. November 22, in a joint committee of the church and society, it was unanimously agreed to accept the terms proposed in the answer of Mr. J. L. Stark to be ordained and settled as their gospel minister. He was ordained January 3, 1821.

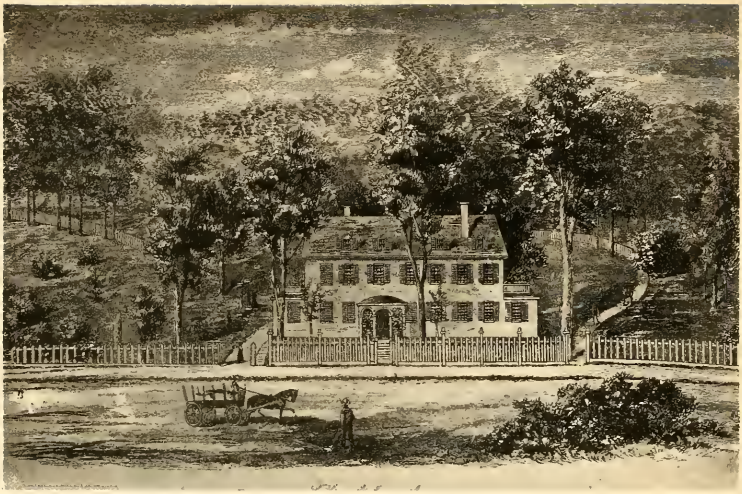
An examination of the records in the Brattleboro town clerk's office during the years from the organization of the town in 1768 to 1800 reveals a change in religious opinions. In the first forty-five years of the church's existence fifteen persons were excommunicated.

One part of the book is devoted to religious certificates, some of them explaining that a certain person was a member of a certain church and had paid the taxes assessed to him for religious purposes. There are, however, over fifty declarations which state in substance as follows: "I do not agree in religious opinion with the majority of the inhabitants of this town, as the case now is." Just why certificates of this kind were recorded is not known, but the chances are that there was some provision whereby, if such statement was made, no taxes for the preaching of the gospel could be collected from the party so certifying. It seems from the



William Wells

COCKAYNE, BOSTON



WOODLANDS

FREME MANSION

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

records that many sharp bargains were driven with the minister, the evident design of the people being to get their religious instruction at the lowest price possible.

It is stated that one minister in the early days received, in his package of bills paid him for service, two counterfeits. The society refused to make the matter right, because the pastor was paid with the veritable money obtained from subscribers to his support and the collector could not tell from whom the two bills came.

Birth and death records are very meager, the records of marriages being more complete. The former were evidently considered of less importance. The first record is a marriage intention: "This is to certify that ye intention of marriage between David Church of Brattleborough and Damaris Church of Sunderland has been made publick according to custom, Henry Wells, town clerk, Brattleborough, Dec. 27th, 1768." On the back of this certificate is written: "These are to certify ye persons within named were joined in marriage by me, Bunker gay, Hinsdale. De. 29th, 1768."

Rachel Wells was married to Samuel Gale. (See p. 137.) This was the first marriage of which there is any record. According to the by-laws of the Province of New York a bond was required that "neither of the parties had any lawful let or impediment of pre-contract, affinity, or consanguinity to hinder their being joined in the holy bond of matrimonny."

There are over one hundred records of notices to leave town, given to undesirable people who might become town charges.

## Reverend William Wells, D.D.

The Reverend William Wells, D.D., was born at Biggleswade in Bedfordshire, England, in 1744. He was the only son of Richard Wells, who was also the son of Richard Wells. His father and mother both dying in his childhood, he was brought up by his uncle, Ebenezer Casterson, as his own son.

His thoughts were early turned to the ministry, for which he was prepared in the dissenting college at Daventry, and he was encouraged and assisted in his purpose by John Howard, the celebrated philanthropist, an intimate acquaintance of his uncle Ebenezer, after whom he named one of his sons, long a resident of this town. Another son was named after Howard.

In the year 1770 he was invited to preach at Bromsgrove, where he was afterwards settled as a minister of a dissenting congregation, a ministry in which he continued to officiate during his residence in England.

In January, 1771, he married Jane Hancox, a daughter of the Reverend

James Hancox of the neighboring town of Dudley, who possessed what was considered at that time a handsome fortune. Mr. Hancox had been destined to be a clergyman of the Established Church and to hold the living of Kidderminster, which was in the gift of his grandfather. Even as a boy, however, he had formed opinions in favor of nonconformity, and finally declined to accept the living (of £800 a year), although his grandfather declared his intention of disinheriting him, in such a case, of his claims as eldest son, a threat which he carried out for a time, relenting in his last illness. Mr. Hancox was admired for his power of pathos in the pulpit, but was in the habit of saying he should do injustice to his people if, while he attempted to move their passions, he neglected to inform their minds. He appears to have been, as one might expect, a champion of freedom, whom anything like the appearance of oppression roused to a noble wrath.

A letter is extant from a friend of Miss Hancox, a clergyman, from which we take an example of writing a century and a half ago:

I acknowledge I was not quite ignorant of Mr. Wells' attachment before I received your favor, and I am confident it is as strong as it is reasonable. I do not wonder that a man of his taste should soon be convinced that the half had not been told him. Kindred minds soon attract each other, and we who know both have often thought and said that if any two minds were cast in the same mold they were yours and his. And really, my dear Miss Jane, as to Mr. Wells, mere justice obliges me to say that I never knew a man better formed by nature and grace for being happy and making others so who are most nearly connected with him. His natural temper is excellent, sedate and even, always easy and cheerful, inclined to think well of and be pleased with everybody and everything that is tolerable, obliging, tender and affectionate, yet active, manly and prudent, remarkably free from caprice and affectation and every turbulent passion.

And to these human attributes, valuable as they are, divine grace has added, what you still more highly prize, a rational and warm piety. This, you will think, is saying a great deal; but really, Miss Jane, I cannot in conscience say less. This is the light in which his character appears to me. This is the character his tutor and his most intimate friends universally give him. . . .

In the summer or fall of 1782, as we learn from a memoir written by his son Hancox, a companion of his voyage, Mr. Wells determined to remove with his family to the United States; before leaving England, he made up his mind that he would not take his family to a slave state, and would not establish himself in the wilderness. For many years he

had taken a warm interest in the country, and during the Revolutionary War he was decidedly on the side of the colonies. The state of the political world in 1792 was gloomy. The French Revolution caused fear and great excitement in England. The Birmingham riots took place in the summer of 1791. Several dissenting meeting-houses and a number of houses belonging to opulent dissenters were destroyed and openly plundered by a brutal mob, and all this was done with the almost open approval of the High Church party. The watchword of the mob was "Church and King," and the dissenters felt that they were frowned on by the government and not protected as they ought to have been by the civil authorities against a mob who were too ready to suppose that their excesses were, to a certain extent, at least, agreeable to their superiors.

In addition to what is said above of Dr. Wells's attitude during the Revolutionary War and his life as an English dissenting minister, we quote from a sketch[1] of his life written by his son, William Wells.

Birmingham was only thirteen miles from my father's house at Bowenheath, his meeting house was at Bromsgrove, two miles off. The destruction of the meeting house was openly threatened. He feared at one time that his house was in danger, and he removed some of his most valuable goods. All sorts of absurd reports were circulated respecting the dissenters. Men of the most blameless and benevolent characters were suspected of forming secretly the most wicked and despicable conspiracies. These were some of the circumstances that determined my father to quit his native country and remove to the United States.

At the commencement of the movements which preceded the American Revolution, he took a strong interest in favor of the colonies. He exerted himself, with Dr. Price, Dr. Wren of Portsmouth, etc., in collecting subscriptions for the relief of the American prisoners. When Mr. Laurens, upon his liberation from the Tower, passed through Bromsgrove, on his way to Bristol, he inquired for Mr. Wells, stating that he wished to return his own and his country's thanks to him for this service.

His health had been affected by his residence in the town, and he removed to a hamlet distant about two miles, where he cultivated a small farm. This was an occupation which he well understood, and in which he much delighted. He had in his house several boys from respectable dissenting families, some of whom became attached friends.

Notwithstanding these laborious avocations, no one thought his people or his study neglected. He commonly rose at 4 o'clock, and in the tardy mornings of an English winter his candle might be seen three hours

[1] Doctor Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," Vol. VIII, p. 257.

before daylight. At the academy and in early life, he was a hard student, and, though he never claimed the reputation of a learned man, he had read much and carefully. I cannot be mistaken when I state that at that time the education of dissenting ministers, under Dr. Doddridge and others, his contemporaries and successors, was far superior to that commonly acquired at the Universities.

He was always a student. He had in England a very good library, and to the latest period of his life, his study was his resort when leisure allowed. His memory was tenacious. He was well acquainted with ecclesiastical history, that of the Reformation, and especially of the Puritans and Dissenters. He also had in his library many of the best writers belonging to the established church. Burnet, Tillotson and Clarke were his favorites. No man was less of a bigot, but the idea of submission to articles of faith he never could endure.

During the ravages of the smallpox, contrary to the prevailing popular prejudice, he inoculated his children. The operation succeeding, he was beset with requests to inoculate others, which he complied with as respected some of his poor neighbors, who could not afford to pay doctors' bills. He carried through the disease 1300 persons, a work which occupied much of his time during two years. An eminent physician at Worcester, with whom he was intimate, used to call him in jest "Brother Doctor."

It was at the time of the Birmingham riots, and the destruction of Doctor Priestly's church and residence, that Mr. Wells's house and church were also threatened, and this persecution decided him to emigrate to America.

In January, 1793, he wrote to his son:

We design to land at or near Boston, and where we shall pitch our tent it is hard to say. . . . I have, as may be supposed, a good opinion of America, but yet my expectations are not raised unreasonable high. I know, like every other land in this world, it must be subject to affliction, disappointment, pain and death. But let it be remembered, also, that there is the same kind Providence to attend us there as here, and as to government, liberty and the prospect of getting a comfortable livelihood, I think the advantage lies on the other side of the Atlantic.

Doctor Wells set sail from Bristol, May 8, 1793,—the ship in which he sailed being towed down the Avon by several boats to get it through at high water,—and after a passage of thirty-two days cast anchor in Boston harbor.

Eight children came over with their parents, William and Jane Wells,

among whom may be mentioned William, the eldest son, who spent two years at Harvard College, where he was afterwards tutor, and subsequently the head of the publishing house of Wells & Lilly, in Boston (among the publications of which house may be mentioned Griesbach's "New Testament in Greek," at the time an extraordinary enterprise for America, which was revised and carried through the press by Mr. Wells's own supervision); James Hancox, long a successful merchant in Hartford; and Ebenezer Casterson.

It is remarkable that these eight children were all living in 1834, forty-one years after the voyage, and met to welcome their oldest sister, Mrs. Martha Freme, when, after marriage and widowhood in England, she returned, shortly after the death of her father, to settle in Brattleboro.

From a letter written by Mary L. Pickard, in the "Life of Mrs. Henry Ware, Jr.," by Edward B. Hall, we quote:

> In Liverpool I went with Mrs. Freme to visit the Female Penitentiary, and took a long walk with her. . . . She is an uncommonly sensible, kind woman, extremely interested in the encouragement of all good works, a warm Unitarian, and a truly liberal, benevolent Christian. I never enjoyed anything in my life more than the conversation I had with her.

Doctor Wells had corresponded on the subject of the history of New England with the Reverend Doctor Morse of Charlestown, historian and geographer, and father of the inventor of the telegraph. After visiting Doctor Morse for a few days, he went to a house which the former had taken for him in Medford. With his son, William, he made a carriage tour through Connecticut to the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, to inspect his adopted country, and went as far as the Whitestown country, now called Clinton, where he made a stay with Reverend Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Indians, and father of John Thornton Kirkland, afterwards president of Harvard College. The next year he purchased a farm of four hundred acres in Brattleboro, to which he removed his family by sleighing. He wished to settle where he could occupy a farm and be useful in preaching. In Brattleboro he found both.

For some time the family felt severely the difficulties and discouragements of their situation. He was invited to become the pastor of the society, but declined, feeling that he would be more independent as a preacher than if he were formally settled. He, however, acted as minister and accepted the remuneration voted him by the town.

At that time the character of the population was extremely mixed and the tone of manners rough (notwithstanding the presence of some educated and elegant families), and the moral and religious character of the people as a whole was much below that which he had left in England.

Reverend Mr. Wells was eminent in that department of ministerial duty in the olden time—visiting. The children were always glad to see the pleasant old English gentleman in antique costume, and his inexhaustible fund of anecdote and story, his fine attractive social qualities, with much of the kindly and sympathetic in his nature, endeared him to the homes of joy or sadness. Someone said: "He was an aristocrat, yet genial, social; used to call at my father's and always depended on having a pipe and a bowl of milk."

Generally the finale to sermons by Mr. Wells were in these words: "Consider well what has been said and may God give you understanding." His laconic commentary upon "the Sermon on the Mount" reminds us of the brief defense by Patrick Henry of the dissenting ministers in Virginia. Mr. Wells, after reading the concluding words of the chapter, namely, "And the people were astonished at his doctrine," gave a general glance over the congregation, as he closed the Bible, and simply but impressively said, "and *well they might be.*"

Among old papers left by Stephen Greenleaf, Esquire, was the following letter from the pen of Mr. Wells. This letter was directed to Mr. Russell Hayes, but, judging from its contents, was for the students of the old academy:

Brattleborough, March 20, 1808.

My Young Friends:—I am pleased and comforted with your respectful address. Those lectures at the academy would have been begun many years ago, had not a series of bodily indisposition prevented. When it pleased God to favor me with returning health, I did not know any way in which I could be used more agreeably to myself, or with better prospect of success, than to have an occasional service in the winter season particularly suitable for young men and youth growing up into life. To find, therefore, that those labors have been acceptable and useful, and, as I hope, cannot fail of affording me great satisfaction.

Being considerably advanced into the vale of years, the shadows of the evening are growing long and the night of death fast approaching with respect to me. This, however, I do not in the least regret. But so long as I sustain my present relation to the society in this town, and health and capacity for usefulness remain, be assured I shall, with great pleasure, continue the services above-mentioned, well knowing that the sober, virtuous and religious character of young men is of infinite importance to themselves, to their friends, and to the community at large. That you, my young friends, may continue to be useful in life, the supports and ornaments of religion when my head is laid low in the dust and my lips closed in perpetual silence, and that we may all at last have a happy meeting in

the world above, never more to part, is the ardent prayer of your sincere friend and affectionate pastor,

WILLIAM WELLS.

Dr. Wells is described by all who have seen him as of a very noble person, uniting dignity and sweetness in a remarkable degree. He was six feet in height, well made and very erect. He is the subject of one of Stuart's finest portraits, presenting a countenance of such benevolent radiance as not to be easily forgotten. He commonly wore a black velvet cap over his flowing white locks, which gave him a priestly and patriarchal appearance.

While he was visiting England it was currently reported among the populace, anxious in respect to Catholic aggressions, that the Pope of Rome was making a journey through Great Britain. Children who saw him for the first time, even babies, would manifest a desire to sit on his knee, and the elder ones would sit to look at and listen to him. This regard of children he valued highly.

At the age of seventy-five he received the honorary D.D. from Harvard University.

Even at the age of eighty years he would read for two hours in the evening, holding his lamp. His temper, though ardent by nature, was chastened by gravity and seriousness; and he is described as abounding in the thoughts which might serve to mitigate trouble, and as having an especial faculty in prayer.

He died in peace of mind, December 9, 1827.

Mrs. Jane Wells died June 3, 1817, aged seventy-five.

Among the publications by Reverend William Wells were:

A sermon preached at Brattleborough, July 3, 1797, by Reverend William Wells, on the occasion of the burial of Pardon Taylor and Edward Palmer, both drowned the day before in the Connecticut River. Printed in Brattleborough by Ben Smead, 1798.

Some Communications first published in the Brattleborough Paper; with Extracts from "Candid Reflections on the different Conceptions concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity," by William Wells, Brattleborough, 1816.

The following poem written by Chief Justice Royall Tyler is supposed to have been inspired by Doctor Wells:

Tho' the frail tablet's broken line
The honored tenant's name denies,
They know that here, embalmed by time,
The earliest village pastor lies.

For they have heard their fathers tell
What their forefathers told to them.
And fond tradition knows full well
The story of the best of men.
That what was good, or kind, or true,
Of morals pure, or faith unfeigned
Which his adopted village knew
His precepts taught, his life explained.

The old obituary was for the few, and only for those worthy of one, and we find in it, generally, a trustworthy estimate of a man's life, work and character, as viewed by his contemporaries. It is also valuable as an expression of the standards by which people were judged and the qualities most appreciated by the generation to which the subject of the obituary belonged.

DIED

In this town, on Sunday evening last, the Reverend WILLIAM WELLS, D.D., aged 83.— This eminent divine was, in early and in mature life, the Minister of a congregation of Dissenters at Bromsgrove, England. He emigrated to America about thirty-five years ago, and was for over twenty years, the Pastor of the Church and Congregation in Brattleborough. Although his mind was stored with those rich treasures of theological information which are the products of a long and studious life, he had none of the pride or pomp of education; and although he was blessed with ample powers of argument, he did not feel it his duty to expatiate in the thorny tracts of controversy, believing that he could better serve the great cause of truth and piety by preaching *Christ and him crucified,* by plain and practical illustrations of the pure morality, & perfect purity of the Christian system. Sustaining through life the reputation of liberal principles and comprehensive views, he was not understood to adopt, in *all* their amplitude, the peculiar doctrines of any of the contending sects that occupy the extreme points of the vast field of religious contemplation. While his capacious mind embraced, in its benevolent wishes, and in its fervent aspirations, the whole family of man, he acknowledged no human master of the human mind, and still less did he presume to mark out the limits of either the power, the justice, or the mercy of *the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.* The "daily beauty" and moral elevation of his character were of course more peculiarly obvious to his family, his intimate friends, and the circle of his neighborhood: But he had a name and a praise in many of the congregations on both sides of the Atlantic. To the Church he was a shining

light, and to the World a bright example. It is known that many able and candid men, of different denominations, regarded him as combining, in a degree very unusual in this late age of the world, the primitive simplicity of the patriarchal, with the paternal dignity of the apostolical character. And those whose lot it was, from their nearer and dearer connexion with him, to stand around his bed of death, while they could not but mourn their irreparable loss, must have derived consolation from the circumstance that the flight of his pure spirit was so silent and peaceful, that none could mark the moment of departure, and will find their sorrows richly mingled, not with mere hope that borders on belief, but with faith unshadowed by a doubt, that he ascends to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, to the spirits of just men made perfect, to the innumerable company of angels, to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant and to God the Judge of all, in Mount Sion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and in the house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

His funeral was attended on Wednesday last. An excellent and ingenious discourse was delivered on the occasion by the Rev. SAMUEL WILLARD, D.D., of Deerfeld, Mass., from 2 Timothy IV. 7 & 8. "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day."—(Communicated.)

From *The Brattleborough Messenger,* December 14, 1827.

Other children of Reverend William Wells:

Martha A., married John R. Freme of Liverpool; died May 20, 1849.

Mary A., born July 19, 1773; died in Boston May 3, 1862.

Hannah, born June 15, 1780; died March 3, 1855, in Hartford, Connecticut.

John Howard, born November 7, 1784; died in Illinois June 1, 1844.

Captain Ebenezer Casterson Wells was born in Bromsgrove, England, in 1777, and came with his father to this country when he was about sixteen years of age. In 1806 he married Mary Chester, daughter of John and Elizabeth Huntington Chester of Wethersfield, Connecticut, a woman of rare virtues, who died October 20, 1836, aged fifty-seven.

They lived in the house afterwards occupied by the Burnside Military School, and Captain Wells owned much of the land now a part of the Retreat estate. He was twice a representative to the Legislature, 1839-1840. He died June 10, 1850, aged seventy-three.

Captain Wells was a man of uncommon worth, and was universally respected in this neighborhood. Though not gifted with brilliant talents or endowed with striking characteristics, yet there was in him a beautiful blending of mental and moral powers, making a finely proportioned character. Benevolence, modesty, a self-sacrificing spirit and unsullied honor were among his traits. His domestic ties and affections were very strong. He lived and died a Christian gentleman.

The north transept window in the Unitarian Church is a memorial to Ebenezer and Mary Wells.

Children of Ebenezer and Mary Wells:

Charles, of New York, born in 1799; died March 29, 1886.

John C., born April 3, 1807; married November 14, 1839, Elizabeth Colt, daughter of Elisha and Lucretia Davis Colt of Hartford, Connecticut, born May 20, 1816. They lived in Brattleboro; he died February 22, 1862, aged fifty-four. She moved to Minneapolis in September, 1899; died June 11, 1906, aged ninety. Children:

Mary C., born October 17, 1840; died April 6, 1877.

Sarah C., born May 8, 1843; died April 29, 1891.

John Chester, born January 27, 1847; died September 28, 1905. He was in the drug trade in St. Paul.

Ebenezer F., born June 2, 1851; graduated at Cornell University, 1872; was assistant engineer in charge of the office in the construction department of the Northern Pacific; later was supply agent for the same department of Manitoba and Southeastern Colonization Railway, and in Iron and Steel Company of West Superior, Wisconsin; finally he was in the Home Telephone Company, Portland, Oregon, as director and treasurer. He died December 10, 1915.

Captain Howard, born in 1810.

William Henry, born August 5, 1811; married March 16, 1852, Frances Tracy, daughter of William Gedney and Rachel Huntington Tracy of Utica, New York, born February 6, 1821; died in February, 1886. He died April 17, 1891. They lived in New York, coming to Brattleboro every summer for many years. The Wells Fountain was a gift to the town where his youthful days were passed, by William Henry Wells. He also gave $1000 to the Brooks Library. Their daughter is Miss Julia Chester Wells of New York.

## CHAPTER VIII

## TOWN RECORDS
### 1768–1775

Town Records, 1768-1775—Town officers—Brattleboro backward in opposing claims of New York—Westminster Massacre—William French, protomartyr of the Revolution—John Arms, poet.

There are no available records of meetings which may have been held between 1753 and 1768. It is a question whether there were any regular town meetings previous to the one recorded of 1768.

The record runs:

At a legal meeting of the Freeholders of the Town of Brattleborough in the County of Cumberland on the first Tuesday of March 1768 agreeable to the time prefixed by the Patent of said Township for annual Town Meetings The following Persons were chosen and elected to serve as Town officers the ensuing year

After choosing John Arms Esq Moderator

1st Henry Wells M. A. Town Clerk

2d Samuel Wells Esqr Supervisor

3d John Arms Esqr, Samuel Wells Esqr, Capt. Benjamin Butterfield Assessors.

4th Samuel Wells Esqr. Treasurer

5th Samuel Wells Esqr, John Arms Esqr, Capt Benjamin Butterfield Commissioners for Laying out & Regulating Highways. [These officials probably correspond to the selectmen of the present time.]

6th John Sargent Henry Wells, M. A. Timothy Church Josiah White Samuel Wells Esqr Malachi Church overseers of the Highways.

7th Henry Wells M. A. John Arms Esqr overseers of the Poor.

Samuel Knight, Timothy Church, Levi Baldwin, Jasper Partridge, Constables.

8th Timothy Church Collector

9th Lemuel Kendrick, John Arms Esqr, Malachi Church, Josiah White Overseers & viewers of Fences. [These men were appointed to take charge of building and keeping in repair fences that surrounded enclosed fields, in which farmers living near could place their cattle.]

10th Jacob Spaldin, Richard Prouty, Samuel Brown, William McCune, Howards[1] to take care that no unruly Cattle or Horses or any that belong to other towns or any swine unyoked or unringed run at large on Highways or unfenced unimproved lands in this town the year ensuing.

11th Capt Benjamin Butterfield, Samuel Wells Esqr To Demand sue for and receive all Penalties and forfeitures incurred by breach of foregoing orders. [These officials correspond to some extent with the town agent of the present time.]

Henry Wells M. A. *Town Clerk.*

It was voted to raise twelve pounds (York currency) on the poll and estates for defraying the necessary and contingent charges of the town.

At this meeting the highways were divided into six districts, and the freeholders of the town were divided among the six overseers of the highways, elected at this meeting, and in this way the roads of the town were taken care of. The care of the roads of the town was apportioned among these men as follows:

To John Sargent, the whole of the roads north of West River, and he was given ten men to assist him; to Josiah White, the road from H. Dale (Hinsdale) line to the bridge at the mill and from William King's to the county road from Guilford line across the county road to Connecticut River, and he was given eight men as assistants; to Samuel Wells, the roads from West River to the mill and the bridge and the road from Elias Wilder's to the upper end of the meadow, twenty-one men, evidently leading citizens, being appointed as his helpers; to Timothy Church, the road from Nathaniel Church's, Senior, to the road from Elias Wilder's to Mr. Wells's and the road from Fane (Newfane) road to the road "betwixt" Richard Prouty's and John Alexander's and the road from Mr. Kent's to Hobbs's, ten men being appointed to work with him; to Henry Wells, the road from Church road to the town road and from William McCune's to the county road, and his assignment of man force was nine; to Malachi Church, the road from Fane (Newfane) line to William McCune's and from Mr. Bump's to Fane (Newfane) road and from Thomas Cook's to Fane (Newfane) road, and six men were given into his charge to help make the highways what they should be. In all, sixty-four men were appointed to assist the six overseers of the highways, or a grand total of seventy men.

This system, beginning then, was used in the state for one hundred and twenty-four years.

[1] The office of "howard" was another name for that of hog or cattle reeve. They saw that the cattle were properly marked and did not do damage to crops.

The officers of the town for 1771 were:

Captain Benjamin Butterfield, moderator; Henry Wells, town clerk; Samuel Wells, supervisor; Henry Wells, John Houghton, Benjamin Butterfield, trustees (whose duties may have been similar to those of selectmen); Henry Wells, Thomas Sargent, Oliver Cooke, assessors; Henry Wells, treasurer; Henry Wells, Benjamin Butterfield, overseers of the poor; John Alexander, Reuben Field, Benjamin Gorton, Jacob Spaulding, collectors; John Houghton, Oliver Cooke, John Sargent, commissioners for laying out highways. Henry Wells, Samuel Wells, and Benjamin Butterfield were assessors for his Majesty's interest; John Sargent, collector of his Majesty's quit rents. The quit rents for his Majesty were two shillings and six pence per hundred acres of land.

The town voted that year that the sum of five pounds, ten shillings and three pence be raised to pay the debts contracted by the town.

There were about sixty voters, seven of whom lived about old Fort Dummer and from there to William King's, where Lorenzo Thayer's farm is: ten lived north of West River, and the rest north of Arms's.

These officers were such as were required for towns in the Province of New York, and they were elected annually afterwards. Towns in the province or state of New York had never been authorized to send representatives to the Assembly. The representation was by counties. Cumberland County was, December 23, 1772, authorized to send two representatives. The election was held at Westminster and the freemen had to go there to vote. Judge Wells was a candidate, and "methods sometimes said to be used now may have been then." He and Crean Brush were elected. John Bolton of Westminster sent to him this note:

Westminster June the 11th 1773

Sir: I have paid unto Jont. Stafford nine Shillings and Six pence Lawful money of the Bay Province for Necesares the People of Halifax had when they Come to Lexion, if you wold be so good as to pay ye same to Mr. Whipple ye Bearer by next thursday so as he may bring it to me, you will much oblige your Humble Servant.

Mr. Brush lived at Westminster; and "other things may have been done about the election." Reform from such practices appears to have taken root here early.

Men over eighteen years old, poor or rich, by the law were required to work on the roads six days, if necessary for good repair, in each year. In view of these things the freemen of Brattleboro, on the third Tuesday of April, by adjournment from the first Tuesday of March, 1773:

Voted That the supervisor of this town give the following instructions

to the assemblymen of this county, viz. To ask leave of the assembly to bring in the following Bills.

1. A Bill to relieve the poor from doing as much as the rich at the Highways, that is to have the Highways repaired by the assessment upon mens estate according to their substance, also that the roads for the future may be recorded by the town clerks.

2. A Bill to oblige the non-resident proprietors of unimproved Land to pay one penny on every acre yearly for the space of five years to be applied for the making and Repairing of Highways in the Towns where they have lands.

3. A Bill for electing assemblymen whereby every person may be excluded from the assembly who shall hereafter ask for the votes of the electors or keep open house or use any method of this kind by himself or others to influence the electors to vote for him, and that the votes may be given for the future either by Ballot or viva voce at a meeting in each town and that the votes may be taken by the town clerks & Trustees and be conveyed by the town clerk to some person to be appointed by the assemb'y for Judges of the election.

These votes do not seem to have had much effect. The highway laws appear to have remained the same; and the same representatives were reëlected in 1774 and in 1775.

But the people of Brattleboro were backward in the opposition to what were deemed by many to be oppressions of New York authorities, and to the proceedings of the court. Westminster jail, where Lieutenant Leonard Spaulding was confined for alleged treasonable words spoken of the King,[1] was opened for his release "without key or lock-picker," in November, 1774, by a committee "assisted by a Large Concourse of their freeborn Neighbors and brethren Consisting of the inhabitants of Dummerston, Putney, Guilford, Halifax, and Draper," but not of Brattleboro, which was in the midst of them.

A standing committee of correspondence was formed in twenty-one towns of the county,—Nathaniel French, a member from Brattleboro,—for the purpose of keeping informed of the doings of friends of liberty in other colonies, and at a meeting held in Westminster in February, 1775, it was resolved that the administration of justice in the county should be no longer in the hands of Tories. In order that their grievances might be made known before the session regularly opened on the second Tuesday of March, 1775, the people devised a plan to take possession of the

[1] Spaulding having said that if the King had signed the Quebec bill which gave French instead of English laws to that province and established the Roman Catholic religion, it was his opinion that he had broke his coronation-oath.

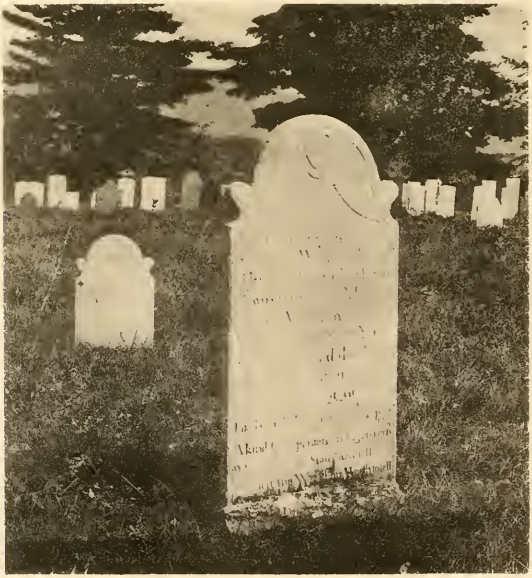
OLD CEMETARY MEETING HOUSE HILL

GRAVE OF WILLIAM FRENCH

COURT HOUSE WESTMINSTER

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

RESIDENCE OF JUDGE SAMUEL WELLS



GRAVESTONE OF JUDGE S. WELLS

court house. But news of the conspiracy having reached the ears of the court officials, armed guards surrounded the door of the court house where the sheriff ordered the "King's proclamation" to be read, and threatened to "blow a lane" through the mob wide enough to afford an easy exit for all whom the bullets might spare, unless they departed within fifteen minutes. One of the Whigs came forward saying that his party would be glad to hold a parley with them, whereupon Samuel Gale (of Brattleborough), the clerk of the Court, drew a pistol and exclaimed, "I will hold no parley with such damned rascals but by this," referring to his pistol. An affidavit of Oliver Church of Brattleboro made a few days after says:

That on the next day, being Sunday, William Patterson, Esquire, High Sheriff of the said county of Cumberland, came to Brattleborough and confirmed the said Report and desired the Inhabitants to go with him the next day to Westminster the Town where the said Courts were to be held to assist him in keeping the peace and Suppressing the Rioters. That on the next day, being Monday, the thirteenth day of this instant March, the Deponent with several other Inhabitants of Brattleborough to the number of about twenty-five, unarmed except with Staves attended the said Sheriff from Brattleborough to Westminster.

Among those there from Brattleboro on the side of the sheriff were Samuel Knight, then the only lawyer of Brattleboro, attending to his practice before the court, Benjamin Butterfield, a justice of the sessions of the peace which met at the same time, Oliver Church's father, John Griffin, Benjamin Gorton and Benjamin Butterfield, Junior.

One from Brattleboro was there among those in the court house to be ready to present their grievances and to have the business of the court put off; that was William French, "son to Mr. Nathaniel French," who lived next to Dummerston where those of the same name have since lived.

The affidavit of Mr. Church further says that:

To intimidate them three Guns were fired over their heads just above the Door. That thereupon the mob returned the fire from the House. That one of their Balls entered the Cuff of the Coat of Benjamin Butterfield Esquire one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County of Cumberland which went out of the elbow without hurting him and another went through his Coat Sleeve and just grazed the Skin. That a pistol was discharged by one of the Rioters at Benjamin Butterfield, the Son of the above named Justice Butterfield so near that the Powder burnt a large hole in the breast of his Coat.

An affidavit of John Griffin, made at the same time, says "That one of the party of the rioters, William French, lost his life by a musket ball."

William French, son of Nathaniel French, resided in Brattleboro, near the southern line of Dummerston. He had a brother, Nathaniel French, Junior, who settled near West River in Dummerston in 1768, and was a resident there at the time his brother was killed in Westminster. The people of Brattleboro who lived in the immediate neighborhood of William French's home, were mainly favorers of the court party, but young French's principles were those which he had received from his father. Finding sympathy with the liberty-loving people of Dummerston, he generally acted with them on questions relating to the public weal.

Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Frost, sister of Jesse Frost) French had a family of eleven children, of whom William was the fifth and was born March 21, 1753, lacking only eight days of being twenty-two years old at the time he was killed. In person he was of medium height and stature, and, in the words of one who knew him, was esteemed "as a clever, steady, honest, working farmer." Being undoubtedly more ardent than others in expressing and enforcing his sentiments, he was among the first to attract attention, and in the issue was most mercilessly butchered. He was shot with five bullets in as many different places. One of the balls lodged in the calf of the leg and another in the thigh. A third, striking him in the mouth, broke out several teeth. He received the fourth in his forehead, and that which caused his death entered the brain just behind the ear. In this horrible condition, still alive, he was dragged to a crowded jailroom and thrust in among the well and wounded. Between the hours of three and four on the next morning Doctor William Hill of Westminster was allowed to visit him, but assistance had come too late. On the day after the affray the name of French was on every lip, and hundreds visited his corpse, anxious to

> . . . dip their napkins in his sacred blood;
> Yea, beg a hair of him for memory.

A coroner's jury was assembled on the fifteenth of March to inquire into the cause of French's death and the original report of the investigation is still preserved. In the report Benjamin Groton and Samuel Night (of Brattleboro) are among those who "assisting with force and arms, made an assault on the Body of the Said Wm. French and shot him Through the Head with a Bullet of which he Died and Not Otherwise." On the same day of the inquest he was buried with military honors, his funeral being attended by all the militia of the surrounding country, who paid their final adieu to the ennobled dead in the salute which they fired above his grave.

The coroner's inquest is deposited in the rooms of the Vermont Historical Society in the capitol at Montpelier.

The slate stone over his grave split and was removed. It was kept in the hearsehouse near the old church until lightning destroyed the church in 1888. The present stone, with the epitaph, is an exact copy of the original.

In Memory of William French
Son to Mr. Nathaniel French Who
Was shot at Westminster March ye 13th
1775 by the hands of Cruel Ministerial
tools of Georg ye 3d in the Corthouse at
a 11 a Clock at Night in the 22d year of
his age.
Here William French his Body lies
For Murder his blood for Vengeance cries
King Georg the third his Tory crew
tha with a bawl his head Shot threw
For Liberty and his Country's Good
he Lost his Life his Dearest blood.

The title of protomartyr to the cause of the Revolution has been claimed for William French. Certain it is, says Hall, that "in his grave were buried all hopes of reconciliation with the mother country."

Esquire Benjamin Butterfield and Benjamin Gorton of the Brattleboro men in the sheriff's party were taken with others, under guard of Robert Cochran and some of his Green Mountain Boys who had come from the west side of the mountains, to Northampton jail for safe-keeping. When released, the latter returned and married Abigail, daughter of Colonel John Sargent, reputed to be the first white girl born in Vermont. He removed to Gray, New York, where he engaged in trade. He prophesied that the world would come to an end in 1816, and in that year rode a horse through the streets of that city calling men to repentance. He was the author of many pious books. Mrs. Gale, wife of the clerk of the court, who was also taken, was a daughter of Judge Wells. "Her husband had an opportunity of speaking to her in a whisper to desire her to send the Deponent to Mrs. Wells her mother requesting she would send somebody immediately to City of New York to acquaint Colonel Wells and Mr. Brush of the proceedings of the said Rioters that the Governor and Council might be apprized of their Situation and send them relief without Delay." They set off from Brattleboro "a little after midnight the same day," and arrived in New York in the afternoon of the next Monday.

John Arms, a boy of fifteen, in 1775 joined "enemies of this and other American States," afterwards returned, asked pardon, was forgiven "and restored to privileges of the State." On taking the oath of allegiance he made the following verses:

March ye thirteenth, in Westminster there was a dismal clamor,
A mob containing five hundred men, they came in riotous manner,
Swearing the courts they should not set, even to adjournment
But for fear of the sheriff and his valiant men, they for their fire arms sent.
The Protestant that stood by the law, they all came here well armed:
They demanded the house which was their own, of which they were debarred,
The sheriff then drew off his men to consult upon the matter,
How he might best enter the house and not to make a slaughter.
The sheriff then drew up his men in order for a battle,
And told them for to leave the house or they should feel his bullets rattle.
But they resisted with their clubs until the sheriff fired,
Our valiant men entered the house, not in the least confounded,
And cleared the rooms of everyone, except of those who were wounded.

## CHAPTER IX

## FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAGE

Further Development of the Village—Changes in Esquire Greenleaf's farm—Location of Aaron Whitney—Gardner Chandler—Matthew Martin—Oliver Evans—Joseph Clark—Benjamin Gorton—Elnathan Allen—Asa Putnam—Elisha Pierce—Nathan Willard—Nathaniel Church—Captain Nathaniel Bliss—John Thomas—Jonathan Church—Samuel Dickinson—John W. Blake—Hiram Houghton—Edward and James Houghton.

Esquire Greenleaf owned the fifty-acre lot of Mr. Herrick's farm south of O. L. Miner's and went there to live about 1772-1773, and perhaps before he built the sawmill, to be near it, and sold the place toward Guilford April 3, 1776. He probably built the house on the Herrick place, which is just about at the junction of the roads now marked Elm Corners; and in 1783 he bought twenty acres more of Benjamin Baker off the north side of the lot next south. There was his home afterwards. In 1784 he mortgaged his farm to Stephen Cleverly of Boston to secure Joseph Webb, Thomas Lee, John Perkins, John Scolley, Esquire, Micael Jackson, James Wesson, Joseph Bradford, John Green, Joseph Torrey, mostly or all of Boston, and Samuel Wells, Esquire, and Matthew Martin of Brattleboro, for what he stood justly indebted to them. The title to this farm probably soon went on the mortgage, for it soon began to be described in deeds of adjoining lands as "the farm upon which Esquire Greenleaf lives."

Esquire Greenleaf was a member and clerk of the church. He does not appear to have taken any active part in the controversy about adhering to New York or forming a new state. The organization of this town under New York was maintained till 1781, and he was the last town clerk under that jurisdiction; an organization as a Vermont town was then effected. Judge Wells's title, under which he sold the governor's right to Esquire Greenleaf, rested upon the New York title, which failed with the establishment of the state of Vermont, whose constitution recognized the New Hampshire and repudiated the New York titles. This left the title of Governor Wentworth to his right reserved in force. He had married handsome Martha Hilton, one of his servants, willed her all of his property and died; and she had been married to Colonel Wentworth at Portsmouth and had Governor Wentworth's title. Joseph Clark bought her title and afterwards conveyed it to John Houghton, who conveyed

the new sawmill, house near and lands to Josiah Arms, who had a "shop" about where the house east of the road now leading north from Centerville is. Mr. Arms afterwards sold to Judge Samuel Knight.

On October 10, 1776, Judge Wells sold the sawmill and one hundred acres of land extending north and eastward, including what is now Oscar Benson's farm, to John Houghton, whose house stood in what is now the south side of the road opposite Mr. Benson's barn. The wharfing of the road opposite Mr. Benson's is in what was the mill pond, and the bridge across the brook was a little farther east than it now is.

Esquire Greenleaf bought of Joseph Clark six acres and ten rods of land adjoining the north side of the farm on which he lived; it included the flat on the east side of the road and part of the pasture on the west side. He died in 1803, aged sixty-seven, leaving this land which was appraised by Joseph Clark and John Stewart at £90, one acre, two roods and twenty rods of which, in the flat where the new house stands, was assigned to his widow Eunice as her dower. The personal estate, excepting a cart, a cow, a man's saddle, some lumber and a few farming tools, was all assigned to her.

Mr. Greenleaf was in occupation a merchant when he came here; and he took a license as a tavernkeeper at the May term of court in 1772 at Westminster, as did Christopher Osgood of Newfane, Samuel Whitney of Marlboro, Nathan Willard (who lived near Fort Dummer in 1766) and Benjamin Butterfield, Junior, of Brattleboro, and he probably kept "some goods for sale here for a short time, but not many." After the news of the battles at Lexington and Concord reached here, Solomon Phelps wrote a letter to his brother Charles at Hadley, dated "New Marlborough, May 1, 1775," in which he said: "We have all been alarmed at the bloody news from Concord; our people universally stand ready to assist you; Major Hunt, Esquire Bridgman and Mr. Tute give each a barrel of pork, besides considerable wheat. Mr. Greenleaf told me he was then instantly going to send 20 bushels of wheat flour for the use of the men at Roxbury or thereabouts." Some notes were made in 1778 payable in salt "at Esq. Greenleaf's," and some in wheat "at Esq. Greenleaf's house or the Grist Mill there in Brattleborough," which indicates that he then had no store at which to make them payable. The house referred to was probably that at the Herrick place, and the mill, Mr. Seth Smith's mill, which were both in quite as lively a place as Main Street was then, near the end of the bridge where is now the creamery. Seth Smith lived in the first house beyond the watering trough on the road to West Brattleboro.

In 1778 Matthew Martin of Townshend bought the remaining one hundred and seventy-three and one-quarter acres of the two hundred

acres, moved to where the American Building is, and built a very good gristmill where the machine shop is, and a sawmill with two saws below. In 1779 Aaron Whitney, a merchant at Northfield, bought of Samuel Knight and Matthew Martin the land on both sides of the road from the First Baptist Church to the American Building, and Gardner Chandler, who lived in a house on the garden north of Colonel Hunt's (the Hooker House), had it, and afterwards in 1784 had a house and barn where the Brooks House stands (built before and occupied by John Humphrey) and a shop where the stone block is, which soon became, if it was not then, a store. In 1781 Joseph Clark came and lived where Stebbins's carriage shop was at the corner of Canal and South Main Streets, and had a fulling mill on the brook above the bridge.

In 1782 those living along the road running through what is now Main Street were Benjamin Gorton—who married a daughter of Judge Samuel Wells—at the upper end of the West River meadow, Samuel Wells at the Linden Lodge, Josiah Arms at the Retreat farm, Nathaniel Church at the Retreat on the west side, Samuel Knight north of the Brooks Library, Matthew Martin at the American House, Joseph Clark at Stebbins's shop, Elnathan Allen, Oliver Evans and Asa Putnam beyond Cemetery Hill, Elisha Pierce at the Wood farm, Gardner Chandler at Colonel Hunt's and Nathan Willard at Fort Dummer. A schoolhouse was built soon after on the southwest corner of what was, later, the Common, where religious services were held two or three times a week by Reverend William Wells, before the Church on the Common was built in 1818.

In 1784 Nathaniel Church's house was the most northeastern dwelling in the town; Captain Nathaniel Bliss was living on "Bliss Farm" in 1790; John Thomas located in 1793 upon the farm afterwards owned by his grandson.

Jonathan Church built, before 1787, a sawmill above Joseph Clark's fulling mill, where the paper mill is, and in that year leased to Samuel Dickinson of Petersham land between for a shop, with the privilege of taking water from the dam sufficient to run a trip-hammer. Mr. Dickinson moved here and lived on the east side of the road north of the American Building. In 1790 John W. Blake, a lawyer and the second one in town, bought the house and law practice of Samuel Knight, who had become a judge of the Supreme Court; and Hiram Houghton bought, and built a house, on the east side of the road, now Linden Street. In 1792 Lemuel Whitney bought and built where Mrs. Dowley lives, and had a shop beside the road towards Hiram Houghton's; and Elnathan Allen sold the land where the Van Doorn house stands below the Ullery Building to Edward Houghton, merchant of Guilford, who built and kept a store there with his brother James.

## CHAPTER X

## BRATTLEBORO OPPOSED TO THE FORMATION OF A STATE OF VERMONT

Brattleboro's Resistance to State of Vermont—No delegates sent to convention at Dorset or Windsor—Declarations of broken condition of country—Support of Great Britain in Revolutionary War—Protests against "pretended state"—Further protest against unjustifiable proceedings of Vermont—Estates of Yorkers confiscated by Vermonters—Arrest of forty-four persons charged with "enemical conduct" in opposing authority of Vermont, among them Micah Townsend of Brattleboro—Governor Clinton of New York appeals to Congress—Ethan Allen enforced authority—Organization of town under state—Name Vermont, at first "New Connecticut alias Vermont"—Execution against body of Timothy Church —Seizure of Oliver Waters—Troops assembled at Arms Tavern on way to Guilford—Allotment of lands to Timothy Church and associates—Abduction of Luke Knowlton of Newfane by Francis Prouty, Thomas Whipple and Jonathan Dunklee of Brattleboro with others from Newfane.

In 1776 the disaffection had become so general that many of the principal men were ready to join in forming a free and independent state to include the whole of the New Hampshire Grants lying between the Connecticut River and Lake Champlain.

The general convention of delegates from thirty-five towns on the west side of the Green Mountains, holden on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth days of July, 1776, at Dorset, "after receiving the Report from the Honorable the Continental Congress by Capt. Heman Allen"

Voted that suitable application be made to form the District of land commonly called and known by the name of New Hampshire Grants into a separate district, Dissentient only one.

Voted to choose a committee to treat with the inhabitants on the east side of the range of the Green Mountains relative to their associating with this body.

Voted that Capt. Heman Allen, Col. William Marsh, and Dr. Jonas Fay in conjunction with Capt. Samuel Fletcher and Mr. Josiah Fish, together with such other gentlemen on the east side of the range of the Green Mountains on said Grants as they may hereafter appoint to join them be and hereby are appointed a Committee for the above purpose:

The convention also adopted and the delegates individually signed this declaration:

We the subscribers inhabitants of that district of land commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants do voluntarily and solemnly engage under all the ties held sacred among mankind at the risk of our lives and fortunes to defend by arms the United American Colonies against the hostile attempts of the British fleets and armies until the present unhappy controversy between the two countries shall be settled.

Voted that each inhabited town on the New Hampshire Grants be served with a copy thereof and that it be and is hereby recommended to each of said inhabitants who are friendly to their country that they severally subscribe the same as soon as may be and make return by the Delegate or Delegates which they are hereby directed to appoint to join this Convention at their next sitting at Dorset the 25th day of September next to which time and place this convention stands adjourned.

Brattleboro did not send any delegate to the convention at Dorset, which resolved unanimously to take suitable measures as soon as may be to declare the New Hampshire Grants a free and independent district; nor to that to which this one adjourned on the fifteenth of January, 1777, at Westminster, which voted unanimously "that the district of land commonly called and known by the name of New Hampshire grants be a new and separate state and for the future conduct themselves as such," made a declaration and petition to Congress, and adjourned to the first Wednesday in June at Windsor.

The original record shows that at the convention of January 15, 1777, the state was given the name of "New Connecticut alias Vermont." It was subsequently learned that a district of land lying on the Susquehanna River bore the name of New Connecticut, and at the convention held at Windsor, June 4, 1777, it was voted that the new state "should now and hereafter be called and known by the name of Vermont."

The committee of safety, on the second of December, 1777, prepared a representation of the "broken situation" of the county.

We therefore, the committee of the county of Cumberland, and others especially appointed by the towns of Weathersfield, Westminster, Putney, Brattleborough, Hinsdale, and part of Guilford, for said purposes, do represent as follows, viz., that the convention held at Windsor on the fourth day of June, instant, for the purpose of establishing their new state of Vermont, have taken into their possession the prison of this county,

and have strictly forbid all committees acting under the authority of New York, so that it has become impracticable for the county committee, or any other committee to proceed to any publick business in this county. The publick peace is so interrupted by the proceedings of this convention at Windsor, that it hath already considerably hindered the raising of men for their common defence; and we think we have reason to believe that if a stop is not speedily put to this spirit of disorder which rages so vehemently here, a final period will soon be put to any further provision being made in this county for the common defence of America.

We further represent that a considerable number of the people in this county who are so warmly engaged in setting up their new state, have not any or but little property which they can claim under any grant whatever; and we really believe that the leaders of the people who are for the new state in this county, are pursuing that which they esteem their private interest, and prefer that to the publick weal of America, and that they are determined to support the authority of the new state at all events; and that without interposition of Continental Congress they will never submit to the authority of New York until obliged so to do by the sword.

By a resolution of the New York committee of safety, passed some months previous, authority had been given to the county committees to select places suitable for the residence of persons who should be "inoculated with the small-pox." Permission was now granted by the county committee "to erect a house in Brattleborough" to be used for that purpose. Obadiah Wells, Captain John Sargent, and Lieutenant Israel Smith, were employed to select a proper site for the building, which when completed was to be in their charge.

The Revolutionary War diverted the minds and activities of the people for brief periods of time, but any respite from internal dissensions was temporary, and the conflict between the partisans of New York and the Grants was carried forward with renewed vigor and acerbity.

In Cumberland County the people of each town chose their committee of safety, and each town committee sent delegates to sit in the committee of safety for the county. Israel Smith and John Sargent were delegates from Brattleboro.

May 27 Brattleborough

Voted & chose Lieut. Israel Smith to go to Winsor as an agent for this town.

Chose Col. Seth Smith Lieut. Timo Church & Joseph Burt as a committee to take care of the town stock of ammunition.

Chose Mr. Obadiah Wells Ens Richd Prouty & Capt. John Sargeants

a committee to give instructions to Lieut. Israel Smith who is chose to go to Winsor as an agent.

Lieutenant Smith had previously received these instructions:

Brattleborough April 25, 1777.

To Israel Smith Esqr. of Brattleboro in the County of Cumberland and state of New York: You being appointed by this Town to Represent the different Circumstances this Town is Under by means of the Factions which Prevals in this and the Neighboring counties. We the Subscribers being appointed a Committee for the Purpose of Giving You instructions, do instruct you as Followeth: that you Represent that a Number of Persons Calling them Selves the Representatives of the County in Conjunction with those Calld the Green Mountain Boys met at Westminster in January Last and Declared that Land known by the Name of the Newhampshire Grants a Separate independent State, that Not half the Towns in this County were Represented in this meeting, that all the People in this Town are Loyal to the State of New York and think themselves in duty Bound to Put in Execution all orders of the Contennental and this State Congress, and that it is the opinion of this Committee that the Greater Part of the People in the County who own Propity are so, that these Factions are Carried so high in Some Parts of the County it is dangerous speaking against a New State, that you inform the Convention of the many Difficulties that have subsisted in this County some years back.

Obadiah Wells,
Seth Smith,
Sam'l Warriner,
James Blakeslee,
John Griffin.

The convention held on the first Wednesday of June at Windsor recommended to the people of the new state to assemble in their respective towns on the twenty-third of June and choose representatives to meet on the second of July at Windsor to form a constitution and elect delegates to Congress. On June 16 at Brattleboro—

It was put to vote in full town meeting whether the town would accept the proceedings of the late convention held at Winsor or not. Voted not to accept or approve of their proceedings Voted & chose Mr. Samuel Knight, Capt. John Sergeant, Ens. Richd Prouty, Col. Seth Smith & Stephn Greenleaf a committee to join the committees of sundry other towns to consult what was best to be done respecting the proceedings of the above convention.

Stephen Greenleaf, *town clerk.*

Brattleboro did not send any delegate to this convention of the second of July at Windsor, which adopted the constitution, and had no part in the formation of the state.

The committees mentioned in the vote met on the seventeenth and on the twenty-sixth of June at the house of Captain Sargent in Brattleboro and their report was:

And we do hereby solemnly declare that we entirely disapprove of the proceedings of the late convention at Windsor and of all persons whatever acting under authority of that convention and that we will at all times do our best endeavor to support the legal authority of the state of New York in the county.

January 28, 1778, a number of the inhabitants of Cumberland County who were allies of New York, assembled at Brattleboro and prepared a petition addressed to the Legislature of that state, stating that the convention of "the pretended state of Vermont" had adopted a constitution under which state and other officers were soon to be elected. From the evils which threatened them in this quarter, they prayed to be defended.

At the annual meeting of the town, March 3, they appointed Benjamin Butterfield, Samuel Knight, Israel Smith, James Blakeslee and Micah Townsend a committee to confer with the different town committees in the county and ascertain who among them were inclined to bear testimony against the "unjustifiable proceedings of Vermont." Another meeting was held on the eighteenth.

At an adjourned meeting held at the house of Captain Sargent in Brattleboro on the fifteenth of April, 1778, representatives from Guilford, Brattleboro, Putney, Newfane, Hinsdale and Rockingham were in attendance. A protest in the form of an address was directed "To the gentlemen convened at Windsor, under the style of the General Assembly of Vermont."

To quote in brief from this document: "The final adjudication of the King of Great Britain in privy Council (the only proper court which could then determine matters of this nature), that this territory was within the jurisdiction of New York; our peaceable acquiescence in that judgment; and representation in Continental Congress and the Convention of New York, both before and since the Declaration of Independence, are undoubted proofs that our allegiance is justly due to the state of New York until Congress shall otherwise determine. The resolutions of Congress of the 30th June last, and the articles of confederation, are convincing to us that that honourable body disapproves of a measure so extraordinary. The present government of New York engaging to remove such grievances as we really laboured under, from the iniquity and bad

policy of our former governors, we hope will quiet the complaints arising from those grievances. The confusion that erecting a new state, without the consent of Congress, has already, and will more abundantly, introduce; the present inability of the people to support a separate government, however frugally the public moneys are managed; and the great, very great scarcity of men qualified to make and put in execution a wise system of laws, plainly demonstrate to us the wretched policy of so extraordinary an attempt at this time.

"We think it the duty of every friend to the independence of America, more especially in the 'Grants,' to use their most strenuous efforts to suppress or check this offspring of anarchy in its infancy. And as preserving unanimity amongst the number who choose not to assist in dividing the continent, in this momentous crisis, may have a tendency to answer that end, and is essentially necessary as well for the public good as for the security of their persons and property, we beg leave to recommend to you, to elect a committee, in such time that they may meet at Captain Sergeant's in Brattleborough, on the 30th day of June next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, to exist for six months; to authorize them to consent to such measures as they shall think most likely to restore to this divided county internal tranquillity, and submission to the just and necessary authority of those who, by order of Congress, are regularly appointed to rule over us; from time to time to transmit to the government of New York, accounts of all such matters as may be material for them to be acquainted with; and to take such steps as they think best for relieving those who may suffer in their persons or properties by any pretended authority to be derived from the state of Vermont."

In August, 1778, the sense of the voters as to the new state was attempted to be taken. The report from this town was:

| | |
|---|---|
| The number of voters in Brattleborough who dissent from the pretended State of Vermont August 11, 1778, | 165 |
| Number who are for Vermont, | 1 |
| Total | 166 |

At the February session (1779) the Vermont Legislature continued sixteen days, during which time nearly one hundred acts were passed for regulating such matters as required immediate attention. Various laws ostensibly introduced for the benefit of the whole state, but more particularly intended to affect the county of Cumberland, were enacted. In order to increase the revenue of the state, the estates of those inhabitants of Cumberland County who had joined the enemies of Vermont

and of the United States were, on the sixteenth of February, declared confiscated, one of these estates being that of Samuel Gale of Brattleboro.

As soon as courts of justice were established by Vermont, prosecutions were commenced against the subjects of New York.

The friends of New York, when they saw that the laws of Vermont were prevailing, determined to assert whatever power they had, and many towns were provided with two sets of officials, one of New York, and the other of Vermont appointment, both striving to further their conceptions of justice, and each aiming to frustrate the efforts of the other.

On the fourth of May, 1779, the committees of Hinsdale, Guilford, Brattleboro, Fulham, Putney, Westminster, Rockingham, Springfield and Weathersfield, "chosen for the purpose of opposing the pretended state of Vermont," convened at Brattleboro, and prepared a petition, addressed to Governor Clinton, and signed by Samuel Minott, chairman, in their behalf.

On the fifth of May, 1779, Colonel Patterson, in anticipation of combined and strenuous efforts, on the part of the Vermonters, to seize the property and persons of such as refused to acknowledge their authority, asked for advice, and suggested the necessity of issuing orders to the militia of Albany County to hold themselves in readiness to afford him assistance.

On the fourteenth of May, Clinton wrote, in reply, to Samuel Minott of Brattleboro, expressing his belief that the decision of Congress would be favorable to New York, and that the delay which characterized their proceedings had arisen from no other cause than the necessity of first attending to topics of greater importance. "As in my former letters, so in this," wrote he, "I forbear to point out the line of conduct I could wish the well-affected inhabitants in your quarter should observe upon every particular occasion. I conceive it impossible, and therefore can only recommend, in general, firmness and prudence, and in no instance to acknowledge the authority of Vermont, unless where there is no alternative left between submission and inevitable ruin."

On the eighteenth of May, 1779, writs were issued, signed by Ira Allen, for the arrest of forty-four persons, among whom were the officers in Brattleboro, Putney and Westminster who had received commissions from New York, charged with "enemical conduct" in opposing the authority of the state. Of this number thirty-six were taken and confined in the jail at Westminster. No return was made of the remaining eight.[1] Closely crowded together in one room, the prisoners were obliged to remain standing on their feet during the first night of their confinement. This, and the excessive heat of the weather, rendered their sufferings almost intoler-

[1] One of whom was Israel Smith of Brattleboro.

able. In answer to their demands, more comfortable quarters were on the next day provided for them, and their situation during the week in which they continued in prison was rendered endurable.

A meeting of the county committee composed of New York adherents, was convened at Brattleboro on the twenty-fifth of May. An account of the events of the preceding week was prepared by Samuel Minott, the chairman on that occasion, and was forwarded to Governor Clinton by an express.

Among the prisoners was Micah Townsend[1] of Brattleboro, a lawyer of ability. By his advice they addressed a petition to the judges of the court, in which they set forth the peculiarity of their situation, and the want of impartiality in the proceedings then in progress against them. They averred that on account of the recency of their apprehension, and the strictness of their confinement, they had been unable to procure any writings or witnesses to substantiate the pleas which they might wish to offer, and, further, that they could not be "justified to their consciences and to the world," should they omit any "prudent and lawful measures to acquit themselves."

On being apprised of the disturbances which had occurred in Cumberland County, Governor Clinton, on the twenty-ninth of May, transmitted by express the papers containing the information to John Jay, the president of the Congress, with a request that he would lay them before Congress without delay. By the same conveyance he wrote to the New York delegation, telling them that the "Vermont business" had reached a crisis, and assuring them of his confidence in their exertions to obtain the opinion of Congress on that subject at the earliest moment possible. He informed them that the State Legislature would meet on the first of June, and would probably adopt decisive measures. At the same time he assured them that he should issue his orders to the militia, and make the necessary arrangements for supporting the injured dignity of the state; and further, that he should conceive it his duty to order a force of a thousand men who had been destined for the defence of the frontiers, to march to Brattleboro for the protection of that and the adjacent towns, unless the interposition of Congress should render such a measure unnecessary. To support the troops he doubted not that private contributions would be made. In behalf of Colonel Samuel Wells of Brattleboro, he promised a thousand pounds of beef and a barrel of pork. He also expressed his belief that when it should appear that New York was "in earnest" in her efforts, a company could easily be raised in the county to assist in garrisoning the fort.

[1] See p. 145.

The opposition to Vermont was so strong that Ethan Allen came to assist the civil officers in enforcing its authority. Here is an account of his doings from the New York side:

BRATTLEBOROUGH, May 25, 1779.

Sir. The Committee of this County who are now met for the purpose of opposing the Authority of the State of Vermont take this opportunity to inform your Excellency by Express. That Col. Ethan Alline with a number of Green Mountain Boys made his appearance in this County yesterday well armed and equipt for the purpose of reducing the loyal inhabitants of this County to Submission to the authority of the State of Vermont and made Prisoners of Col. Patterson, Lieut. Col. Sergeant and all the Militia officers except one in Brattleborough with Mr. Townsend and a number of other Persons. They have also taken the Militia officers in Putney & Westminster with others, the number of Prisoners we cannot ascertain.

Warrants were issued and the following persons brought before the court on trial: Lieutenant-Colonel John Sargent, Lieutenant James Blakeslee, Lieutenant Samuel Root, Micah Townsend, Timothy Church and Benjamin Butterfield of Brattleboro.

Col. Alline declared that he had five hundred Green Mountain Boys with him, we are not able to ascertain the number, but believe there is not quite so many who came from the west side of the Mountains, they are assisted by a number of the Inhabitants of this County, where they will carry the Prisoners we cannot tell. Col. Allen treated the people here with the most insulting language, assaulted and wounded several persons with his sword without the least provocation, and bids defiance to the State of New York, declares they will establish their State by the sword and fight all who shall attempt to oppose them. Nothing but the reluctance the people here have to shedding human Blood could hinder them from attempting to rescue the Prisoners, they had every insult which the human mind is able to conceive of to prompt them to it. Our situation is truly critical and distressing, we therefore most humbly beseech your Excellency to take the most speedy & effectual Measures for our Relief, otherwise our Persons and Property must be at the disposed of Ethan Allin which is more to be dreaded than Death with all its Terrors.

Sir we are with the greatest esteem

Your Excellency's most obt humble servts

Signed by order of the Committee

SAMUEL MINOTT, *Chairman.*

To his Excellency George Clinton, Esq., Gov. of the State of New York.

The prisoners were taken to Westminster and tried, found guilty and fined by the court in session from £2 to £40 each with costs, for opposing the state of Vermont.

Opposition to the government of the state was organized by conventions of delegates from the towns disaffected, who adopted a uniform plan of resistance. The collection of taxes and drafting of men in defense of the state were opposed, men were excluded from the polls by force and constables were prevented from acting.

On the twenty-third of July, 1779, committees from neighboring towns and from Springfield and Weathersfield, assembled in convention at the house of Colonel Sargent in Brattleboro for the purpose of concerting measures to protect themselves and their constituents from the indignities to which they were subjected by the authorities of Vermont.

At their spring session, the General Assembly of Vermont had, on the fifteenth of March, 1780, appointed Stephen R. Bradley, Moses Robinson, and Jonas Fay, a committee "to enquire as soon as may be into the cause, and officially take the reasons why certain of the inhabitants of the county of Cumberland are opposed to the authority of this state, and wherein their grievances consist." Pursuant to this appointment, the committee, accompanied by Governor Chittenden, assembled at Westminster, and afterwards at Putney, "to attend on the Yorkers," and to "bring about a union with the Brattleborough committee," of which Samuel Minott was chairman. However well-intentioned this measure may have been, it does not seem to have been followed by any kind of settlement. When Oliver Waters, deputy sheriff, seized Timothy Phelps of Marlboro and other Tories, his route to the place of imprisonment was through Brattleboro. "A large collection of Yorkers assembled for raising a building in that town, sprang from the frame, handspikes in hand, rescued Mr. Phelps, and sent Sheriff Waters with his Vermont posse home to try his luck again. Mr. Phelps was immediately provided with a horse and a strong guard to conduct him beyond the Vermont line into Massachusetts." This incident reveals the popularity of the New York party among the inhabitants of this town.

For the purpose of ascertaining the political condition of Cumberland County, a convention of those owing allegiance to New York was held at Brattleboro on the eleventh of April. Nine towns were represented.

May 2, 1780, committees of eleven towns in Cumberland County assembled in Brattleboro for the purpose of devising such measures as should seem best fitted to protect their own interests and those of New York. In a letter addressed to Governor Clinton they defined the position in which they were placed.

This communication, signed by Samuel Minott, chairman of town com-

mittees, and entrusted to Major Jonathan Hunt, who proceeded to Philadelphia, was read in Congress on the twenty-third of May. Major Hunt's affidavit declared his belief "that the assumed government of the New Hampshire Grants called Vermont" was intending after June 1 to "put their laws into execution over the persons and estates of the inhabitants of said Grants," and to exact from them an oath of allegiance to their pretended state.

Although Vermont had a government in full operation after 1777, Congress did not recognize the new state. The government of New York held out hopes that it would maintain authority over the territory, and Brattleboro kept up its organization as a New York town, and sent no representatives to the Vermont Assembly till 1781. Then sentiments in favor of government under Vermont had gained and held place in the minds of many. The record of the last town meeting pursuant to the laws of New York runs:

At a legal Town Meeting of the freeholders of the Township of Brattleborough in the County of Cumberland on the first Tuesday of March 1781 agreeable to the time prefixed by the Patent of said Township for annual town meetings the town proceeded as followeth viz,

1 Chose Doct Henry Wells Moderator

2 Chose Stepn Greenleaf Town Clerk

3 Voted to adjourn this meeting to the first Tuesday in March 1782

STEPHEN GREENLEAF *Town Clerk.*

This left the town without executive officers. Steps were taken for another meeting, the record of which reads:

BRATTLEBORO March 15, 1781

Having been requested by more than six Inhabitants of this Town to warn a Meeting of the Inhabitants thereof to meet at the Meeting House on Tuesday the 27th of March instant precisely at ten o'clock in the forenoon to act upon the following articles viz

1 To choose a moderator of said meeting.

2 To see whether this Town will approve of the union proposed between the Towns represented in Convention of New Hampshire Grants and the State of Vermont.

3 If the Town shall approve of the proposed Union To choose two members to attend the Assembly of said State at their adjourned session on the first Wednesday of April next agreeable to the recommendation of the Convention and Assembly.

4 To proceed to the Choice of County officers agreeable to the law of Vermont for that purpose if it shall be thought expedient.

5 To choose Town officers under Vermont if it shall be thought expedient.

I do therefore in pursuance of the sd Request Notify the Inhabitents of this Town to meet at the Meeting House in this Town the time first above mentioned for the purpose before expressed.

STEPHEN GREENLEAF, *Town Clerk.*

BRATTLEBOROUGH March 27, 1781

The Inhabitants being met agreeable to the above request & Notification they proceeded as follows viz

1 Made choice of Samuel Warriner for their Moderator

2 Chose Stephen Greenleaf for their Town Clerk

3 The Town voted to accept of the Union adopted between the Legislature of the State of Vermont & the Committee of Convention.

4 Made choice of Stephen Greenleaf Colo John Sargeant & Capt Samuel Warriner, for the select Men [first record of Selectmen]

5 Chose Doctr Lemuel Dickerman for their Treasurer

6 Made choice of Mr. Richard Prouty Mr. Jonathan Goodenough for Constables

7 Made choice of Doctr Lemuel Dickerman Lieut Thomas Sargeant Lieut Samuel Root, Lieut Samuel Knight, Capt Artemas Howe for their listers.

8 Made choice of Mr. Richd Prouty & Mr. Jonathan Goodenough for their Collectors.

9 Made choice of Capt Samuel Warriner Sealer of Leather

10 Made choice of Mr. Ebenezer Hadley for their Grand Juror

11 Made choice of Deacon Jacob Spaulding & Mr. Ebenezer Fisher for tything Men

12 Made choice of Capt Oliver Cook for their Horse Brander.

13 Made choice of Mr. William Harris for Sealer of Measures.

14 Made choice of Deacon Wilder, Mr. Francis Prouty, Mr. John Dickerman, Mr. Samuel Mixer & Mr. Asa Putnam for their Surveyors

15 Made choice of Samuel Wells Esqr & Capt. Samuel Warriner for their Representatives to the Assembly of Vermont.

16 Made choice of Colo John Sargeant to go to Putney to carry the votes taken in this Town at our election and there to assist in sorting and counting the same, and was sworn to a faithful discharge of the trust reposed in him.

per STEPHEN GREENLEAF *Town Clerk.*

Thus Brattleboro became organized as a town under the state of Vermont; it has ever since remained such.

The representatives elected did not take their seats, probably because of their adherence to New York. "Col. John Sargeant and Saml. Knight Esquire," were afterwards elected, and attended.

Changing the town from under New York to under Vermont did not subdue or quiet all the adherents of New York. Fears were prevalent that the enemy were about to make an incursion into Vermont from Canada, for the purpose of reducing it to a British province. Depositions containing information to this effect were attested by Benjamin Butterfield and Jonathan Church, inhabitants of Cumberland County. The statements made by these gentlemen were based entirely on hearsay, partly on conversations which they had held with persons who had seen scouts who had removed from Cumberland County and joined the British in Canada. These depositions, which were taken at the instance of the New York adherents, were transmitted to Governor Clinton for his perusal. Accompanying them was a communication of the eleventh of September, 1781, signed by the deponents, also by Colonel Eleazer Patterson, Lieutenant-Colonel John Sergeants, Captain Timothy Church, and several private gentlemen, recommending the appointment of a committee "invested with some degree of authority," whose duty it should be to watch such of the inhabitants of the county as might be suspected of conspiring with the British against the Americans, and report their names to the proper authorities.

At a town meeting held at Brattleboro, on the twelfth of March, 1782, the people assembled and declared by vote, that in their opinion a treaty had been "entered into with the enemy"; that the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants justly owed their allegiance to New York; that it was their duty "to withdraw all allegiance of obedience to the state or authority of Vermont"; and that in case a sufficient number of the inhabitants of the other towns in the county should adopt similar sentiments, they would petition the Governor of New York to appoint civil and military officers for their guidance, and to establish a civil government under the authority of that state.

On the twentieth, a convention of the committees of Guilford and Halifax met at Brattleboro, for the purpose of concerting such measures as the peculiar situation of the county demanded. Elijah Prouty of Brattleboro was chosen moderator of the meeting. Samuel Avery, as agent, was directed to repair to the Legislature of New York, and lay before them "a just and true state" of the "oppressions and grievances" to which their constituency on the "Grants" were subjected.

Representatives from the towns of Brattleboro, Guilford, Halifax and Marlboro assembled in convention on the seventeenth of March, and prepared a combined "remonstrance and petition" for the consideration of

Governor Clinton. This production disclosed the fact that "intrigues, conspiracies, and insurrections" were "daily perpetrated" by the Vermonters; that warrants were frequently issued for the seizure of the persons and property of the petitioners; and that usurpations had been "valiantly opposed" by the friends of New York. The petitioners declared it to be their intention to defend their rights by force, until "proper authority" should be instituted.

The New York party in the townships of Guilford and Brattleboro drew up a "Representation," as it was called, of their situation, and committed it to Seth Smith, their agent, with orders to present it to the Legislature of New York, and to the Congress of the United States. In this document, which was composed with much care and apparent truthfulness, Smith, representant, declared that a "very great majority" of the inhabitants of Brattleboro and Guilford, and "at least three-fourths" of the people living within the "usurped jurisdiction of Vermont, on the east side of the Green Mountains and west side of Connecticut river," were desirous of returning to the "rightful jurisdiction of the state of New York," from which by the violent measures of the state government, and the want of necessary protection and assistance from Congress and New York, they had, "much against their inclinations, been obliged to appear to depart"; that the towns which he represented, and a majority of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, were, as he believed, firmly determined to oppose by arms the "usurped jurisdiction of Vermont."

Fearing that a civil war was about to break out, Colonel John Sergeant of the Vermont militia ordered his regiment to rendezvous at Brattleboro, in order, as was afterwards stated in the muster rolls, "to suppress insurrections and disturbances then subsisting in those parts." The Yorkers meanwhile held two companies of militia formed in Brattleboro, three in Guilford and one in Halifax to aid in opposing Vermonters who might cross the mountains and commence hostilities upon Yorkers in Cumberland County.

In the meantime the adherents of Vermont were actively engaged in increasing the number of their supporters, not only in their own state, but in the other states of the Union; but by 1782 the friends and supporters of the government of New York in southeastern Vermont had been gradually decreasing in power and numbers.

Timothy Church,[1] who lived north of the Meeting-House, was appointed "Lieut Col. Commandant" of the southern regiment of militia as arranged under New York, and was foremost in this opposition at Brattleboro.

[1] See p. 141.

Stringent laws were enacted against hindering the authority and officers of Vermont, and power was given to the governor, as captain general, to raise men to assist sheriffs when necessary.

An execution against the body of Colonel Church was issued on a judgment rendered by John Bridgman, Esquire, a Vermont justice, in favor of Gershom Orvis, and put into the hands of Jonathan Hunt, high sheriff, to be served. Church denied the authority of the Vermont authorities and resisted being taken; the sheriff commanded bystanders to assist him, but they assisted Church and prevented his arrest.

Other similar transactions took place so frequently as to demand attention of the Vermont authorities. By direction of the governor, Brigadier-General Ethan Allen raised two hundred and fifty mounted men from the regiments of Colonels Walbridge and Ira Allen on the west side of the mountains, and came with them to Marlboro September 9, 1782. They were reënforced there by Captain Duncan of Dummerston with eighty-three men; Captain Wheeler of Wilmington with forty-six; Captain Warren of Marlboro with twenty-seven; Lieutenant Moor of Cumberland, now Whitingham, with twenty; and another officer with twenty from the brigade of General Samuel Fletcher and regiment of Colonel Stephen R. Bradley and Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Kathan, who were present in command in person.

Detachments were sent to Halifax and Guilford; the rest proceeded to Brattleboro with prisoners from Marlboro and arrested Colonel Church. The detachments from Halifax and Guilford came to Brattleboro the same evening with prisoners. It is supposed that they passed over Meeting-House Hill on the way. They encamped at the inn of Josiah Arms, where "the jurisdiction of Vermont was enforced by the militia." The detachment of General Allen was fired upon when leaving Guilford, whereupon he returned and made proclamation that he "would give no quarter to man, woman or child who should oppose him, and that unless the inhabitants of Guilford should peaceably submit to the authority of Vermont he would lay it as desolate as Sodom and Gomorrah." He was not further molested in going to Brattleboro.

On the tenth he gave orders to kill without quarter anyone who should fire on his men, and marched them with the prisoners to Westminster. On the eleventh, before the superior court then in session, several of the prisoners were tried by jury for treason to the state and convicted, among them Colonel Church. He with three others was sentenced to be "taken back to the common gaol of this county, there to remain in close imprisonment till the 4th day of October next; and that they be then taken by the sheriff of the said county from the said common gaol and carried without the limits of this state, and that they be then and there banished from

this state not to return thereto on penalty of death; and that all their goods, chattels and estates be condemned, seized and sold as forfeited to the use of the state." The sentence was carried into execution, and on the fourth of October they were taken from Westminster jail to the line of the state at the river next to Walpole and there banished by the sheriff according to the terms of the sentence.

Emboldened by the further encouragement of the governor of New York, Colonel Church returned to his home in Brattleboro on the fifteenth of December, was seized by military force on the twenty-second and taken to Westminster jail, from which he was released May 14, 1783, on pardon by act of the Assembly for his submission to the state of Vermont. "On the 10th of January, 1784, warrants were issued for the arrest of Eleazer Church and Nathaniel Chandler of Brattleborough. Church on the 12th was brought before Judge Nathan Fisk of Westminster and being charged with 'treasonable conduct' was lodged in the jail of that town 'loaded with irons.' On the 13th Chandler was committed." Others attempted to exercise the powers of officers of New York, and resistance to those of Vermont continued with frequence. A detachment of state troops was kept under arms at Brattleboro to assist the Vermont officers. They were under Commander-General Joseph Farnsworth, Major Josiah Boyden, Ensign Oliver Waters, and Lieutenant Experience Fish, who were quartered at the inn of Josiah Arms. The men were stationed about a mile away. Fourteen men from Guilford and two, Richard Church and Isaac Kendall, of Brattleboro, attacked the inn in the night to get Ensign Waters, who was of Brattleboro and had by his activity made himself very offensive to them. General Farnsworth parleyed with them to gain time for sending for the troops, but they would not be put off, and fired upon the house, wounding Major Boyden and a traveler lodging there. Ensign Waters gave himself up and was taken by them to Massachusetts, fastened to a heavy weight of iron, and put into the hands of two of them to be taken to Poughkeepsie. He was rescued by men from Halifax, rallied by Lieutenant John Noyes of Guilford.

This seizure of Waters determined the Vermont authorities to subdue the opposition at once by military force. Orders were issued and soldiers began to assemble at the inn of Josiah Arms again on January 17, 1784. One hundred men of Colonel Wait's regiment came under Lieutenant-Colonel Elijah Knight, Major Josiah Boyden and Captain Benj. Whitney. From Colonel Bradley's regiment came Captain Josiah Fish's company of fifty-three men from Townshend; Captain Silas Burk's of forty-four men from Westminster; twenty-seven men from Putney under Lieutenant Ebenezer Parker, and twenty-two men from Rockingham under Captain John Fuller. From Colonel John Sargent's regiment came Cap-

tain Isaac Wheeler's company of thirty-two men from Wilmington; twenty-two men from Dummerston under Lieutenant Daniel Gates, and fifteen from Marlboro under Sergeant Sylvester Bishop. One field piece came in charge of Captain Isaac Miller and Ebenezer Haven.

Sunday was spent in preparations. On Monday the troops moved to Guilford. Their opponents left before them, until on Wednesday a detachment was fired upon and Sergeant Sylvanus Fisk was wounded so that he died the next spring. Further resistance was not made. Ethan Allen arrived at Guilford on the twenty-second with the companies of Captain Joseph Safford, Captain Hezekiah Armstrong and Captain Joseph Wickwire from Bennington. The main body of the troops returned to the inn of Josiah Arms that evening. A part of the troops were here dismissed, and the rest of the body went to Westminster with the prisoners who had been taken for trial. Negotiations by Micah Townsend and Ira Allen brought about the final compromise by which the town was turned over to the jurisdiction of Vermont.

This ended the disturbance in Brattleboro. Submission soon followed elsewhere, and the authority of Vermont remained undisputed. The New York title to lands was overthrown by Vermont in its first constitution at the very beginning. New York made recompense in other lands to those who lost. Colonel Church received three thousand eight hundred and forty acres. They are situated in Bainbridge, Chenango County, on the Susquehanna River in New York. Israel Smith was removed to Bainbridge about 1790, where he died June 7, 1811, and was buried in the old Colonial Cemetery in the town of Sidney, New York.

The allotment of lands by the Legislature of New York to Timothy Church and his associates led others who had been similarly situated, but who at a comparatively early stage in the controversy had submitted to the government of Vermont, to apply for assistance. On the twelfth of December Eleazer Patterson, Samuel Knight, Benjamin Butterfield, John Sargent, Josiah Arms, and twenty-two other persons addressed a petition to Governor Clinton and to the Senate and Assembly of New York, in which they declared that they had been "uniformly loyal to the state of New York"; had supported the rights and interests thereof; had "not only frequently risked their lives, but expended large sums of money and lost an abundance of time in defence of the said state; had been often imprisoned; and had suffered the loss of property to a considerable amount." They further stated that they had "continued to exert themselves in support of the state of New York, until they were left totally abandoned to the fury of their enemies," and then had submitted "to the usurpation of the government of Vermont," only to avoid being "deprived of their whole property." For these services and sufferings they asked

as a compensation "a grant of vacant and unappropriated land." No evidence was adduced in support of these statements. In consequence of this omission, the committee of the Legislature to whom the subject was referred reported adversely to the petition.

Francis Prouty, Thomas Whipple and Jonathan Dunkley of Brattleboro, John Wheeler and Darius Wheeler of Newfane, with others, being armed with "clubs, guns, swords, pistols and bayonets," forcibly broke and entered the house of Luke Knowlton at Newfane, on the morning of November 16, 1783, took him prisoner and carried him across the boundary line into Massachusetts and left him. As soon as the seizure and abduction of Luke Knowlton was known, General Fletcher of Townshend ordered the military to assemble. A portion of the regiment commanded by Colonel Stephen R. Bradley, rallied immediately and reported themselves ready to act, but Knowlton's return and the dispersion of the Yorkers terminated all further action on the part of the Vermonters.

On the eighteenth of November, Edward Smith, a constable of Newfane, entered a complaint against the rioters. Jonathan Dunkley was arrested and gave the requisite bonds for his appearance before the Supreme Court. Francis Prouty, the ringleader, was afterwards found at his own house in Brattleboro by Barzillai Rice, a deputy sheriff; he was, in company with his neighbors and friends, armed with muskets and pitchforks. Prouty confronted the sheriff and threatened to "let out his guts" if he entered his house or touched his person. Prouty was not arrested until the eighth day of January, 1784; his house was surrounded by a party of Vermonters and he was captured and committed to Westminster Jail. On the third of February, 1784, the Superior Court commenced its session at Westminster. Francis Prouty was tried upon three indictments, one for burglary, upon which he was acquitted; one for resisting sheriff Barzillai Rice, to which he pleaded not guilty and was acquitted; and one for seizing and carrying away forcibly Luke Knowlton out of the state of Vermont.

The Jury returned a verdict as follows:

"The Jury in this case find that the prisoner did break and enter the house of Luke Knowlton, Esq., in the night season and did take and carry away the said Luke Knowlton, and if that breaking a house and taking and carrying away a person as aforesaid amounts to burglary we say he is guilty, if not, we say he is not guilty." The judgment of the court on the verdict was that he was not guilty.

To the last indictment he pleaded guilty and was fined £30 with costs of prosecution, and imprisonment in close confinement for forty days.

## CHAPTER XI

## LEADERS IN BRATTLEBORO'S OPPOSITION TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF VERMONT

Samuel Wells—Samuel Knight—Samuel Gale—Timothy Church—Micah Townsend, leaders in Brattleboro's opposition to the sovereignty of Vermont.

### Samuel Wells

Samuel Wells was the son of Jonathan Wells and Mary, his second wife, and was born at Deerfield, Massachusetts, September 9, 1730. He had three brothers, Jonathan, David and Oliver, and two sisters, Mary and Rebecca. He married Hannah Sheldon and in July, 1762, settled in Brattleboro on a farm of six hundred acres, situated about a mile north of the East Village. Two of his children died in infancy. The remaining five sons and six daughters, with the exception of one daughter, married in Brattleboro. A grant of one thousand two hundred acres of land in Canada having been made to each of them by the Crown, as a compensation for the losses which Colonel Wells had suffered during the Revolution on account of his adherence to the King, they all removed thither between the years 1798 and 1802. The daughters were married to Samuel Gale, Ephraim Nash, Micah Townsend, Jonathan Gorton, Nathaniel Church and Ephraim Stimpson.

Upon the establishment of Cumberland County by the government of New York Colonel Wells was appointed a judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas and a justice of the peace, and was authorized by a *dedimus protestatem* commission to swear all who should take office in the county. The commissions issued in conformity with these appointments were all dated the seventeenth of July, 1766, and he served under them until the authority from which they were derived ceased to be acknowledged by the people. During the same period he was the chief military man in the southern part of the county. When, in answer to the petition of the inhabitants of this district, the Council of New York, by an order dated the twenty-third of December, 1772, authorized them to choose two representatives to the General Assembly, Samuel Wells and Crean Brush were returned, and took their seats in the latter body on the second of February, 1773.

At the time of the "Massacre" at Westminster, in 1775, Colonel Wells, although one of the court judges, was in attendance upon the General Assembly at New York, and was not aware of the circumstances connected with the development and results of the affray until the arrival of the messengers who had been dispatched with the tidings. In connection with his colleague, Brush, he is supposed to have been instrumental in preparing the depositions which were signed by the messengers and presented to the Assembly, containing an account of the "Massacre" favorable to the action of the Crown adherents, and condemnatory of the conduct of the Whigs. In the same year, during the recess of the Assembly, "he joined the ministerial members in a letter to General Gage at Boston," and seldom failed to evince a loyalist disposition, even after policy had dictated an opposite course of action. On suspicion of having been engaged in an attempt to introduce arms into Cumberland County in behalf of Great Britain, for the purpose of reinstating and maintaining the administration of justice therein, he was examined before the New York committee of safety on the twelfth of September, 1775, during the recess of the Provincial Congress, but he was dismissed, nothing having been proved against him. Though opposed to the American cause, he had sufficient skill and influence to preserve his property from confiscation, but was not wholly able to escape the odium which attached to a loyalist, or the punishments which a profession of this nature so often incurred. From the records of the committee of safety for Cumberland County, it appears that Lieutenant Leonard Spaulding, a most patriotic member from Dummerston, allowed his enmity towards Colonel Wells to manifest itself, on one occasion, without support of public opinion, in a most improper manner. The incident referred to was noticed by the committee in their proceedings on the twenty-fifth of July, 1776, and in order to wipe out the disgrace which had been cast upon them by the unwarranted act of the fiery Dummerstonian they resolved "that Lieut. Spaulding make suitable Confession to this Committee for his Conduct in Taking Col. Wells by military force; the mode of proceeding Being Contrary to the minds of this Committee, and also a Violation of a Certain Resolve formerly passed by this Committee." To this resolution is appended the following note: "Mr. Spaulding Comply'd with the above Vote by making his proper Confession, &c." In *The New York Gazette,* under date of June 23, 1777, it is stated that "Judge Wells of Brattleborough had been lately confined to his farm and otherwise ill-treated," and it is known that, for a long time, permission was granted to anyone to shoot him, should he be found beyond the bounds of his acres.

During the period in which the British agents in Canada were endeavoring to negotiate an alliance with the principal men in Vermont, for the

purpose of reducing that state to the condition of a Crown province, Colonel Wells's efforts were directed in behalf of this end. In a letter to General Frederick Haldiman, dated at New York, May 8, 1781, and written, it is supposed, by Beverly Robinson, notice is taken of the willingness of Wells to promote the interests of Great Britain. "Colonel Wells of Brattleborough," said this writer, "has sent his son-in-law[1] with verbal information that throws great light upon the conduct of Vermont. We take him to be a friend, and he says by this messenger that you know him to be so. Is it true? He offers his services for a monthly interchange of letters between Canada and the coast of Connecticut, where we are to find a friend to give and receive dispatches. Do you approve of this confidence?"

That the offer of Wells was ultimately accepted, and that he and Luke Knowlton of Newfane lent their aid to advance the interests of Great Britain, is proved by the following facts. In the month of April, 1782, Christopher Osgood of Brattleboro, a housewright by occupation, was hired by Knowlton to carry a letter to William Smith of the city of New York, who had formerly been chief justice of the province. The letter, it was supposed, was from General Haldiman, and was brought from Canada to Newfane by Solomon Ball. Osgood received from Knowlton $28 for this service, and on his return early in June received from Smith an undirected letter, with verbal orders to deliver it to Knowlton, and a reward of thirty guineas for his trouble. In the month of August following, Shadrach Ball arrived at Brattleboro with another letter from Canada directed to Smith. Osgood was on this occasion employed by Wells, who gave him five pounds to take the letter to New York. After remaining a few days in that city he set out on his return, being the bearer of a letter without direction from the British Secretary Morgan, which he had orders to deliver to Wells. For this last service he was rewarded with fifty guineas. Of the information communicated he was ignorant, but was commanded to destroy the letters in the event of his capture.

The fact that an embassy of this character had been established becoming known to the authorities of Rhode Island, measures were immediately taken to end it. In the latter part of October, or early in November, the sheriff of that state arrived in Brattleboro, arrested Christopher Osgood and carried him to Providence. Here on the thirteenth of November, at a session of the court of assize and general jail delivery, he was brought before the Honorable Paul Mumford, chief justice of the Superior Court of Judicature, and upon examination detailed the facts above stated. The "Information of Christopher Osgood" was on the nineteenth sent by the lieutenant-governor of Rhode Island to Congress, accompanied by a

[1] Samuel Gale is probably referred to.

letter from that official. These documents, "containing evidence," as was then stated, "that some of the leaders in Vermont, and particularly Luke Knowlton, who had been deputed in the year 1780 to Congress as agent for that party opposed to its independence, but who had since changed sides, had been intriguing with the enemy in New York"—these documents were read in Congress on the twenty-fifth, and were referred to Samuel Osgood, Daniel Carroll and John Rutledge.

In acting upon their report, which was presented on the twenty-seventh, Congress, by a resolution passed in secret session, directed the commander-in-chief "to take immediate measures for apprehending and securing Luke Knowlton of Newfane, and Samuel Wells of Brattleborough, both of the district of country commonly called the New Hampshire Grants, west of Connecticut River, and such others within the district aforesaid as there may be good reason to apprehend have been concerned with the said Knowlton and Wells in a dangerous correspondence and intercourse with the enemy."

On the third of December the same topic was again brought forward, and the opinion was openly expressed that the leaders of Vermont were "perfidious men." In order to warn the northern states of the dangers to which they were exposed by the machinations of internal foes, Congress resolved, in secret session, to furnish a copy of Christopher Osgood's declaration to the "supreme executives of the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York." The charges contained in his "information," implicating, as they did, certain citizens of each of these states in "treasonable practices," rendered this course necessary for the safety of all. Pursuant to the resolution of the twenty-seventh of November, an officer was sent into Vermont to arrest Wells and Knowlton, but they had been previously informed that such an attempt would be made and had left the state before the officer arrived. An account of this proceeding was sent to Congress by General Washington, together with the report of the officer who had been sent to make the arrest. From the representation of the latter it appeared, on the statement of Israel Smith of Brattleboro, "that Knowlton and Wells had received a letter from Jonathan Arnold, Esquire, at Congress, part of which was made public, which informed them that affairs in Congress were unfavorable to them, and would have them to look out for themselves." The subject was again considered on the twenty-seventh of January, 1783, and Mr. Arnold, who was present when the papers were read, expressed his surprise at the declarations which they contained respecting himself; denied that he had ever held any correspondence with either Knowlton or Wells; and requested a copy of the above charge. In this request he was indulged without opposition, "but it was generally considered,"

Mr. Madison observes, "notwithstanding his denial of the correspondence, that he had, at least at second hand, conveyed the intelligence to Vermont." A similar opinion was entertained by Governor Clinton. In a letter to Colonel Floyd, dated the sixth of February, 1783, he said: "Wells and Knowlton have both fled the country, and there is strong reason to suspect they had notice of the measures which were taken for their apprehension, from a quarter too, where secrecy should have been observed. A letter from a member of Congress to a person in that quarter, is said to have given them the alarm." As to the design of Wells in this affair, there can be but little doubt that he aimed to reduce Vermont to a Crown dependency. Of the conduct of Knowlton, it is a fair inference that he was influenced by Wells to engage temporarily in advancing the views of that stern old loyalist. His subsequent conduct, however, proved his hearty adherence to the American cause and his true devotion to the best interests of Vermont.

Colonel Wells maintained his principles as a loyalist firmly to the last. The opening sentence of his will, which was executed on the twenty-eighth of October, 1784, was in these words: "In the name of God, Amen, I, Samuel Wells of Brattleborough, formerly in the county of Cumberland, in the province of New York, but now the territory called and known by the name of the state of Vermont, do make my last will and testament in manner and form following," etc. Micah Townsend, his son-in-law, being one of the heirs and administrators under the will, and at the same time probate judge of the district of Marlboro, which district included Brattleboro, the General Assembly, by an act passed on the twenty-first of October, 1786, permitted the probate judge of the district of Westminster to administer on the will, "as fully and as amply as if the said Samuel Wells had died in the district of Westminster." Wells died deeply insolvent, his estate being valued at £1577 6s. 2½d., and his debts amounting to £5880 2s. 7½d. Among his creditors were Abraham Lot, Goldsbrow Banyar, William Wickham, the Honorable William Smith, Stephen Greenleaf, the estate of Crean Brush and the estate of Josiah Willard. He died August 6, 1786.

### Samuel Knight

Samuel Knight was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, February 10, 1720. He was married in Killingly, Connecticut, about 1757, and came to Brattleboro in 1763, and settled on the old road to Newfane. He was then a farmer and had two children. His commission as attorney-at-law in "his majesty's courts of record" was granted by Governor Tryon, the twenty-third of June, 1772, and he was admitted to the bar of the Inferior

Court of Common Pleas, September 8, 1772. He soon after bought twenty-six acres and three square rods of land of Esquire Stephen Greenleaf, in the northeast corner of what was called the "Governor's farm," which covered a large part of the present village of Brattleboro. He built a house where Mr. Cune's house stood on Main Street and lived there. He was the attorney for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which was located in England. He was naturally with those who favored the jurisdiction of New York. He was present at the affray at Westminster on the thirteenth of March, 1775, and at the inquest which was held on the body of William French, he, with four others, being declared guilty of his death. The conduct of Mr. Knight immediately after this event is described in a footnote to "The Rangers; or the Tory's Daughter," on the authority of "a distinguished early settler" of Vermont, and is given in his own words: "I have heard Judge Samuel Knight describe the trepidation that seized a portion of the community, when, after the massacre, and on the rising of the surrounding country, they came to learn the excited state of the populace. He related how he and another member of the bar (Stearns, I think, who was afterwards attorney-secretary of Nova Scotia) hurried down to the river, and finding there a boat (such as was used in those times for carrying seines or nets at the shad and salmon fishing grounds, which were frequent on both sides the river, below the Great Falls), they paddled themselves across, and lay all day under a log in the pine forest opposite the town; and when night came, went to Parson Fessenden's at Walpole, and obtained a horse; so that, by riding and tying, they got out of the country till the storm blew over, when Knight returned to Brattleborough."

From Westminster Knight went to Boston and thence to the city of New York, where he arrived on the twenty-ninth of March. On his return to Brattleboro in the course of the following summer, he resumed his professional duties, but does not appear to have taken any very active part in the struggle between Great Britain and the colonies. When Vermont was declared a separate and independent state, he strenuously favored the jurisdiction of New York, and strove to effect a reconciliation between the contending parties. In the supply bill passed by the Legislature of New York on the fourth of November, 1778, £60 was voted to him as a reimbursement of his "expenses in attending upon the Legislature, on the business of quieting the disorders prevailing in the northeastern parts of this state." Satisfied, at length, that New York would never be able to maintain her claim to the "Grants," he became an open supporter of the government of Vermont.

In 1781 he and Colonel Sargent were elected representatives to the Vermont Legislature, and he was the representative in 1783, 1784 and

1785, and in 1789 and 1797. He was elected a judge of the Supreme Court of Vermont in 1788, and continued until 1795; a part of the time he was chief judge.

Samuel Knight lived in Guilford for a time, and in 1781 was appointed a justice of the peace. Owing to the discontent of some of the citizens of that portion of the state, who believed him to be infected not only with sentiments favorable to New York but with Tory principles, he was suspended from office by the Council on the twelfth of April of the same year. He was reinstated on the twenty-fifth of October following. In 1790 he sold his land and house to John Welland Blake. He then built and moved to the house on Western Avenue where D. S. Pratt lived.

When Vermont was admitted to the Union, and there came to be a United States district judge, Matthew Lyon and Governor Chittenden strongly favored his appointment, but did not succeed, the reason given being that the President would not appoint a man over sixty years old and who had not had a college education. Knight was, however, one of the most talented men of his time in this part of the country and a man of fine culture.

Judge Knight, after his retirement from the Supreme Court, continued the practice of law in Brattleboro until the time of his death, which occurred Monday, July 23, 1804, "at about sundown." His widow died at the age of ninety-three.

Children of Samuel and Mary Knight:

John, married Miss Polly Carpenter. Children:

Thomas J., born in Dummerston August 8, 1824, went to Marlboro, came to Brattleboro and worked for the Estey Organ Company many years; married Miss Lucy Shephard of Jamaica. Children:

Arthur E.

Frank G., who went to Hartford.

Elbert A., of West Brattleboro, married Betsey ——; married, second, and had children, Henry and Ira H. Daughter by first marriage.

Susan E. S., married September 15, 1846, John Dwight Plummer. (See Appendix.) Children:

Virginia, married June 15, 1874, Henry B. Pitman of Troy, New York.

Edward A., born 1858; died 1905.

Sabra, married December 16, 1828, Isaac Joy. Their daughter married Samuel Butterfield of Dummerston.

### Samuel Gale

Samuel Gale was born in Hampshire, England, on the fourteenth of October, 1747, and during his boyhood received the benefits of a good education. Having been appointed a paymaster in the British Army, he was ordered to the American colonies, probably about the year 1770. From manuscript plottings prepared by him, which are still extant, it is evident that his knowledge and practice as a surveyor were accurate and extensive. On the twelfth of March, 1772, he issued at Philadelphia the printed prospectus of a work which he was then preparing, to be entitled "The Complete Surveyor." To this paper were affixed recommendatory notices from the Right Honorable, the Earl of Stirling, Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden, Mr. Rittenhouse and Mr. Lukens. From a letter which he wrote while a prisoner at Fairfield, Connecticut, to John McKesson, secretary of the New York Provincial Congress, dated February 29, 1776, it appears that the work was still unpublished. Having, in this communication, requested to be released on parole, if no other better relief could be afforded, he added, "You may mention what you choose in the parole, but I would choose, by all means, if possible, to be at New York or Philadelphia, where I may finish my intended publication on surveying, which you well know is allowed by all parties to be a matter of great actual service to America." Of the volume—published or unpublished—nothing further is known.

On the twenty-fifth of June, 1773, he married Rebecca, the eldest daughter of Colonel Samuel Wells of Brattleboro, and soon after left the service. Becoming a resident of Cumberland County, he was appointed, on the seventh of March, 1774, clerk of the court, that office having become vacant by the resignation of Crean Brush. In a description of the General Assembly of New York, given in *The Connecticut Courant,* under the date of April 10, 1775, it is said of Brush that he "sold the clerkship of the county to Judge Wells' son-in-law." On the fifth of May, 1774, Mr. Gale was honored with another mark of favor, in receiving a commission authorizing him to administer the prescribed oaths to all persons appointed to office in the county.

Notice has already been taken of his conduct on the memorable evening of the thirteenth of March, 1775. Warmly attached to the royal cause, and deeming those who should rebel against constituted authority as worthy of the direst punishment, his indignation knew no bounds when he saw the yeomanry, whom he had been accustomed to regard only in the light of obedient subjects, demanding redress for wrongs which doubtless appeared to him more imaginary than real, and enforcing the demand with manifestations whose import could not be mistaken. On the day following the outbreak, Mr. Gale was imprisoned in the jail at West-

minster, and there remained until the nineteenth of March, when he was taken to Northampton, Massachusetts, where he was kept in confinement from March 23 to April 6, when he obtained his release and repaired to New York.

Here he continued to reside, his family having joined him, until February, 1776, when he was seized at night in his own house, and conveyed to a guardhouse at the upper barracks in the city, where the troops from Connecticut were quartered. Thence he was soon after removed to Fairfield jail, in Connecticut, where he was placed in close confinement. Hoping to obtain his release, he wrote to John McKesson, requesting him to interfere in his behalf. His letter, dated the twenty-ninth of February, evinced by its style and expressions the honorable character of the writer. "You well know," he remarked, "that my sentiments have been uniform and steady, even if erroneous; and, therefore, I consider myself entitled, at the least, to the privileges and protection which, by the laws of all Christian nations, are granted to prisoners of war. I call it prisoner of war, not as being an enemy in heart to any man breathing, but as being by birth and education one of that country between which and this country a war exists. Let me request that I may either be allowed the privilege granted by all Christians to a prisoner of war; or else the birthright of a British subject—the writ of *habeas corpus.*" He declared his belief that a design against his person had been formed by some of the inhabitants of Cumberland County, and referred to a document which had been drawn up in vindication of his own conduct, and that of the sheriff and *posse,* during the affray at Westminster. He described his place of confinement as "a common jail, where the cold wind through the bars (for the windows are not glazed) far exceeds the warmth of all the fire that is obtained," and asked to be accommodated with "a genteeler apartment."

This letter was considered by the New York Provincial Congress on the fifth of March, and the seizure of Mr. Gale was declared to be "a wanton act of military power, inconsistent with that liberty for which the colonists are contending." On the following day Congress wrote to Major Charles Lee, notifying him of the facts as they had been presented, and requesting from him a statement of the nature of the charge brought against Mr. Gale, in order that proper steps might be taken either for his discharge or punishment. In his reply, written the same day, Lee acknowledged that the arrest of Mr. Gale should not have been made by the Provincial Congress, but gave as a reason for his conduct the assurances he had received from many respectable men that Mr. Gale was "a most dangerous man, and ought not to be suffered to remain on Long Island," where, as Lee observed, "an enemy is more dangerous than in any other spot of America."

Information of the views of Congress in the matter was sent to Mr. Gale by Secretary McKesson. In his answer, dated the twelfth of March, Mr. Gale referred to a letter which he had written to Colonel Benjamin Bellows (in which he had claimed a right to the records pertaining to his office as clerk of Cumberland County) as being the probable cause of his arrest. His remarks on this point were in these words: "Whoever construes the disliked expressions in my letter to Col. Bellows to relate to others than those of the county of Cumberland, gives it a construction which was not thought of by me when I wrote it. I am not of opinion that you or many of your body hold their proceedings in a much better light than myself; nor can I suppose that any one can think me blameable in forbidding a delivery of the records to any but myself or deputy." He then stated at length what his conduct had been; that he had scrupulously abstained from disobeying the orders of those opposed to Great Britain; that he had never been engaged in any "Tory plots"; that the treatment he had received was far from being reconcilable with the principles of liberty; and closed with this impassioned peroration: "Whether I return to New York or not, may the Almighty's will be done! I flatter myself that, that nobleness of heart which characterizes the free-born Briton, that spirit in which malice or revenge hath never reigned, added to a conscience serene and clear, will enable me to pass through the various mazes and labyrinths of persecution, torture, or death, with all the patience and resignation of a martyr; and should the apprehensions which I have mentioned grow into realities, I shall say with Balaam, 'Let me die the death of the righteous; let my last end be like his.'"

Meantime, the committee of the Provincial Congress to whom the subject had been referred, reported on the eighth of March that "the sole occasion for apprehending Samuel Gale, and sending him into confinement" had arisen from certain letters in the possession of Colonel William Williams, a member of the said Congress, and that they knew of no other evidence against him. This report was taken up on the sixteenth of March, and, in view of its statements, a resolution was passed, declaring the opinion of Congress that Mr. Gale ought to be forthwith released, inasmuch as he had been carried away and imprisoned "without any hearing, trial, or adjudication whatever." Notice of this decision was communicated to the chairman of the committee of Fairfield County, accompanied by a request for the immediate discharge of the prisoner. Mr. Gale was informed privately of the resolve, but the committee, concluding that they had no jurisdiction in the case, refused to comply with the request. In a third letter to Secretary McKesson, dated at Fairfield, on the twelfth of April, Mr. Gale repeated his application for a release, and detailed the reasons why it should be granted; described the misery

of his situation; and expressed his views upon the merits of the struggle between the colonies and the mother country in terms which bore evidence to the sincerity, ability and honesty of the man.

"In this intolerable place," he wrote, referring to the prison, "the wind, when cold, fairly chills every vein in my body. The smoke, when there is fire, not only blinds but nearly suffocates me; and the continual smell of the room has, I fear, tended to rot my very vitals. In the morning, I have perpetually a sickness at the stomach; about noon comes a fever, which in about three hours is succeeded by an ague, sometimes more and sometimes less violent. Every one of these intolerable tortures were so inexpressibly increased by the excessive weather of Saturday the 30th ult., that they introduced thoughts and extorted expressions too wild to mention in cooler moments." Turning then to a consideration of the death whose "slow approaches, inch by inch," he could not fail to perceive, he remarked: "Though I consider it a duty incumbent on every man, to use his endeavors for the preservation of his life, yet I never viewed death through so horrible a medium as some men do. I have lately learned to consider it as a matter of relief, rather than as a punishment. To leave the wife of my bosom a disconsolate widow, and the babes of my loins without a helper, is doubtless an unhappy reflection. But I am of opinion that a single stroke, however violent, would in the end be less grief to those I leave behind me, than a continuation of that suspense and anxiety of mind with which they are now totally overwhelmed." Do "some of my persecutors," he exclaimed, "want to dip their hands in the blood of a martyr? If so, it would in my opinion be far less criminal, both in the sight of God and man, for them to let it flow in decent streams than thus, with dastardly meanness, to drag it from me drop by drop." A few days after this letter was written, Thaddeus Burr, the sheriff of Fairfield County, received the resolve of the Provincial Congress and released his prisoner on parole of honor. In a letter to General Washington, dated the nineteenth of April, Burr notified the course he had pursued, and asked for directions. Of Mr. Gale he remarked: "He is an Englishman, a gentleman of good education, and possessed of high notions in favor of his native country; is frank and open in declaring his sentiments, but says he never has been, or will be active against the colonies." From an entry in the Journal of the New York Provincial Convention, under date of September 16, 1776, it seems that Mr. Gale was then in the city of New York, and that he had been brought thither by order of the New York committee of safety. Ultimately, after due examination, Mr. Gale was released from his parole of honor, and restored to liberty.

His sufferings, while in confinement, had not tended to lessen his hatred of the "rebel" cause, but on the contrary had strengthened his attachment

to the government in whose behalf he had endured so many privations. Experience had also taught him that he was ill prepared to engage in civil commotions. Desirous of avoiding a repetition of scenes which, to him, had been fraught with sorrow and distress, he prudently removed with his family to Quebec, where he received the appointment of provincial secretary, under the administration of Governor Prescott. He subsequently accompanied his Excellency to England, to defend him with his powerful pen in the difficulties which had arisen in connection with the Council in Canada. He had written and published an elaborate work entitled "An Essay on Public Credit," involving many abstruse and extensive mathematical calculations on finance, having for its object the gradual extinguishment of the national debt of England. This work he presented for adoption to Pitt, then chancellor of the exchequer, by whom its correctness was admitted and its principles highly approved; but who found it easier to put off the learned author with a pension for life than to meet the public creditors with this book of financial reform in his hand, which might have cost him his place. In 1803 or 1804 Mr. Gale rejoined his family in Canada, where he lived in retirement, and died at his country residence in Farnham on the twenty-seventh of June, 1826. He left a daughter and a son, the latter an eminent lawyer and a judge of King's Bench, at Montreal, where he lived retired and respected.

Mr. Gale possessed an intellect of more than ordinary strength, and his writings were always pregnant with thought and lucid in expression. The first printing press in Vermont was brought by Samuel Gale probably for his own use.[1] In disposition he was amiable and forgiving; in manners, polished and gentlemanly; in character, ingenuous, honorable and conscientious.

### Timothy Church

The New York party in Vermont, though reduced to a minority, were still unwilling to abandon their cause. Startling reports of negotiations between the governor and Council of Vermont, on the one hand, and the agents of the British ministry in Canada, on the other; the flight of Luke Knowlton of Newfane and Samuel Wells of Brattleboro, on receipt of information of the passage by Congress, in secret session, of a resolution authorizing their arrest by the commander-in-chief, in consequence of "a dangerous correspondence and intercourse" in which they were said to be engaged "with the enemy"; the constant passing and repassing of messengers; the fact that passports could be obtained from Governor Chittenden which would give the bearer a safe-conduct among the British in Canada —these and other circumstances induced many to believe that Vermont

[1] See "Bibliography of Vermont" by M. D. Gilmore.

was preparing to desert the American cause, and influenced some to seek protection from New York.

Timothy Church returned to Brattleboro on the fifteenth of December, 1782, and was seized on the twenty-second, in his own house, by a party of armed men acting under the authority of Vermont, and taken to Westminster, where he was handcuffed and placed in jail. On the day following his arrest he was ironed, and conveyed across the mountains to Arlington. On reaching this place his irons were removed, but on being brought before Governor Chittenden he was again shackled by direction of that official, and committed to the jail in Bennington. For the first half week of his confinement he was kept in irons both by night and by day. During the four succeeding days his irons were taken off in the morning and put on again in the evening. Subsequently these restraints were entirely removed. Being regarded with especial distrust, since by his own confession he had opposed the officers of Vermont after subscribing to the "freeman's oath," a petition, in which he begged to be released, was viewed with but little favor by the governor. But the temper which it displayed was regarded by some of the State Council as a favorable indication, and probably secured for him milder treatment than under other circumstances he would have received. With the design either of extorting a large sum of money from his friends for his ransom, or of forcing him to an unconditional submission, or of intimidating others who might be inclined to disobey the laws of Vermont, a report was disseminated that he was to be executed, and he was advised to prepare for the fatal hour. The currency which this rumor obtained is evident from its frequent repetition in the letters written by various citizens of Vermont at that period.

At the end of a month and a half the solitude and misery of confinement were made more tolerable by the presence of a friend—a political prisoner like himself—and from that time until the hour of his release he found intelligent sympathy in the company of Timothy Phelps, the deposed sheriff of Cumberland County. Wearied with vain attempts to propitiate the government of Vermont, Timothy Church and Timothy Phelps determined to notify Governor Clinton of their condition, in the hope of obtaining some relief through his interposition. The document in which they made known their situation and prospects was dated the twenty-eighth of March. It was drawn by Charles Phelps of Marlboro, and abounded in all that fulsomeness of diction and redundancy of expression by which both his compositions and his conversation were distinguished. Though intended especially for the perusal of the first person named in the direction, it was addressed to "His Excellency Governor Clinton, His Excellency General Washington, and to the Honorable Continental Congress as the Supreme Council of the United States of Amer-

ica." The description of their condition was sufficiently graphic. They are confined, wrote the amanuensis, "in the nasty, scandalous prison, erected by that detestable and most rebellious people, called the Vermonters, in Bennington." In summing up the causes of their unhappiness, the same fertile pen declared it to be immeasurably disgraceful for them to be compelled to suffer imprisonment "from that vile nest of detestable, seditious Vermonters," more especially at that period "when the triumph of the American arms" was adding transcendent luster "to the honor, dignity, and grandeur of the arms of their glorious allies both by sea and land; reflecting lasting honor on the power, virtue, and courage of the house of Bourbon; and asserting the honor, establishing the grandeur, and eternizing the dignity and glory of his most Christian majesty's triumphant flag."

It was noticed that from the day on which this grandiloquent application was drafted, the jailer refused to supply Colonel Church with food. But his friends did not desert him in this emergency. The "good people of Guilford" contributed from their wasted estates liberally for his support; and from the money which they sent him he was enabled to supply his wants during the remainder of his confinement. From the letters which the prisoners themselves wrote while at Bennington, it is clear that the life they there led must have been odious in the extreme. "Our estates," said they, in a joint communication to Governor Clinton, dated the tenth of April, "our estates—everything that we had—are seized and sold, our families are in the greatest want; destruction has seized our habitations, and we are left by our masters to perish in prison. This has befallen us because we have been true to Congress, and faithful to the state which we have ever been in. If there is any prospect of our being released from this stinking jail, we should be glad to know it, for we cannot stand it much longer. We came home under the royal law of Congress. That law Vermont pays no regard to, and without speedy help we shall sicken and die." In another letter to the same gentleman, dated the first of May, they wrote, "It seems hard that officers of a sovereign state, who have jeoparded their lives in the high places of the field against the powers of Great Britain, should be kept in prison by enemies of the United States against the royal law of Congress." Though in terms like these they bewailed their misfortunes, yet they were not ignorant of the conditions on which release could be obtained. To submit to these conditions was, however, a humiliation to which for a long time imprisonment seemed preferable—a disgrace the indignity of which was only to be incurred when all hope of relief from other sources had failed.

During the late session of the General Assembly a law had been enacted on the twenty-fourth of February, intended to facilitate the return to

their allegiance of those who were desirous of again becoming subjects of Vermont. In the preamble of the act a suggestion was entertained that some of those persons who had already been convicted "of conspiring and attempting an invasion, insurrection, and public rebellion" against the state, and had been banished therefor, were "penitent and desirous of returning to their duty." To this was added a declaration that the Assembly were desirous at all times of showing mercy, provided it could be done consistently with the public safety. On these grounds the governor and Council "were fully authorized and empowered," in the words of the act, "upon application to them made during the adjournment of this Assembly, to pardon any of the said persons who have been banished from this state by the Supreme court, as aforesaid, in as full and ample a manner as this Assembly could do if convened." At the same session another act had been passed, granting pardon to Timothy Church, who had been "found guilty of treason," but who had by his own petition declared his "sincere and hearty penitence, and a determination to behave orderly and submissive" in case he should receive forgiveness. The condition of pardon and of the remission of the sentence passed upon him in the month of September, 1782, was the payment of all costs which had accrued in consequence of his trial and imprisonment.

Aware of these legislative provisions, and weary of prison life, Colonel Church at length applied for his release. In answer to his application, Governor Chittenden informed him that, to obtain a discharge, he would be obliged to give his bond with surety for the payment to the treasurer of Vermont of £20 10s. lawful money of Massachusetts, the sum due for costs of trial; and to pay £4 11s. for seven weeks' board in jail. To these terms he consented, and on the sixteenth of May he left a prison where he had dragged out nearly five months of confinement in cold, want and pain. During the period of his banishment his family had been permitted to reside upon and improve his farm, "by the permission and indulgence" of the state. The same privilege was now accorded to him. But his whole estate was still regarded as confiscated, and levies were not unfrequently made upon his cattle or his household goods whenever a collection was to be made to replenish the treasury of the state. In a deposition which he made on the twenty-fourth of June, referring to the sufferings to which he had been subjected, he stated that, "although no formal regular charge" had been exhibited against him, he was satisfied that "the only cause for which he was apprehended and confined was his returning home after he had been banished," and that the cause of his banishment was the acceptance of a commission from the state of New York. On the same occasion he affirmed his loyalty in the most positive manner, declaring that he "never did acknowledge himself to owe allegiance or subjec-

tion to the pretended state of Vermont, but, on the contrary, had always since the first attempt to establish that pretended state, claimed himself to be a subject of the state of New York."

In 1786 the state of New York granted an entire township, comprising about forty-eight thousand acres, in what is now the town of Bainbridge, and allotted the lands to Israel Smith, Timothy Church, Rutherford Hayes and more than one hundred others of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants (in what is now Windham County), to recompense them for losses and sufferings by reason of their adherence to the state of New York, and many of them emigrated thereto.

### Micah Townsend, B.A., M.A.

Henry Townsend, the first of the family who settled in America, came from England to Long Island previous to the year 1687. His son, Micajah Townsend, having married Elizabeth Platt, their son, the subject of this notice, was born at Cedar Swamp, Oyster Bay, Long Island, on the thirteenth of May, 1749 O. S. After pursuing the studies commonly taught in elementary schools, and others, under the guidance of a neighboring clergyman, preparatory to a collegiate course, he entered at the age of fourteen the college of Nassau Hall in Princeton, New Jersey, during the presidency of Dr. Elihu Spencer. At the end of four years, having completed the usual course of academic studies, he proceeded Bachelor of Arts on the eighth of October, 1766, and during the presidency of Dr. John Witherspoon proceeded Master of Arts on the fifth of October, 1769. On leaving college in 1766 he immediately commenced the study of the law in the office of the Honorable Thomas Jones, a distinguished barrister and attorney in the city of New York, and subsequently a justice of the Supreme Court of the Province of New York. Having continued this pursuit for the term of four years, he was admitted to the practice of the law on the sixth of April, 1770, by a commission under the hand and seal of the Honorable Cadwallader Colden, lieutenant-governor of the colony.

Soon after his admission to the bar, he established himself in his profession at the White Plains, in Westchester County, where he remained until after the commencement of the War of the Revolution. Attached by conviction and by principle to the cause of the colonies, he freely lent his efforts to advance that cause. He served as clerk of the Westchester County committee of safety, and on the twenty-second of June, 1776, was appointed to the command of a company of militia in that county, containing fifty men, including officers, which had been raised to defeat the machinations of the Tories who abounded in that region. On the twenty-fifth of July following, he was ordered to take post at the mouth of

Croton River, and continued on duty in and about that locality until the end of October. On the night of the first of November, it became evident to General Washington that the British were preparing to take possession of the heights in the neighborhood of the White Plains, which he then held with his troops. In order to gain a more secure position, he broke up his camp and, having previously set fire to the houses in the White Plains and the neighborhood, removed his forces to a more mountainous region, in the vicinity of North Castle. The destruction of the village where he had at first entered upon the active duties of life was doubtless the immediate cause which led Mr. Townsend to seek in the interior of the country a residence less exposed to the disturbances of that exciting period. Removing to Brattleboro, he was soon surrounded by friends, and on the fifteenth of August, 1778, married Mary, a daughter of Colonel Samuel Wells.

In the controversy which at that time raged with peculiar animosity in the southeastern portion of Vermont, Mr. Townsend, at the first, sided with the supporters of the New York jurisdiction, and was in constant communication with Governor Clinton. His letters were always prepared with accuracy, expressed in well-chosen language and engrossed in a chirography of singular beauty. He was frequently entrusted with the conduct of important negotiations between the provincial government of New York and its supporters in Vermont, and never failed to perform his duty in a manner which gave the completest satisfaction. In the supply bill passed by the Legislature of New York on the fourth of November, 1778, the sum of £60 was appropriated to him, in payment of his "expences in attending upon the Legislature, on the business of quieting the disorders prevailing in the north-eastern parts of the state."

The share which he had taken in military affairs while at the White Plains had secured for him the enmity of the Tories who infested that part of the country, and, when occasion offered, they did not fail to clothe this feeling in deeds. In the year 1781, having obtained permission from Governor Clinton to visit Long Island, he performed the journey, but in a letter to the governor, written at Fishkill on the sixteenth of May, 1781, while on his way home, he informed his Excellency that he had met with abuse in the city of New York from the Westchester refugees; had been "once carried before his Worship," the British mayor of that city; and had been obliged to take a different route on his return, to avoid his "old enemies," who were lying in wait to take him. "A thousand pounds," said he, "would not tempt me to a similar visit."

Having come to the conclusion, after an honest and careful review of the circumstances, that New York would never be able to substantiate her claim to the New Hampshire Grants, or to enforce her laws in that dis-

trict, he took the oath of allegiance to, and became a citizen of, Vermont. In the practice of his profession, though not distinguished as an eloquent advocate, he possessed what was of more value than eloquence, the estimation of the community for integrity. By reason of his legal attainments and the soundness of his judgment, he was esteemed the first lawyer in the state, and during the twenty-four years of his residence in Brattleboro his practice was successful and profitable. At this place his children, five daughters and three sons, were all born. In the year 1781 he was chosen judge and register of probate for Windham County, and held those offices until the year 1787.

The constitution of Vermont, which had been established by a convention on the second of July, 1777, was never submitted to the people for popular discussion, lest in those critical times, when unanimity was the only strength, its consideration should create disunion. Having been acted upon, as an experiment, for eight years, it was found to admit of so many practical abuses that its revision was regarded as imperative. This duty devolved upon a council of censors, who were chosen from the ablest men in the state for this specific purpose, and of this council Micah Townsend was the secretary. Their sessions were held at Norwich in June, 1785, at Windsor in September and October following, and at Bennington in February, 1786. All the members of this body, doubtless, participated in the discussions of the various points embraced in the work they had in hand, and justly shared in the honor of the labor. But their secretary alone could mould and shape the honest but crude suggestions into the clear and explicit form of legislative procedure. The discriminating acumen acquired by his legal education gave him an ability in drafting judicial and legislative documents which was then as important as it was rare, and was duly appreciated by such men of his associates as the Honorable Messrs. Marvin, Robinson, Mosely, Walbridge, Marsh, Jacob and Hunt.

In the year 1781 Mr. Townsend was called to fill the office of secretary of state, under the administration of the Honorable Thomas Chittenden, and was continued in that station by annual election until 1788. While occupying this position his habits of promptitude and regularity enabled him, by reforming the looseness and confusion which had prevailed in the department, to establish system and order. By these means access to the records was rendered easier, and the facilities for the dispatch of business were increased.

Pending the controversy between New York and Vermont, Micah Townsend was, on the tenth of July, 1784, arrested in the city of New York, by Seth Smith, "solely for his officiating in the line of his duty as clerk of the county court of Windham County," and was obliged to give

bail in the sum of £2000 for his appearance. The matter having been laid before the General Assembly of the state, an act of indemnity was passed at the next session of the Legislature, by which commissioners were appointed to sell lands in the state of Vermont, belonging to citizens of New York, until money should be raised from the sales to reimburse Mr. Townsend for all the expenses consequent upon his arrest.

For domestic reasons Mr. Townsend resigned his state secretaryship in 1788, much to the regret of all persons connected with the government. On tendering to the Legislature the seals of his office, the event was noticed by the House in the following complimentary resolution:

In General Assembly, 21st October, 1788.

RESOLVED, that this House having accepted the resignation of Micah Townsend, Esqr., late Secretary of this State, feel themselves obliged to express the warmest sentiments of gratitude to that gentleman, for the fidelity and skill with which he has discharged the duties of his said office. That it is with reluctance we consent that an officer of state of his ingenious accomplishments, which have been so faithfully and to so general satisfaction exerted for the public good, should so soon retire from the station he has filled with advantage to the state, and honor to himself.

He now retired from all public business to the bosom of his family, residing still in Brattleboro until the year 1801, when he disposed of his estate at that place to the Honorable Royall Tyler, and with his family dwelt in Guilford for one year. In the spring of 1802 he removed to the township of Farnham, Lower Canada. He lived here in retirement, devoted to domestic and religious duties, until 1816, when he changed his residence to Clarenceville, that he might spend the evening of his life with his son, the Reverend Micajah Townsend. Although for many years he had intended not to engage in public business, yet as his health was good and his faculties unimpaired, he yielded to the solicitation of the people to make himself useful among them as a justice of the peace, and from the governor, the Earl of Dalhousie, he received the appointment of judicial commissioner for the trial of small causes. At length admonished by the infirmities of age, he resigned these offices, and filled up his time in gardening, reading and meditation.

In the year 1831 he was called to part with the faithful wife of his youth, who died on the twenty-seventh of June, at the age of seventy-one. About the middle of the following spring he was attacked with chills and fever, and on the twenty-third of April, 1832, his mortal life terminated at the age of about eighty-three.

He was a member of the Masonic fraternity, and, according to the certificate of lodge Number 2 of the Province of New York, was elevated to a Master Mason's degree on the fourteenth of June, 1770. His moral character was marked for its truthfulness, integrity, justice and honesty. His mind was stored with various and extensive knowledge. His style of writing was plain, classical and elegant. His business habits were characterized by system, order and correctness. His disposition was mild, amiable and forgiving. His personable deportment was dignified yet unforbidding, and his manners graceful, polished and gentlemanly. For the last thirty years of his life, his daily practice was to retire for an hour at twilight for meditation and prayer, and yet his personal piety which was thus sustained, and was further evinced by a constant attendance on public worship and communion in the Episcopal Church, of which he had been from youth a member, was of a meek and unobtrusive character, commending itself more by deeds than words.

Though his physical activity was abated by age, his bodily health was unimpaired, and his sight and hearing, and appetite for food and sleep were undiminished. His mental powers, upheld by the habit of reading, had lost but little of their vigor, and he could compose and write with his customary ease and perspicuity up to the time of his last illness. His remains were deposited by the side of those of his wife, in the cemetery of the parish of St. George, Clarenceville, Lower Canada.

Two of his sons were the Reverend Micajah Townsend and the Reverend Canon Townsend.

—Hall's "History of Eastern Vermont."

## CHAPTER XII

## SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION

*Thomas Akeley, b. at Boston, Mass., May 25, 1755; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., Feb. 28, 1850; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. He served as Private on the Lexington Alarm Roll of Capt. Joseph Guild's Co., Col. Greaton's Regt., which marched on the Alarm of Apr. 19, 1775; service twelve days, from Dedham, Mass. Also Private in Co. Return of Capt. Guild's Co., Col. Heath's (36) Regt., dated Camp at Fort No. 2, Oct. 5, 1775. Town to which soldier belonged, Dedham. Reported enlisted May 9, 1775.

Ensign John Alexander, b. at Fort Dummer in 1738, was one of the first settlers of Brattleboro. He died at Marlboro, July 8, 1828. He was commissioned Ensign, Feb. 26, 1776, and gave various important services in the Revolutionary War.

### DEATH NOTICES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS

(From the *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette,* Feb. 4, 1828)

—Died—

In Marlborough, Vt., John Alexander, his age supposed to be 89 years.

At the time when Bridgman's fort was burnt by the Indians (the site of which is Vernon) and when Mrs. Howe and others were made captives, Mr. Alexander was a lad ten years old, in the woods, after the cows belonging to the fort. Being in the woods he providently escaped captivity.

In the old French War, at the age of 17, he served as a soldier under Gen. Amherst and was at the taking of Ticonderoga, and in the American Revolution was at the taking of Burgoyne. He was one of the first settlers of Brattleborough, where he resided more than half a century and reared a large family.

Few men have lived to his age and enjoyed a great measure of health, and few, very few men of his stature, which was below the middle size,

* Out of about 200 graves of Soldiers of the American Revolution marked by the Brattleboro Chapter, D. A. R., 45 were for men who, at some time, had lived in Brattleboro.

have been more active, robust and Herculean than Mr. Alexander. One instance is mentioned (which he was often heard to relate) as proof in point.

He, at one time, carried on his shoulders, upon snow-shoes, a five-pail iron kettle, two sap-buckets, an axe, a tapping-iron, a knapsack, four days' provisions, a blanket, a gun and accoutrements, more than three miles through the woods, over hills and valleys and in deep snow. An enormous load! Mr. Alexander at the time of his decease, was the second white person born, the oldest living, and one of the first native settlers on the *New Hampshire Grants,* alias Vermont.

Jonat[n] Alexander. Among a list of officers chosen July 24, 1782, appears Ensign Jonat[n] Alexander of Brattleborough North Company. (Ref. Vt. Revolutionary Rolls, page 827.)

Ensign Jon[n] Sartle Alexander. Vt. Revolutionary Rolls, page 824, gives name Jon[n] Sartle Alexander as Ensign of North Brattleborough Company.

*Dudley Bailey, b. at Lancaster, Mass., Dec. 16, 1744; d. March 8, 1812 or 1813; buried at West Dummerston, Vt. He was at one time a resident of Brattleboro. He recruited for Rhode Island service during 1777, Dec. 26, Capt. Edgell under Craft Bailey, eight months. He was also once a resident of Westminster, Mass.

*John Bemis, b. at Brattleboro, Vt., June 13, 1752; d. June 22, 1835; buried in Locust Ridge Cemetery. He enlisted in the Continental Service, was at Valley Forge with Washington's Army in 1777 and was a pensioner. Resident of Brattleboro in 1790.

*Samuel Bennett. Name appears on Brattleboro's "Ancient Roll of Honor." A Samuel Bennett buried at Brookline, Vt., was born in R. I. He died Sept. 23, 1841, aged 83 years. He served as Private with the Connecticut State Troops and his name was placed on the Pension Roll Aug. 13, 1833.

Capt. James Blakeslee, Captain of a company of men (many of them Brattleboro and Dummerston men) who gave service to the state of Vermont from the beginning of the campaign, 1781, to the thirtieth of June in the said year, inclusive. Taken from the original in the Paymaster's Office. He also gave other service. (Ref. Vt. Revolutionary Rolls.)

*Joel Bolster. Name appears on Brattleboro's "Ancient Roll of Honor." A Joel Bolster buried in the old Phelps Cemetery (on town line of Guilford and Halifax) was born at Uxbridge, Mass., June 17, 1761; died June 11, 1845. He served as Private in the Massachusetts Continental lines. He was placed on the Pension Roll Sept. 6, 1819.

Joseph Bonett. Name appears in Vermont Revolutionary Rolls as serving from Brattleboro. He enlisted Nov. 2, 1776, for term of the war. As per the U. S. Census of 1790 a Joseph Bonnett was a resident of Barnet, Orange Co., Vt.

*Lieut. Benjamin Butterfield, b. Westford, Mass., May 15, 1726; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., Dec. 7, 1804; buried in Locust Ridge Cemetery, Brattleboro, Vt. He was Lieutenant in Capt. William McCune's Co., Seth Warner's Regt., Green Mountain Boys.

*James Carpenter, b. at Rehoboth, Mass., Feb. 16, 1738; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., Nov. 4, 1829. He was Private Volunteer in Capt. Cole's Co., Col. Green's Regt. He was in the Rhode Island Alarm Dec. 8, 1776.

*John Carpenter, Jr., b. at Rehoboth, Mass., Apr. 6, 1756; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., Feb. 1, 1843; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. He was a Private in Capt. Isaac Hodge's Co., Col. Frances's Regt., from Aug. 1 to Nov., 1776.

*Benjamin Chamberlain. His name appears on Brattleboro's "Ancient Roll of Honor." There is a Benjamin Chamberlain buried in Dummerston Hill Cemetery. He was born about 1758 and died Apr. 26, 1844. His wife was Patty. He served in the Massachusetts Militia. His name was placed on the Pension Roll Apr. 4, 1833.

Oliver Chapin, d. June 26, 1811, aged 51 years; buried at Prospect Hill Cemetery; came to Brattleboro, Vt., from Orange, Mass., about 1800. He became one of the county judges and held other positions of importance. He was a member of Washington's bodyguard.

Lieut. Jonathan Church. His name appears as Second Lieutenant in a Brattleboro Company in which Timothy Church's name appears as Captain, Aug. 18, 1778. Other service was credited to him. He was an early settler of Brattleboro.

*Lieut. Reuben Church, b. about 1760; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., Sept. 18, 1839, aged 79 years; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. He enlisted in Col. Seth Warner's Regt., Aug. 7, 1776. He served as Ensign from Aug. 7, 1779, to Aug. 1, 1780; as Sergeant from Jan. 1, 1777, to Aug. 7, 1779; was commissioned First Lieutenant July 24, 1782. He was a pensioner.

*Lieut. Col. Timothy Church, b. about 1736, and d. at Brattleboro, Vt., Nov. 13, 1823; buried in Meeting-House Hill Cemetery. He was appointed Second Lieutenant of Brattleboro, Vt., Co. in 1776; Captain of the same Company Aug. 18, 1778, and Lieutenant Colonel commanding the Southern Regiment June 5, 1782. "He was one of the first settlers of the town."

Nathaniel Cole, b. in Swansea or Rehoboth in 1758; d. in Brattle-

boro, Vt., in 1824, and is buried in the Akeley family cemetery at Guilford, Vt. He gave valuable service in the Revolutionary War.

JOHN COLKIN. Name appears in Vermont Revolutionary Rolls as serving from Brattleboro as a Private. The list in which his name appears was compiled from New Hampshire Rolls and George C. Gilmore's New Hampshire Soldiers at the Battle of Bennington.

PETER COVAL. Name appears in Vermont Revolutionary Rolls as serving from Brattleboro, a Private. The list in which his name appears was compiled from New Hampshire Rolls and George C. Gilmore's New Hampshire Soldiers at the Battle of Bennington. He resided with his family in Brattleboro in 1790.

LIEUT. ISAAC CROSBY, b. about 1744; d. Sept. 14, 1812, in his 69th year; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. His name appears as serving in 1782 under Capt. Artemas How. He was chosen Lieutenant July 24, 1782.

*BENAJAH DUDLEY, b. in the state of Connecticut May 27, 1763; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., June 20, 1850; buried at West Brattleboro Cemetery. He served in the Connecticut Troops as Private and received a pension.

*WARREN ESTERBROOK, b. at Warren, R. I., June 29, 1748; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., June 29, 1838; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. He served as Private in Sergt. Thomas Esterbrook's Co., as town guard at Warren, R. I., from Apr. 26, 1778, to May 26, 1778.

*CORP. SAMUEL FIELD, bap. at Amherst, Mass., Jan. 20, 1754; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., Apr., 1829; buried in Meeting-House Hill Cemetery. Served in Capt. Noadiah Leonard's Co., Col. Ruggles Woodbridge's Regt., on the Alarm of Apr. 19, 1775. He also gave other service.

*OBADIAH GILL, b. about 1758; d. May 25, 1838, aged 80 years; buried in Prospect Hill Cemetery, Brattleboro, Vt. He served as Private in Capt. Moses Harvey's Co., Col. Jonathan Brewer's Regt. Muster Roll dated Aug. 1, 1777. He served one month and three weeks after enlisting Jan. 12, 1775. He had an order for a bounty coat or its equivalent in money, dated at Cambridge Dec. 5, 1775. He also gave other service.

CORP. BENJ. GOULD, b. Apr. 6, 1753, at Stoneham, Mass.; buried at Meeting-House Hill, Brattleboro. He served three years from Nov. 2, 1776, to Nov., 1779. In 1777 he was in Col. Seth Warner's Regt. (Ref. Vt. Revolutionary Rolls, pp. 108-110.)

*STEPHEN GREENLEAF, b. in Boston, Mass., Jan. 31, 1759; d. in Brattleboro, Vt., Mar. 5, 1850; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. He served nearly four months in the Revolutionary War. He gave valued and efficient service as town clerk for nearly half a century.

*Salathiel Harris, b. at Holden, Mass., Aug. 12, 1759; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., Oct. 29, 1846; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. Served in the New York State Troops and was placed on the Pension Roll in 1833.

*William Harris, b. Oct. 2, 1757, at Holden, Mass.; d. Mar. 12, 1845, at Brattleboro, Vt.; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. His name was placed on the Pension Roll Mar. 10, 1819. Pension commenced June 2, 1818.

*Ensign Rutherford Hayes, b. at Bradford, Conn., July 29, 1756; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., Sept. 25, 1836; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. Residence New Haven, and Brattleboro, Vt., after 1778. Service—Changes in Southern Regt., July 24, 1782, among others Rutherford Hays, Ensign, Southern Co., Brattleboro, town.

*Elihue Hotchkiss, b. about 1756; d. Jan. 11, 1840, aged 84 years; buried in Prospect Hill Cemetery, Brattleboro, Vt. Private in Connecticut Militia. Placed on the Pension Roll in 1833.

Capt. Artemas How. Name appears in Vermont Revolutionary Rolls as Captain of South Co., Brattleboro' Town, under date of July 24, 1782. He received his appointment as Captain on the same date. He was a resident of Brattleboro in 1790.

*Income Jones, b. June 16, 1757, at Dighton, Mass.; d. Jan. 19, 1845; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. He served about one year under Capt. Joshua Sayer, Col. Elliott's Regt. Applied for pension in 1832, which was granted.

*Oliver Jones, b. about 1758; d. Dec. 24, 1832, aged 74 years; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. He served eight months under Capt. Samuel Bliss, Col. Timothy Walker's Regt., in the state of Massachusetts. He was a prisoner nine months on a British Prison Ship, fifteen days in irons. His widow was allowed a pension.

*John Kelsey, b. about 1760; d. in Brattleboro, Vt., Aug. 16, 1835, aged 75 years. He enlisted Jan. 3, 1777, to Dec. 29, 1779. He was engaged in the Battle of Monmouth, under Capt. Aaron Stevens and Col. Herman Swift. He received a pension. Later his widow also received a pension.

Cushing King. Residence not given, but undoubtedly of Brattleboro. Descriptive list of men "raised to reinforce the Continental Army for the term of 6 months. agreeable to resolve of June 5, 1780. returned as rec'd of Justin Ely. Commissioner, by Major Peter Harwood of 6'th Mass. Reg't. at Sp'd July 1, 1780. age 16 yrs. Statue 4 ft. 11 in. Complexion light. engaged for town of Greenfield. Marched to Camp July 1, 1780. under command of Ens. Joseph Miller." Buried in South Newfane.

Ezra King. Brattleboro, Vt. Descriptive list of men "raised to reinforce the Continental Army for the term of 6 months. agreeable to resolve of June 5, 1780. returned as rec'd of Justin Ely—Commissioned by Major Peter Harwood of 6'th Mass. Regt. at Sp'd July 1, 1780— age 18 yrs— statue 5 ft. 4 in. Complexion, light— engaged for town of Gf'd— marched to camp July 1, 1780. under command of Ensign Joseph Miller." Also list of men raised for the six months' service, and returned by Brig. Gen. Patterson as having passed muster in return dated Camp Totoway, Oct. 25, 1780, residence Brattleboro. Also "Pay roll for 6 months men raised by the town of Gf'd for service in the Cont. Army during 1780. Marched June 30, 1780. discharged Jan. 3, '81, 172 m. from home. Service 6 mos. 4 days."

William King, Sr., b. about 1724; d. Nov. 8, 1793, aged 69 years; buried in West Brattleboro Village Cemetery. His name appears on a pay roll of Capt. Jacob Odel's Co., in Col. Ira Allen's Regt. of Militia for service done in the state of Vermont, which commenced Oct., A. D. 1781.

*William King, Jr., b. 1762; d. Dec. 19, 1840; buried at South Newfane. His name appears on a list of Vermont soldiers who served in New Hampshire Regiments, compiled from New Hampshire Rolls, Vol. 4.

David Lee, b. about 1764; d. May 30, 1839, in his 76th year; buried in Prospect Hill Cemetery. He enlisted at Thompson, Conn., July 5, 1780; discharged Dec. 13, 1780. He served under Capt. Allen and Col. Sheldon. (Ref. Conn. Men of the Revolution.) He applied for a pension in 1832. He is said to have been in the War of 1812 also. Gravestone says he was a "Soldier of the Revolution."

*Johnson Lynde, b. at Leicester, Mass., July 8, 1741; d. at West Brattleboro, Vt., Mar. 24, 1831. He served as Minute Man and was also one of a committee to furnish provision for Washington's Army. He was one of a Committee of Safety, and that committee met at his house.

Capt. David Mc'Cune. His name appears in Vermont Revolutionary Rolls as serving from Brattleboro, June 5, 1783, in Col. Seth Warner's Regt.

*Capt. William Mc'Cune, b. about 1729; d. Dec. 27, 1807, aged 78 years; buried in the West Brattleboro Village Cemetery. He came to Brattleboro from Massachusetts and raised a company and served as Captain in Col. Seth Warner's Regt., Sept. 16, 1776, until Nov. 18, 1778.

*Thaddeus Miller. Name appears on pay roll of Capt. Jonathan Warren's Co. of Militia in Col. Sarjeants [*sic*] Regt., in the state of Vermont for service done in Dec., 1782, pursuant to orders received from Col. Sergent for the suppressing of insurgents in Windham Co.

*Isaac Platts, Jr., b. at Bradford, Mass., 1744; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., Sept. 27, 1835; buried in Prospect Hill Cemetery. He served as Private in Capt. John Savoy's Detachment from the 2d Bradford Co., which marched Nov. 30, 1775, and returned Dec. 4, 1775. Roll dated Bradford, and sworn to at Andover, Mass.

Isaac Pratt, whose name appears on Brattleboro's "Ancient Roll of Honor," died in Sudbury, Mass. He was placed on the Pension Roll in 1818, then aged 71 years.

Lieut. Francis Prouty, bap. at Lancaster, Mass., Apr. 29, 1744. He removed to Brattleboro, Vt., and bought land in 1770; was Lieutenant in the Militia in 1793. His name appears as Second Lieutenant, July 24, 1782. On the foregoing date he was chosen Lieutenant.

Capt. Richard Prouty, bap. at Lancaster, Mass., Apr. 23, 1742. He removed before Apr. 1, 1771, to Brattleboro, Vt. He was constable of the town in 1781. He was commissioned Captain on July 24, 1782.

*Ephraim Rice, born at Brattleboro, Vt.; died at Wardsboro, Vt., Jan. 18, 1851. He served in the Massachusetts Militia as a Private, his name being placed on the Pension Roll on Sept. 21, 1833.

*Lieut. Jonas Rice, b. about 1765; d. May 1, 1849, aged 84 years; buried at Meeting-House Hill Cemetery. He was a resident of Brattleboro, Vt. His name appears on a pay roll of Capt. James Blakeslee's Co., Col. Fletcher's Battalion and Gen. Eno's Brigade in the service of the state of Vermont in 1781.

Lieut. Joseph Rogers, b. about 1754; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., Sept. 4, 1838, aged 84 years. He received a large pension. He served in the New York Militia. His gravestone says, "A soldier of the Revolution."

Ensign Samuel Root. His name appears as serving from Brattleboro, under Col. Eleazer Patterson, Aug. 18, 1778, in the same Company with men from Brattleboro, Halifax, Guilford, Fulham, Putney and Westminster.

*Hezekiah Salisbury, b. at Bristol, R. I., May 17, 1754; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., May 27, 1883; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. He was a Private, and later served as Sergeant and Captain. Engaged in the Battle of Long Island—Harlem. Date of enlistments, May 10, 1775; Jan. 10, 1776; May 1, 1778. Applied for pension Aug. 2, 1832.

*Capt. Jonathan Salisbury, b. at Bristol, R. I., Nov. 13, 1735; d. in Brattleboro, Vt., Mar. 27, 1817. He was commissioned by the Gov-

ernment to serve as Privateersman. During the Revolution he devoted himself and vessels, of which he was owner, to his country's cause.

*Nathaniel Sampson, b. at Middlebury, Mass., in 1754; d. in Brattleboro, Vt., Mar. 24, 1849; buried in Meeting-House Hill Cemetery. Engaged in a skirmish at Mile Square. Enlisted at Middlebury, Mass. Applied for a pension, Aug. 1, 1832, which was granted.

*Elihu Sargent, b. May 3, 1758; d. Dec. 1, 1833; buried in Locust Ridge Cemetery, Brattleboro, Vt. In 1782 his name appears on pay roll of Capt. Jason Duncan's Co. of Militia, in Col. John Sargent's Regt., for marching to Brattleboro sundry times, "by order of Col. Sargents in order to suppress the disaffected party in said Regiment."

*Col. John Sargent, b. at Fort Dummer, Vt., Dec. 4, 1732; d. July 30, 1798; buried at Locust Ridge Cemetery, Brattleboro, Vt. Name appears on the pay roll of Capt. Isaac Wheeler's Co. in Col. John Sargent's Regt., dated the 24th day of Dec. to the 26th. Also served as Colonel in Capt. Jason Duncan's Co., and in various other important service.

*Sergt. Rufus Sargent, b. at Fort Dummer, Vt., June 15, 1740; d. Nov. 23, 1836; buried in Dummerston Center Cemetery. He was Sergeant in Capt. Josiah Boyden's Co. of Dummerston men, in Col. William Williams's Regt., in the Bennington Expedition; also served again under Capt. Jason Dunton and Col. John Sargent (his brother).

Nathaniel Sartwell (Sawtell), b. at Groton, Feb. 12, 1729; d. Aug. 5, 1816; buried at Locust Ridge Cemetery, Brattleboro, Vt. He served as Corporal and Sergeant of Groton. He has a governmental stone, given for Revolutionary War service. (Ref. Sec. of State of Mass.)

Sylvanus Sartwell, b. Nov. 10, 1757, at Sunderland, Mass.; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., Nov. 21, 1842; buried at Locust Ridge Cemetery and has a governmental stone. He applied for pension Aug. 2, 1832, and was placed on the Pension Roll in 1833. His wife was Lucy Hosley, b. July 3, 1755; d. Jan. 30, 1848, aged 92 years. She received a widow's pension.

*Jacob Spaulding, b. about 1727; d. June 18, 1808, aged 81 years; buried in Meeting-House Hill Cemetery, Brattleboro, Vt. Served as Private. His name is recorded in Capt. James Blakeslee's Roll, beginning of campaign, 1781, to thirtieth of June of the same year.

*Daniel Stearns, b. July 7, 1760; d. Jan. 9, 1824; buried in Meeting-House Hill Cemetery, Brattleboro, Vt. He appears as Fifer on the pay roll of Capt. Jesse Safford's Co. of Rangers, Maj. Eben'r Allen's Detachment, raised for the defense of the state of Vermont, commencing Jan. 18 and ending Dec. 1, 1780.

*Reuben Stearns, b. 1759, and a resident of Brattleboro, Vt.; d. at the home of his son in Dummerston, Vt., Jan. 29, 1845; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. He enlisted at Paxton, Mass., July, 1776, served three months under Capt. Benjamin Richardson and Col. Nicholas Dike. He enlisted Dec., 1776, and served three months; again at Paxton in 1778, and served six weeks.

*Col. Daniel Stewart, b. at Paxton, Mass., in 1756; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., June 13, 1834; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. He appears with rank of Private on the Lexington Alarm Roll of Capt. Phineas Moore's Co., Col. Ephraim Doolittle's Regt., which marched on the Alarm of Apr. 19, 1775, from Paxton to Cambridge; service nineteen days.

Lemuel Thompson, a native of Connecticut, came to Brattleboro in 1816, and lived with his son, Isaac Thompson, the remainder of his life. He was killed by an accident, being run over on High Street while returning from muster.

Samuel Warriner, b. Aug. 31, 1744; came to Brattleboro, Vt., from Wilbraham, Mass.; d. Sept. 25, 1808. His wife was Chloe Nash, who died in 1830, aged 84 years. His name appears upon the pay roll of Capt. Josiah Boyden's Co., in Col. William William's Regt. of Militia in the service of the United States on an expedition to Bennington in 1777.

David Wells, whose name appears on Brattleboro's "Ancient Roll of Honor," was born about 1753, and died Jan. 27, 1826. He was placed on the Pension Roll June 4, 1818, then aged 65 years.

*William Whipple, b. about 1763; d. Oct. 30, 1848; buried at Meeting-House Hill Cemetery, Brattleboro, Vt. His name is recorded in Capt. James Blakeslee's Roll, beginning of campaign, 1781, to thirtieth of June of the same year.

*Joshua Wilder, b. (per) Shutesbury, Mass., Mar. 4, 1754; d. Mar. 4, 1849; buried in cemetery on old Wilder Farm. In his application for pension, he states that he belonged to Capt. Edmond Brigham's Co., Col. Brigham's Regt.; was detached Oct. or Nov. 1, 1777, and served until Sept. 1, 1780, as a military guard at Westboro, Mass., under Corp. or Ensign Fisher. His residence at date of enlistment was Westboro, Mass. His pension claim was allowed.

*Jotham Wilder, b. at Lancaster, Mass., 1710; d. at Brattleboro, Vt., May 25, 1801; buried in West Brattleboro Cemetery. He fought in the Battle of Bunker Hill at the age of 65 years. Muster Roll dated Aug. 1, 1775. He enlisted May 15, 1775, service 2 months 23 days, in Capt. Andrew Haskell's Co., Col. Asa Whitcomb's Regt.; also other service.

*Samuel Willington, b. at Lincoln, Mass., Nov. 28, 1757; d. at Brattleboro, Apr. 10, 1836; buried in Locust Ridge Cemetery. He served with the Massachusetts State Troops. He received an invalid's pension in 1789. His name was placed on the Pension Roll May 17, 1822.

*Philip Wood, b. at Rehoboth, Mass., Apr. 29, 1756; d. in Brattleboro, Vt., July 16, 1845; buried in Prospect Hill Cemetery, Brattleboro, Vt. He appears with the rank of Private on the pay roll of Capt. Stephen Bullock's Co., Col. Thomas Carpenter's Regt., for service at the Rhode Island Alarm, Dec., 1776.

### Other Names on the Ancient Honor Roll

Daniel Harris (buried at Wardsboro, Vt.).
Ichabod King.
William Butterfield.
Jabez Clark (there was a Jabez Clark, Hinsdale, 1790).
Bromer Jenks.
Joseph Joy (buried in Putney West).
Elias Joy.
Israel Jones (there was an Israel Jones of Halifax in 1790).
Levi Shumway (there was a Levi Shumway of Whitingham, 1790).
Thomas Simpson (there was a Thomas Simpson of Wardsboro, 1790).
Royal Tyler (of Brattleboro).

Southeastern Vermont was outside the field of action of the Revolutionary forces but not outside of the intentions of the British commander as seen by the following extracts from General Burgoyne's instructions to Colonel Baum: "You are to proceed from Batten Kill to Arlington, and to take post there. . . . You are then to proceed to Manchester, where you will again take post, so as to secure the passes of the mountains on the road from Manchester to Rockingham; from thence you will detach the Indians and light troops to the northward toward Otter Creek; on their return, and also receiving intelligence that no enemy is in force upon the Connecticut river, you will proceed by the road over the mountains to Rockingham, where you will take post. . . . Should you find it may be effected, you are to remain there while the Indians and light troops are detached up the river, and you are afterwards to descend the river to Brattleburg (Brattleboro'), and from that place by the quickest march you are to return by the great road to Albany. . . . During your whole progress your detachments are to have orders to bring in to you all horses fit to mount the dragoons under your command, or to serve as bat-horses

to the troops, together with as many saddles and bridles as can be found. The number of horses requisite, besides those necessary for mounting the regiment of dragoons, ought to be thirteen hundred. If you can bring more for the use of the Army, it will be so much the better. . . . All possible means are to be used to prevent plundering."

## CHAPTER XIII

## SCHOOLS

Schools—Division of town into districts—Names of heads of families in districts—Location of schoolhouses.

The town first took action in regard to schools December 4, 1782, by voting: "2d, to choose a committee to confer with the selectmen in order to divide the town into districts for the benefit of schools; 3d, to choose a committee of six men and accordingly chose Lieut. Thomas Sargeant, Lieut. Richard Prouty, Lieut. Sam'l Knight, Mr. Wm. Harris, Capt. Artemas Howe and Mr. Eben'r Hawes committeemen for the above purpose." The town was divided into six districts by heads of families. Those north of West River were made into District Number 1; those east and south of the Meeting-House into Number 2; those where the red schoolhouse was and south of there to Guilford into Number 3; those in the southwest part of the town into Number 4; those north and west of the meeting-house into Number 5; and those in the west part of the town into Number 6. The names of the heads of families were:

### District Number 1

Henry Segar
Daniel Whipple
Mary Whipple
Nathan Pierce
Benjamin Butterfield
Joseph Fuller
John Sargeant
Thomas Sargeant
John Baldwin
Nathaniel French
Joshua Wilder
John Bemis
Jesse Frost
Ebenezer Hadley
Jesse Hadley
Elias Wilder
Abner Bemis
Eli Sargeant
Levi Sargeant
Jesse French, Junior
Timothy Bebee
Asa French
Jesse French, Junior
Charles Wiler

### District Number 2

Benjamin Gorton
Samuel Wells
Josiah Arms
Ebenezer Frost

James Smith
Nathaniel Church
John Joy
Samuel Knight
Matthew Martin
Mr. Clark
Peter Covel
Elnathan Allen
Oliver Evans
Asa Putnam
Elisha Pierce
Nathan Willard
Mr. Stearns
Gardner Chandler
William King
Oliver Wells
Moses Tute
Oliver Harris
John Pettis
Reverend Mr. Reeve
Ebenezer Fisher
Micah Townshend
Jonathan Peabody
John Griffin
Joel Atchinson
Caleb Morgan
John Dickerman
Stephen Greenleaf
Benjamin Baker
Joshua Harris
Jonathan Goodenough
John Arms
William Dickerman
Abraham Martin
Abner Scovel

District Number 3

Elihu Hyde
Samuel Root
Lemuel Kendrick
Simpson Ellis
John Houghton
William Harris
Israel Smith
William Harris, Junior
Salathiel Harris
Oliver Nash
Aaron Nash
William Houghton
Peter Houghton
Jeremiah Hopkins
Isaac Crosby
Valentine Harris
Joseph Burt
Luther Burt
John Ellis
Simeon Eaton
John Campton
Moses Nash
Isaac McCune
Doctor John Munro
Asa Dagget
John Hager
David Pinks
Samuel Warriner
Zebediah Marsh
Jabez Wood
Jabez Wood, Junior
Nathaniel Chandler
Henry Chandler
Jacob Spalding
Abel Symonds
William Church
Josiah Church
William Evans
Nathaniel Blakeslee
Eber Church
Widow Blakeslee
James Blakeslee
William Jones

### District Number 4

Daniel Steward
William Salisbury
Hezekiah Salisbury
Oliver Salisbury
John Steward
Gideon Briggs
Mr. Hail
James Barney
Mr. Stoddard
Thomas Akeley
Jonathan Stoddard
George Dixon
Stephen Greenleaf, Junior
William Holton
John Dixon
David Dixon
Daniel Frazer
Jonathan Smith
Philip Paddleford
Reuben Smith
John Plummer
Joseph How
Artemas How
Samuel Mixer
Abel Grout
Jesse Butterfield
Nehemiah Horton
Benoni Thompson
Samuel Newton
Philip Wood
David How
John Carpenter
Luke Butterfield

### District Number 5

John Newton
David Polard
Samuel Bennett
Joseph Bennett
Noah Bennett
Timothy Church
William Cranny
Joseph Whipple
Stephen Bennett
Jonathan Church
Joseph Chamberlain
Richard Prouty
Timothy Whipple
Benjamin Butterfield, Junior
William McCune
Doctor Dickerman
Mr. Leason
Taylor Brooks
Oliver Cook
Jonathan Herrick
Francis Prouty
Jonathan Dunklee
Joseph Dunklee
Amos Rice
Ephraim Rice
Jonathan Alexander
Ephraim Knapp
James Knapp
Benjamin Gould
John Alexander
Elijah Prouty
Israel Field
Jotham Spaulding
William McCune, Junior
Isaac Kendall
Sawyer Wright
Ebenezer Knapp
Ebenezer Church
Joseph Cook
Mr. Nichols

District Number 6

| | |
|---|---|
| Barnet Field | Jonathan Hobbs |
| Isaac Bump | Ebenezer Hawes |
| Reuben Bump | Daniel Whipple |
| Selah Wells | Jonathan Salisbury |
| Nathan Gould | Jabez Davis |

Among those in District Number 3 is to be noticed Doctor Munro, not often mentioned among the early physicians. He was probably the first in that part of the town.

The schoolhouse in District Number 1 was probably built where the schoolhouse in that district now is; that in Number 2 at the northwest corner of what is the Common in Brattleboro Village; that in Number 3, perhaps where the red one stood; that in Number 5 where that in District Number 6 now stands. Colonel John Sargeant was committee in Number 1; Mr. Asa Putnam in Number 2; Mr. William Harris in Number 3; Captain Howe in Number 4; Mr. Noah Bennett in Number 5; and Mr. Jonathan Salisbury in Number 6, and all were chosen by the town and not by the respective districts—which were called "classes."

A school meeting was held by "voters of the eastern part of Center School district," December 11, 1797. At that time money to defray the expense of a term of school was "raised on the poles" and ratable estates of the district, the fuel and teachers' board being furnished by pupils. Teachers received nine dollars per month and "boarded round."

John and Willard Arms deeded a portion of land owned by them, July 7, 1807, for a school site on the northwest corner of what is now the Common, near the top of the hill descending to the Retreat. The little red schoolhouse built on this site was used for the first religious meetings held in the East Village, and "lectures were preached there on Lord's-Day evening" by Reverend William Wells, and generally as often as twice a week besides.

In 1857 the schoolhouse was removed at the expense of the Retreat to the present location on Chase Street, as it was thought to obstruct the view of the Retreat buildings and grounds. Besides that schoolhouse, there was one on the Hunt farm near where the old gravestones stood in the open field. The building was originally a cooper's shop, not particularly warm in winter, but when the weather was very severe the pupils, said to have been about forty in number, were permitted to take their books and study around the big fireplace in which were burned four-foot green logs. Instead of the athletics of the modern school system, there were wrestling matches and other crude devices to develop muscle and give vent to the animal spirits of the country boy.

In the more settled parts of New England the large body of the people received the rudiments of an education in the district schools. The instruction was confined to reading with a fair degree of fluency, writing legibly, spelling, and enough arithmetic for simple practical computations and to make change. The teacher was generally a divinity student scarcely out of his teens.

Only a few passed into the seminary kept by some minister, or the academy which fed the colleges then in existence. A few academies offered a standard of scholarship under men of remarkable endowment for the profession of teacher, which has given them a just and lasting fame. These were schools of secondary instruction, intellectual primarily, but bringing to youth during the years when character is formed, not only mental discipline and honest work, but moral and religious influences fitting for life.

## CHAPTER XIV

## WEST BRATTLEBORO

West Brattleboro—Harris-Hayes center—Hayes Tavern—Roads—John Noyes's store—General Jonas Mann—Samuel Clark—Chester Miller—Admatha Dunklee—Other owners—Glen House—Proprietors: Rutherford Hayes, Russell Hayes, Amasa Bixby, Henry Barrett, Timothy Root—Stewart's Hotel, Phineas Stewart.

There was no village where West Brattleboro now is till after 1784, though some ten or twelve years previous to that date, a bridle path, and then an ox-sled road, led from the Harris-Hayes center, southeastward to the Hayes Tavern, which was kept by Rutherford Hayes from 1778.

### Hayes Tavern

The house was placed where the road divided, between the straight road going on over Meeting-House Hill, and, by a sharp turn to the west, the road to Marlboro. The highway east of the house was changed to the west when a more direct route to Marlboro was needed. The house was built for an inn. It was called "The Big House" because of its size. The ballroom on the second floor was the only large hall in the region and many public meetings were held there as well as balls and card parties, and people came from neighboring hamlets to attend them.

The house was very substantially built, with two cellar walls three feet apart, and heavy timbers in which no dry rot has ever been found. Fourteen fireplaces were required to warm the house and there were two brick ovens, one in the dining-room and one in the well-lighted cellar. In the cellar was an immense fireplace with a long crane and Dutch ovens for roasting meats and fowls. It was also provided with running water, a deep well and every convenience the period furnished for cooking the bountiful suppers served in the dining-room above. Chloe was a famous cook and had, usually, a corps of helpers.

There was a barroom at the right of the wide hallway, and upstairs, opening into the ballroom, was a bar-cupboard where thirst could be quenched without descending to the barroom. The bar-cupboard is now a closet, but still retains the shelf over which the liquor was sold and the little corner shelf below the counter where the money-box was kept.

HAYES TAVERN

CENTREVILLE BRIDGE

CEMETERY
WEST BRATTLEBORO

RESIDENCE OF
GENERAL JONAS MANN

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

CHASE'S STAGE HOUSE

BLAKE MANSION

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

Capacious woodsheds, so necessary in fireplace days, were connected with the house by a gangway, from which opened a large milkroom. Under the milkroom was an ice-cellar. Also connected with the sheds were a carriage-house and barn, and near by a small "kettle-house" where maple sugar was made. A certificate to keep a carriage issued by G. Denison, collector for the second collection district of Vermont, shows that for the privilege of owning a "two-wheel carriage called a chaise and the harness used thereof," Mr. Hayes paid $1.00.

A large room upstairs containing four beds, one in each corner, was reserved for the babies and children of tender years who could not be left alone at home. It is said that the "Reverends" of those days were punctual in their parochial calls at the hospitable home of Rutherford and Chloe Hayes. It was a rule of the house that whichever child had behaved in the most exemplary manner during the week was to have the privilege of bringing from the cellar and presenting to the parson a glass of wine. But the Hayeses were strict in their observance of Saturday evening as the beginning of the Sabbath. At sunset every Saturday night the wooden shutters were drawn, doors closed and the weary traveler knew it was of no use to call for refreshments at that hostelry.

From this time the path went south to Ellas's by the old Academy, then east to a ford or bridge on the Whetstone, near the iron bridge, then to Lieutenant Root's. Here, about to turn to the left and go up the hill north, it met and took on another which came from Guilford via Benjaman Baker's, now Stafford's, on Fair View Hill, then passed Greenleaf's, now Herrick's, then passed John Dickerman's, now Miner's, then crossed the Whetstone by Smith's (who sold in 1795 to John Field from Amherst, Massachusetts) gristmill, near the red bridge, then turned to the left and went west to Lieutenant Root's, where it joined the other, as above named, and with it went up the hill north past Lemuel Kendrick's, and thus reached the Common, Meeting-House and cemetery on the hill, about 1774. It is thought that this road from Guilford and the brook to the hill was that which Colonel Ethan Allen took when he went with his soldiers and prisoners from Guilford to Brattleboro September 10, 1782, and that his troops and the prisoners stopped for the night on the hill, perhaps in the church, while he and his officers went on and stopped at the famous Major Arms Inn.

From this a road led across Whetstone Brook to the Hayes corner; from this Harris-Hayes center one road went northwest, passing the home of Captain Nathaniel Blakeslee, who lived at the Miller place; then to the home of Captain James Blakeslee, who lived at the Samuel Sargent place. Another road went up the hill, west, passing Major Greenleaf's,

now Wellman's, soon after which it parted and went, one southward to the Warriner's, another westward to Marlboro. A road westward passed the Dunklee homestead, Oliver Carpenter's, Wicopee Hill and eventually the old Meeting-House on Dummerston Hill, to Williamsville and Newfane Hill, thence to Chester, the shire town of Cumberland County. Still another road struck out from near the Wells place, going first south of west, then west, passing near Samuel Knight's place (Pastor Reeve's and Ebenezer Fisher's) and came, in 1768, upon Meeting-House Hill from the north; whence, eventually, it went on westward, down across the northern part of the Miller farm to the S. S. Sargent place on Whetstone Brook; thence across the country west to Abel Stockwell's, now Hillcrest, on Ames Hill in Marlboro, and extended about fifteen miles from the Connecticut River into Halifax. There was no other road in that direction. A path extended from this road across the mountain to Albany.

One and the same as the beginning of this road on the hill was the one which came west from the Meeting-House down through what was once the Reeve pasture, to the Reeve, later Pettee, place.

From Lieutenant Root's to what is now the East Village there was no direct road till 1785, the same year in which the Meeting-House on the hill began to give place to the building of a new one in West Brattleboro.

After 1774 anyone going from the Harris-Hayes region to the East Village region might go northeast to the hill via the road up through the Reeve pasture; or, doubtless better, via Lieutenant Root's to the hill, and thence by a road going southeast past Gilbert Smith's, later Abner Scovil's, to the great river road.

Aside from the roads already named, there were the two others leading from the hill northward to the Oscar Ware and West Dummerston region.

The "old store building" in West Brattleboro was probably built about 1775, although the exact date is not known. From 1800 to 1826 the store was owned by Esquire John Noyes, in company with General Jonas Mann; Noyes and Mann sold to Samuel Clark and he to a Mr. Baker. From 1837 to 1840 Chester Miller was in business in the building; in 1840 or 1841 the store was purchased by Admatha Dunklee, who remained in business about twenty-seven years, when it was again sold, to Perry and Howe.

The Glen House, West Village, was the second hotel built by Rutherford Hayes. Russell Hayes succeeded his father as proprietor; Amasa Bixby, Henry Barrett and Timothy Root followed. It was taken next by Phineas Stewart and from that time, for many years, was called Stewart's Hotel, when it was a favorite resort of the militia. R. Goodenough, George Emerson, Mark Worcester, George A. Boyden, H. Holland, Henry Nash, C. C. Miller, L. D. Thayer, M. Alden, William Warren,

T. Clapp, Albert Smith, John L. Sargent and Seth Jones were successively proprietors.

No settlement was made in the valley of Whetstone Brook above the Estey sawmill till 1798, when William Harris began one where the old road to Marlboro turns up the hill at West Brattleboro. John Houghton, afterwards Captain Houghton, settled on the farm northwest of the Goodenough mills, where Mr. Cutting lived, in 1770, built mills there, and sold them to Aaron Nash in 1774. Israel Field settled on the lot next east, on which Samuel Sargent lived, in the same year, and Simpson Ellas settled where the seminary buildings are in 1772. All roads led for public business to the Meeting-House on the hill, and none was built along Whetstone Brook until 1784, when the old road from Marlboro was laid, which came down the hill where it now does to William Harris's, then along the road, as it now runs, to the tavern house, then across where the park is to where the seminary buildings are, and then turned and ran straight down to near the brook. From there it ran near where the road now is to the road leading from Northfield to Westminster near Gardner Chandler's "shop," which stood where the Williston stone block is in the village of Brattleboro. John Houghton lived in front of where the Dunklee house and store in West Brattleboro now are, and owned the land between there and the bridge. Rutherford Hayes lived at the Hayes place, and had a blacksmith shop there, and Israel Smith near where Mr. Stockwell's house is, across the road to the north.

## CHAPTER XV

## THE POST OFFICE

Post Office—John Arms, first postmaster at Arms Tavern—John W. Blake—Aaron Horsford—John Holbrook—Samuel Elliot—Asa Green—Removal to Main Street.

The Governor's Council concurred March 5, 1784, with the General Assembly in session at Bennington in the appointment of Anthony Haswell of that place postmaster-general of the state. Five post offices were then established, at Bennington, Rutland, Brattleboro, Windsor and Newbury, under regulations governing other offices then in operation in the United States. Postriders were appointed, the rider from Bennington to Brattleboro being allowed threepence a mile, while the others, including the rider from Bennington to Albany, were given but twopence. Newspapers were delivered up to this time by carriers on main routes of travel when suitably rewarded, but were not received at post offices. Other postriders, it seems, were employed to ride through certain circuits to promulgate the laws. The comment of *The Vermont Journal,* published at Windsor at that time, shows the interest felt in the novel scheme:

The General Assembly, during their last session, having resolved to establish a post to ride weekly from Bennington to Newbury by way of Brattleborough, and one from Bennington to Rutland, post-offices will immediately be erected in the towns of Bennington, Brattleborough, Windsor, Newbury and Rutland. These will open a regular communication through the State, by which the inhabitants on each side of the mountain will be relieved from the inconveniences they have heretofore labored under in keeping up a mutual correspondence, so necessary for the union of a people. We flatter ourselves that the honorable Assembly has done essential service to the State by adopting this measure, as it naturally tends to unite the people thereof, affords a regular source of communication with the Southern States, there being a post already established from Bennington to Albany, gives a thorough vent for the circulation of newspapers (that most excellent vehicle of intelligence and amusement), supplies us with the means of transmitting domestic occurrences with public and private; and in fine, from so important an establishment, if conducted with regularity, we may anticipate the most happy consequences.

In the following November *The Vermont Gazette* had this item of news from Hartford, Connecticut:

A stage wagon has lately been erected to run with four horses between the city of New York and Stratford Ferry in Connecticut, which completes the stages from Portsmouth in the State of New Hampshire, to Richmond in the State of Virginia, a distance of upwards of 700 miles.

John Arms is supposed to have been Brattleboro's first postmaster under Postmaster-General Haswell's administration.

John W. Blake was appointed postmaster by the general government in 1792, and the records of the post-office department show that the first returns from this office were March 20, 1793. Blake's successor was Aaron Horsford, who was appointed October 1, 1793. He was succeeded by John Holbrook one year later, and he in turn by Samuel Elliot, July 1, 1804. Then came Asa Green, July 1, 1811.

Brattleboro's first post office was probably located in the "Old Tavern," which was kept by John Arms, the first postmaster. On the day when the postrider was due the people assembled for the distribution of the mail at the inn. The office was subsequently located in a building on the Hunt lot at the junction of High and Main Streets, and afterwards removed to a building erected by Postmaster Green on the south side of High Street and on the present site of Retting Block. Later it was moved to "Hall's long building," on the east side of Main Street, into a room afterwards occupied for many years by I. N. Thorn's drug store. The post office held by Asa Green, Esquire, from 1811 to 1841, was, as the "old Stage-House," constantly open both day and night. It was a distributing office, and at one period of Mr. Green's administration was the post office for Guilford, Dummerston, Halifax, Vernon, Whitingham, Newfane, Bernardston, Weybridge, Marlboro, Hinsdale, New Hampshire, Gill, Massachusetts, Leyden, Massachusetts and Chesterfield, New Hampshire.

## CHAPTER XVI

## SECOND MEETING-HOUSE

Second Meeting-House—Plan of house—Original purchasers of pews—Moved in 1818—Revival of 1832-1833—Reverend Caleb Burge—Reverend Jedediah L. Stark—Reverend Corbin Kidder—Reverend Joseph Chandler—Reverend Charles H. Merrill—Reverend James H. Babbitt.

The first house on Meeting-House Hill had been in existence a little more than ten years when agitation for a new one began. Several reasons contributed to this. The growing importance of the highway leading up to Marlboro pointed to some spot on Whetstone Brook as a more convenient location for all concerned. Land in Marlboro in those early days was selling for twice the price of land in Brattleboro, but the farmers there upon the hills had need of access to the river for the means of transportation.

When the matter of building a church was first agitated, in 1780, it was thought necessary to have a committee appointed from out of town to decide upon a location. A failure to vote the money for the expense of the committee, however, made this plan inoperative. But when, after the lapse of nearly five years, the matter was taken up again, the town had no difficulty in deciding by themselves on a site. It was voted to place the new house upon "the County Road, east of Captain Houghton's and west of Whetstone Brook." The location was nearly in front of where the present house stands.

Another reason leading to so early an abandonment of the old house upon the hill may have been the temporary structure of the building itself. It is significant that no part of the old was utilized in the new house, and that the question of deserting the old house was raised after only ten years of occupancy.

Also the passage of a law in 1781 authorizing towns to assess a tax upon land for the purpose of building houses of worship gave an opportunity for taking matters wholly out of the hands of the voluntary band of Covenanters and erecting a house suitable for all purposes of public interest.

"The Town" acted in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the community, built meeting-houses and schoolhouses, hired the minister, enforced Sabbath attendance, hired the schoolmaster, had charge of grave-

yards, levied rates and enforced attendance on its own meetings. The support of the minister, at first voluntary, became a regular item of civic expense; he was generally chosen in open town meeting.

The construction of the new building extended over a period of fifteen years, during which the people had opportunity to discuss and accept and reject and modify plans to their hearts' content. During these fifteen years, if a man lived long enough, he would have the privilege not only of voting on every detail of construction and finish, but he would have the opportunity of working out his individual tax at his leisure. Indeed, the books show that the large part of the expense was met by furnishing labor and materials. In 1785 the frame was erected, accepted by the town, and a new committee chosen to enclose it. At the raising of the frame the committee was authorized by vote of the town to employ one hundred and fifty men. That this was done we may reasonably infer from the fact that when the bill for "rum & shugar" was brought in the following year, it required a tax equaling one-half the tax assessed for furnishing "nales & glass" to cover the claim.[1] By putting the two taxes together, a vote for their assessment was readily secured.

It appears that the house in an unfurnished state was occupied immediately, for a vote for the sale of the old house was passed the same year. At first there were benches instead of pews. Two years later, in 1788, the lower floor was laid and six pews in each side of the main aisle, leaving the rest to be furnished with seats. But it was not until 1803 that we find upon the town records, placed there "by authority," a plan of the completed house with pews and pew owners' names attached. The external features of the house were an exact rectangle of sixty by forty-eight feet. It was placed in what is now the middle of the street so that the length would run up and down the road; there was a belfry on one side and a door midway on each of the two ends. The pews were square, and seated on three sides, with chairs for the aged and stools for children in the middle. They were unpainted, uncushioned and uncarpeted. In the galleries free seats and unoccupied pews were filled by "hired help" and the larger boys.

The irrepressible boy in the gallery figures in the records even down to 1843. The seats opposite the pulpit would be reserved for the choir. It is uncertain at what date the double bass viol and trombone and violin, now in existence in families in town, were introduced there. A vote of the church is on record, 1801, by which the article in the warrant "to raise money for the encouragement of social worship so far as respects singing" was dismissed. It does not follow from this, however, that

[1] "Report of Accompts, by Meeting House Committee with Dr. George H. Hall. £46.10.3=$155-26-100, for rum, sugar, glass, white lead, &c."

voluntary efforts for the establishment of a choir were discouraged, but rather the contrary.

Around the church, horses and vehicles were gathered in a tract of low, swampy ground, as it was then, where the evergreen trees and fountain now stand. In later years there was a tight board fence for hitching purposes near the present row of maple trees.

During the intermission of a winter's day groups of women would be seen hurrying to the neighbors' with the footstoves for fresh coals—and the men to the barroom of the tavern near by. The length of the afternoon service was prescribed to two hours.

The appearance in the pulpit of the familiar form of Reverend Abner Reeve would insure a service of no extraordinary length. A manuscript sermon of his, preached in 1803, could easily be delivered within a half hour. It is practical, pointed, somewhat formal in division, though not excessively so, and bears the marks of a cultivated, scholarly, easy-going mind, taking more interest in the moralities than in polemics—a character such as tradition makes him out to have been. In later years he wore a black silk cap in the pulpit, and was seated upon a high stool.

The notices of these days would differ widely from the notices of ours. In place of the announcement for Sunday school, for weekly prayer meetings, ladies' missionary meetings, ladies' benevolent society, young people's meetings, etc., would be heard requests for prayer for persons who were sick or in need,—requests in some cases thought to convey a hint for charity and relief temporally as well as spiritually,—formal declaration of intention of marriage between contracting parties, the reading of a vote of church censure, or the humble confession and apology of an erring brother, or, more singularly, the request of some member with a Scotch conscience that he be allowed to go to Marlboro to commune with a church where the old doctrines were more faithfully preached.

On the church records of October 13, 1811, is the following petition:

To the Reverend Pastor, Fathers, and Brothers of the church of Brattleborough. Whereas, I believe that the system of Doctrine called Calvinism, as it is set forth in some of the neighboring churches, to be according to the Scriptures, and to explain away, neglect or deny any of these doctrines tends to confirm persons in unbelief and self-righteousness:—Therefore my request is that you would commit me to the care and fellowship of the church in Marlborough, under the Pastoral care of the Rev. Gershom C. Lyman, as I think you do not agree with me in this (I think) very essential matter, with all due acknowledgements and reverential esteem and love, I am your Petitioner.

Signed, ————————

The church voted unanimously that the prayer of the petitioner be not granted, but that when it shall suit his inclination or conscience he may attend the church in Marlboro, or any other church, and commune, provided this privilege do not "abridge his occasional attendance on the ordinances of this church or the Christian reciprocal care and watchfulness over each other." Our respect for this petitioner suffers a shock when we find that in 1819, between the ministry of Mr. Burge and Mr. Stark, the church disciplined him for "putting a part of his property out of his hands to evade paying taxes on the Covenant," and he came forward and confessed that he had "violated moral obligations" and expressed himself "heartily sorry for the same." Especially does our respect for the Calvinistic strain in his conscience make us stand aghast, when we find that in 1831 he makes humble confession again for having evaded taxes in 1827, and that this time he has gone to the Methodist church for a sound doctrine that Mr. Stark had failed to preach. It is a question whether it was his pocket or his head that kept him in controversy with his fellow Covenanters. The public confession of Seth Herrick is interesting:

October 28, 1840. A Report having been publicly circulated that Seth Herrick, a member of this church had been seen intoxicated on his return from a Military Muster, he confessed as a duty to God, to the church and to his own Christian character that at a Military Muster September 17, he "did several times make use of Brandy, to relieve bodily pain and disease, without any apprehension of injury,— Yet it was on a Public day and occasion, under circumstances of such Publicity, want of Christian prudence and Circumspection, as rendered it an example of injurious influence in the Community, Scandalous to religion and my own Christian character, and to God, and giving the enemy occasion to blaspheme." He declares his fault and scorn for the same and asks for prayers of his Christian brethren that he "may be enabled to walk circumspectly and inoffensively in future."

In 1818 this church was moved across the road, remodeled and reoccupied. The remodeled house witnessed the revival of 1832-1833, which brought into membership one hundred in two years (sixty-one and thirty-nine in 1833 and 1834). Persons recently living remembered standing with a company that filled the middle aisle of the old church, and taking covenant vows upon themselves. All the churches in the county shared the blessing, and at no time in their history has the aggregate membership been so large. Dummerston and Putney reported each two hundred; Marlboro, two hundred and three; Townshend, two hundred and one, and

Westminster West, two hundred and fifteen. And here in 1833 a disagreement over the ownership of the house, certain pew owners claiming a right to have the building occupied part of the time by preachers of another faith, led to the formation in 1834 of an "Orthodox Congregational Meeting House Society."

In this house "across the road" the spire was in front and there were three entrance doors, the larger in the middle and two smaller ones on the sides. There was a vestibule beneath the singers' gallery, a middle aisle through the center, the pulpit opposite the entrance. Pipes ran through the house from stoves in the vestibule, extending out of the rear of the church without chimneys.

On Sunday morning, February 2, 1845, between the time for ringing the first and second bells, the old house, the frame of which was raised in 1785 and had stood for nearly sixty years, was burned to the ground. It was an excessively cold day. The sexton had built the fire in the stoves, rung the bell at nine o'clock, and gone away, leaving the house closed. When first discovered, in less than half an hour after, the flames were bursting from windows and doors, and the whole interior was ablaze. In less than an hour it was in ruins.

The clergy of this church were: Reverend Caleb Burge, from 1814 to 1819; Reverend Jedediah L. Stark, 1821 to April 24, 1839, when he was dismissed; Reverend Corbin Kidder, October 26, 1839, to April 1, 1845, when he was dismissed; Reverend Joseph Chandler, 1845 to 1870.

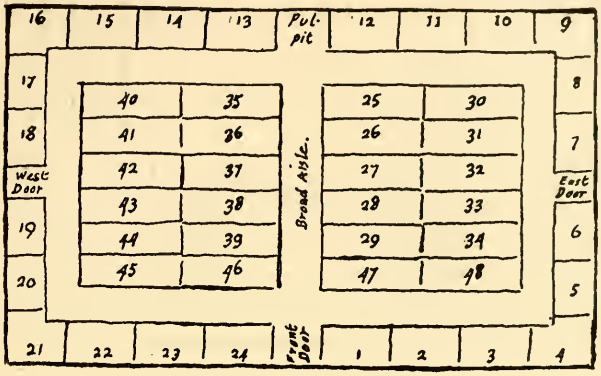
Deacons previous to 1820 were Joshua Wilder, Jacob Spaulding, Samuel Warriner, Nathaniel Samson; from 1820 to 1894, Russell Hayes, David Carpenter, Daniel Warriner, Clark Jacobs, Joseph Wilder, Preston F. Perry, S. Gilbert Smith, Charles S. Clark, Cotton Mather, Hervey C. Harris.

The cause of the dismissal of the Reverend Jedediah L. Stark, April 24, 1839, was dissension, in which the choir was involved. On one occasion two rival choirs occupied the gallery and each attempted to conduct a service of song independently of the other. The trouble was carried into a church meeting, and "a formal deliverance" on the subject of sacred music put on record.

Reverend Corbin Kidder never succeeded in becoming pastor of more than one party in the church. At his dismissal the council felt called upon to speak in strong terms of the relationship that ought to exist between pastor and people.

The following is a plan of the groundwork of the first meeting-house in West Brattleboro, the situation of the pews and their numbers, together with the names of the original purchasers annexed (by number) to the pews they purchased, which pews were sold at auction agreeable to a vote

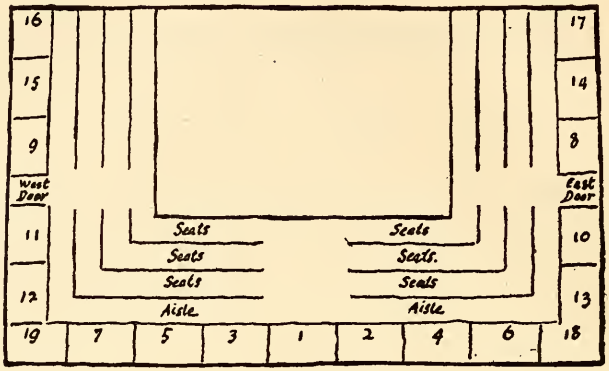
passed in a meeting of the town for the purpose. Recorded January 17, 1803, by direction of Messrs. Josiah Arms, Lemuel Dickerman and Noah Bennett, committee for finishing the meeting-house.




NAMES OF ORIGINAL PURCHASERS OF PEWS

1. Daniel Fraser.
2. Jonathan Herrick.
3. Jonathan Dunklee.
4. B. Baker, E. Haws, W. Harris.
5. Holbrook & Fox.
6. Ebenezer Fisher.
7. Samuel Greenleaf & J. W. Bliss.
8. Samuel Dickinson.
9. Jesse Frost.
10. Deacon Wilder.
11. J. Dickerman & Wm. Holton.
12. Judge Knight.
13. Town's property.
14. Dr. Dickerman & Wm. Holton.
15. W. Cune & Sabin.
16. Rutherford Hays.
17. S. Root & J. Goodenough.
18. H. Thurber.
19. John Alexander.
20. John Steward.
21. J. & N. Blakeslee.
22. John Hopkins.
23. George H. Hall.
24. Abner Gardner.
25. Jonathan Stoddard.
26. Benjamin Butterfield.
27. Josiah Arms.
28. Noah Bennett.
29. Levi Stebbins.
30. Elijah Prouty.
31. Isaac Crosby.
32. Caleb Parker.
33. S. Reeve & W. Whipple.
34. Valentine Harris.
35. Samuel Warriner.
36. Reuben Church.
37. Jonathan Townsend.
38. George H. Hall.
39. Thomas Sargent.
40. Jesse Hadley.
41. Stephen Greenleaf.
42. Joseph Clark.

43. John Cune.
44. J. Alexander & W. Orvis.
45. J. Higgins & H. Salisbury.
46. R. Stearns & D. Holton.
47. B. Bennett & E. Prouty.
48. S. Sartwell & J. French.




GALLERY PEWS AND SEATS

NAMES OF PROPRIETORS OF PEWS IN GALLERY

1. N. Bennett & J. Arms.
2. J. Steward.
3. Ezra Harris.
4. Isaac Amsden.
5. S. Dickinson.
6. L. Dickerman.
7. E. Briggs.
8. Jonathan Smith.
9. Isaac Crosby, Junior.
10. W. Orvis, L. Stebbins, and S. Greenleaf.
11. Benjamin Pratt.
12. Elisha Stoddard.
13. John Plummer.
14. I. Smith & J. Dickerman.
15. J. Hadley & J. Wilder.
16. Jonathan Goodenough.
17. Reuben Church.
18. Josiah Arms.
19. Benjamin Wheaton.

## CHAPTER XVII

### POLLS AND RATABLE ESTATES IN 1789—CENSUS, 1790

The first census of Brattleboro was taken in 1790. The United States marshal for the district of New Hampshire had charge of making the enumeration of the inhabitants of New Hampshire and Vermont, and was given nine months in which to make his report to the president in Philadelphia, then the seat of government. He received $200 for the work. His assistants in towns the size of Brattleboro received $1 for every 150 population, or a little over $10. The records of the first census show that Brattleboro had a population of 1589. There were 260 heads of families, 381 free white males of sixteen years of age and upward, including the heads of families. There were 436 free white males under sixteen years and 758 free white females, of whom six were listed as the heads of families. The six women accorded the honor of having their names entered on the first census enumeration of Brattleboro were all widows and were given as Widow Evans, Widow Williams, Widow Hager, Widow Mills, Widow Rice and Widow Salsbury.

Guilford was the banner town in point of population in Windham County, with 2422 inhabitants. Putney came second with 1848, and Westminster was third with just ten more than Brattleboro, or 1599. The population of the county was given by towns as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Athens | 450 |
| Brattleborough | 1589 |
| Dummerston | 1490 |
| Guilford | 2422 |
| Halifax | 1209 |
| Hinsdale[1] | 482 |
| Jamaica | 263 |
| Johnsons Gore | 49 |
| Londonderry | 362 |
| Marlborough | 629 |
| Newfane | 660 |
| Putney | 1848 |
| Rockingham | 1235 |

[1] Hinsdale, New Hampshire, was included in the enumeration of Windham County.

| | |
|---|---|
| Somerset | 111 |
| Stratton | 95 |
| Thomlinson | 561 |
| Townshend | 678 |
| Wardsboro, No. Dist. | 483 |
| Wardsboro, So. Dist. | 270 |
| Westminster | 1599 |
| Whitingham | 442 |
| Wilmington | 645 |

The average family numbered six, but the first man on the list, Josiah Arms, was credited with a family of eighteen persons. Joseph Clark headed a family of thirteen, and Henry Cole's family numbered sixteen.

Only five questions were asked by the enumerators in taking the census of 1790. The name of the head of every family was ascertained, and the number of free white males sixteen years and upward was something the census taker made no guess about in making his return. The object of this inquiry was to obtain a definite knowledge of the military and industrial strength of the country. In this respect Windham County led the state of Vermont with 4416 white males sixteen years old and over. Windsor County came second with 412 less. The town of Brattleboro, according to the faded records of the census bureau, had the largest family in Vermont.

The names of the men who headed the families in this town when the first census was taken are: Joseph Arms, Elnathan Allen, William Avery, John Alexander, Thomas Akeley, Nathan Adams, William Avery, Jr., Nathaniel Blakeley, James Blakeley, Jesse Butterfield, John Bennet, Stephen Bennet, Daniel Blakeley, Isaac Bumpus, Nathaniel Burnham, David Bigelow, Benjamin Baker, Solomon Briggs, Joseph Burt, John Burnham, John Bemis, Benjamin Butterfield, Gideon Briggs, Isaac Barret, Samuel Briggs, Noah Bennet, John W. Blake, Levi Briggs, Joseph Basset, Elisha Briggs, Frederick Baker, Thomas Bond, John Blair, Lem Burnham, William Blasdale, Dudley Bayley, Gideon Badger, Solomon Brush, John Carpenter, Nathaniel Cole, Benjamin Chase, Peter Covell, Jonathan Church, Oliver Cook, Joseph Chamberlain, Joseph Clark, Henry Chandler, Malachi Church, Tim Church, Josiah Church, Nathaniel Chandler, Samuel Chandler, Eber Church, Eber Church, Jr., John Chappel, Isaac Cune, Joseph Cook, Samuel Carpenter, William Cranny, Peter Castle, Joseph Castle, Elias Croswell, Henry Cole, Isaac Crosby, Peter Croswell, Reuben Church, Solomon Cook, Benjamin Carter, Gardiner Chandler, William Cune, William Cune, Jr., Asa Dogget, Lemuel Dickerman, John Dickerman, Jonathan Dunkley, Joseph Dunkley, Benajah Dud-

ley, John Dickerman, Jr., Samuel Dickinson, Warren Esterbrook, Benjaman Ellis, John Ellis, Simpson Ellis, Simeon Eaton, William Evans, Benjamin Esterbrook, Widow Evans, Samuel Earl, Imry Evans, Andrew Ferrand, Ebenezer Fisher, Ebenezer Fox, Daniel Frost, Jesse Frost, Jesse Frost, Jr., Joseph Fuller, Daniel Frazer, Nathaniel French, John French, Asa French, Isaiah Fisk, Asa Frost, Bennet Field, Isaac Gale, Stephen Greenleaf, Jonathan Goodenow, John Gould, Abel Grout, Samuel Guernsey, Stephen Greenleaf, Jr., Benjamin Gorton, Daniel Greenleaf, Samuel Greenleaf, Moses Goddard, Abner Gardiner, Nathan Gould, Benjamin Gould, Levi Goodenow, Joseph Goodale, Artemas How, Valentine Harris, Ebenezer Haws, Calvin Harris, Jesse Hadley, William Hall, Josiah Hall, Oliver Harris, Joseph How, Hiram Houghton, Philemon Houghton, Joshua Harris, John Houghton, Jacob Hadley, ———— Harris, Peter Houghton, William Harris, Ebenezer Hadley, Rutherford Hays, William Holton, Jonathan Herrick, John Hopkins, Widow Hagar, James Harris, James Houghton, Jeremiah Hopkins, Phineas Houghton, Nehemiah Houghton, Welman Harris, Nathaniel Haven, John Kelsey, David Knap, Samuel Knight, Isaac Kendall, James Knap, Ebenezer Knap, William King, Adonijah King, Cushing King, Seth Knight, Ezra King, Peter Lamb, James Lawton, Samuel Mixer, Daniel Mixer, Rosbotham Munro, William Morgan, Caleb Morgan, Mathew Martin, David May, Samuel May, Widow Mills, Oliver Nash, Moses Nash, Ephraim Nash, Samuel Newton, Samuel Nobles, Samuel Nichols, Aaron Nash, Samuel Owin, James Otis, John Plummer, Caleb Packard, Jonathan Peabody, Elijah Prouty, Philip Paddleford, Nathan Prince, Elisha Prince, Francis Prouty, Asa Putnam, John Pettis, Nathan Prince, Jr., Benjamin Pratt, Levi Redfield, James Rice, Samuel Root, Ephraim Rice, Widow Rice, Abner Reaves, Jonathan Smith, Barnard Salsbury, Oliver Salsbury, Abel Simonds, Abner Scovel, Jonathan Stoddard, Jonathan Stoddard, Jr., Jacob Stoddard, Hale Salsbury, Daniel Steward, Jr., Reuben Sharus, John Steward, Jesse Stockwell, Levi Smith, Widow Salsbury, Benjamin Steward, Zebediah Stebbins, Levi Stebbins, Joshua Sawyer, Hezekiah Salsbury, Thomas Sargeant, John Sargeant, Eli Sargeant, Jacob Spalding, Elijah Shelden, Noah Smith, Abner Scovil, Jr., Josiah Smith, Sylvanus Sartwell, Solomon Shelden, Jonathan Salsbury, Daniel Snow, Warden Thurber, Daniel Toogood, Micah Townsend, Moses Tute, Ezra Tubbs, Ziba Tute, David Wells, Charles Wilder, Abiel Wilder, Thomas Walkup, John Wells, Jabez Woods, Philip Woods, Oliver Wells, Samuel Warner, Joshua Wilder, Peter Wilder, William Whipple, Samuel Wells, Samuel Welman, Adreal Warner, Jesse Ware, Jabez Wood, Daniel Whipple, Robert Wells, Sawyer Wright, Tilly Wilder, Elias Wilder, Widow Williams, Lemuel Whitney.

## A Partial List of the Polls and Ratable Estate of the Inhabitants of the Town of Brattleborough for the year Anno Domini 1789

| Men's Names | Polls | Oxen | Horses | Cows | 2 year olds | yearlings | 2 year old Colts | yearling Colts | Mills | Occupation | Improved Land | Valuation £ | Valuation s | Unimprovd Land | Sheeps Wool | Tow Cloth | Polls Exempted | Horses Exempted | Deductions £ | Deductions s | Remainder £ | Remainder s |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Allen Elnathan | .. | .. | 2 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 | .. | 20 | 32 | | 84 | 22 | ... | 1 | 1 | 12 | 40 | 24 | |
| Adams Nathan | 1 | 2 | .. | .. | 1 | 6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 20 | 32 | | 39 | 56 | 106 | .. | .. | 10 | 13 | 23 | 1 |
| Akely Thomas | 1 | .. | 1 | 4 | .. | 2 | .. | 1 | .. | .. | 14 | 33 | 10 | 43 | 25 | 117 | .. | .. | 3 | 7 | 30 | 19 |
| Arms Josiah | 1 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 13 | 8 | .. | .. | 2 | .. | 150 | 148 | 10 | 992 | 110 | 493 | .. | .. | 35 | 19 | 62 | 9 |
| Avery William | .. | .. | 1 | 2 | 5 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 17 | | ... | 50 | 110 | .. | .. | 11 | 10 | 6 | 10 |
| Avery Elisha | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | ... | 8 | | ... | .. | .. | 1 | .. | 6 | | 2 | |
| Alexander John | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 24 | 37 | | 46 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 39 | 6 |
| Bennett John | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 6 | | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 | |
| Bemis John | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 4 | .. | 1 | .. | .. | 26 | 42 | 10 | 54 | 36 | 90 | .. | .. | 8 | 2 | 37 | 2 |
| Butterfield Benj. Esq | .. | 4 | 2 | 5 | 7 | .. | 1 | .. | ½ | .. | 75 | 83 | | 53 | 26 | 382 | .. | .. | 21 | 14 | 63 | |
| Butterfield Jesse | 1 | .. | .. | 4 | .. | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 19 | 15 | 48 | 91 | 101 | .. | .. | 8 | 3 | 14 | |
| Bullock William | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 20 | 10 | | 130 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 16 | 10 |
| Bennet Stephen | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 45 | 53 | 5 | 127 | 59 | 275 | .. | .. | 19 | 19 | 39 | |
| Bootle Thomas | 1 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 8 | | ... | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 | 7 | 19 |
| Bumpus Reuben | 1 | 2 | .. | 2 | 1 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 24 | | 30 | 24 | 40 | .. | .. | 4 | 8 | 21 | 2 |
| Briggs Solomon | 1 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 8 | | 25 | 8 | 69 | .. | .. | 4 | 5 | 5 | |
| Blaksly David | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 | 8 | 10 | 45 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 15 |
| Burt Joseph | .. | .. | 1 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 8 | 14 | | 12 | 15 | 50 | .. | .. | 4 | | 10 | 12 |
| Blaksle James | 1 | .. | 1 | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 17 | 26 | 10 | 33 | 25 | 55 | .. | .. | 5 | 5 | 22 | |
| Badger Gideon | .. | 2 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 | 10 | | 12 | 18 | 65 | .. | .. | 5 | 1 | 5 | 11 |
| Bigelow David | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 | 23 | | 54 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 25 | 14 |
| Bumpus Isaac | 1 | .. | .. | 1 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 | 17 | | 32 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 18 | 12 |
| Blaksle Nathaniel | 1 | .. | .. | 4 | 2 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 | 23 | 15 | 38 | 31 | 80 | .. | .. | 7 | 2 | 18 | |
| Barrit Isaac | 1 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 11 | 10 | 8 | 31 | 135 | .. | .. | 9 | 17 | 2 | 1 |
| Bennet Noah | 1 | 4 | 1 | 6 | .. | 9 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 50 | 65 | 15 | 260 | 59 | 230 | .. | .. | 17 | 8 | 61 | 7 |
| Burbanks Elias | 1 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 8 | | ... | 3 | 99 | .. | .. | 5 | 5 | 2 | 16 |
| Baker Benjamin | 1 | .. | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 25 | 15 | 54 | 36 | 100 | .. | .. | 8 | 12 | 19 | 17 |
| Burnham Nathaniel | .. | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 4 | | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 16 | 2 | 4 |
| Burnham John | 1 | .. | .. | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 24 | | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 24 | |
| Ball Moses | 1 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 16 | | 50 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 21 | |
| Briggs Gideon | 1 | .. | .. | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 | 17 | | 44 | 20 | 100 | .. | .. | 7 | | 12 | 4 |
| Briggs Samuel | 1 | .. | .. | 5 | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 22 | 10 | 60 | 40 | 100 | .. | .. | 9 | | 16 | 10 |
| Bardwell Moses | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 12 | | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 | |
| Bahen, Frederick | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 12 | | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 | |
| Covel Peter | 1 | 2 | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 25 | 26 | 10 | 90 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 31 | |
| Cole Henry | 1 | .. | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4 | 12 | | 36 | 15 | 50 | .. | .. | 4 | | 9 | 16 |
| Chamberlin Thom$^{s}$ | 1 | .. | .. | 2 | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 8 | 14 | 15 | 13 | 33 | 40 | .. | .. | 5 | 6 | 10 | 2 |
| Church Eleazer | 1 | 2 | .. | 2 | .. | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 17 | 10 | ... | 15 | 115 | .. | .. | 7 | 5 | 10 | 5 |
| Castle Peter | 1 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 9 | 10 | 27 | ... | 30 | .. | .. | 1 | 10 | 9 | 7 |
| Chandler Nathaniel | 1 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 8 | | ... | .. | 70 | .. | .. | 3 | 10 | 4 | 10 |
| Chandler Henry | 1 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 8 | | ... | .. | 59 | .. | .. | 2 | 19 | 5 | 1 |
| Cune Isaac | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 16 | 33 | | 45 | 23 | 95 | .. | .. | 7 | 1 | 28 | 4 |
| C Elias | 1 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 9 | 10 | ... | 15 | 90 | .. | .. | 6 | | 3 | 10 |
| Church Reuben | 1 | .. | 1 | 4 | .. | 2 | .. | 1 | .. | .. | 12 | 26 | 10 | 94 | 30 | 158 | .. | .. | 10 | 18 | 20 | 6 |
| Chamberlin Joseph | .. | 4 | 2 | 3 | 9 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 30 | 59 | 5 | 30 | 87 | 194 | .. | .. | 18 | 8 | 42 | 7 |
| Chandler Gardner | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 5 | 80 | 10 | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 80 | 10 |
| Cole Nathaniel | 1 | 1 | .. | 1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 | 15 | | 45 | 27 | 89 | .. | .. | 7 | 3 | 10 | 2 |
| Clark Joseph | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 19 | 38 | 10 | 81 | 35 | 220 | .. | .. | 14 | 10 | 28 | 1 |
| Cresey Moses | 1 | .. | .. | 1 | .. | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 8 | 15 | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 8 | 15 |
| Cune William | .. | 2 | 1 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 | 22 | | 28 | 25 | 100 | .. | .. | 7 | 10 | 15 | 18 |
| Cune William Jun$^{r}$ | 1 | 2 | .. | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 23 | | 20 | 20 | 80 | .. | .. | 6 | | 18 | |
| Church Eber Jun$^{r}$ | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | ... | 6 | | ... | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 | |

In 1804 six chaises were owned by different persons and nine men were known to have silver watches.

## CHAPTER XVIII

## THE STAGE-HOUSE—BRIDGES—"THE BURYING GROUND"

The Stage-House. Samuel Dickinson, John R. Blake, Major Henry Smith, Colonel Paul Chase, Liberty Rice, Lemuel Whitney & Company, William C. Perry, Charles G. Lawrence, proprietors. Stage notices—Bridges—West River bridge—"Burying Ground," Prospect Hill Cemetery—First bridge across the Connecticut, Oliver Chapin leader in the enterprise—Bridge over "Little Creek"—Later bridges—Toll-keepers: Pettis, Reuben Metcalf, Richard Gill, Asa Sherwin, John L. Putnam.

The first public hostelry in the village of Brattleboro was the house long known as "Chase's Stage-House."[1] It was built by Samuel Dickinson in 1795 and conducted by him until 1818. Samuel Dickinson married Hannah Whitney, a sister of Honorable Lemuel Whitney. When he gave up the hotel he built a house on Flat Street, afterwards owned by James Frost, where he died May 15, 1817, aged sixty-one.

A man by the name of Palmer had the house after Samuel Dickinson and kept it until he failed; John R. Blake took possession in 1822, and Major Henry Smith next, when it was known as "Smith's." Colonel Paul Chase gave it the name "Chase's Stage-House" in 1827-1828. He was a man of distinguished and gracious presence who had exceptional social gifts, and was withal very handsome. He made an extended reputation for the house. Members of the best families throughout New England were innkeepers. The landlord was usually connected with the militia, often a justice of the peace or sheriff. As knowledge of current events came through hearing and talking rather than through reading, the innkeeper was not only the well-informed man of the place, but influential in local affairs. Taverns were the original business exchanges, where notices of town meetings, of elections, new laws and ordinances were posted, as were bills of sale of auctions and records of transfers. In the almanacs of the day distances were given from tavern to tavern, instead of from town to town.

While looking up some data connected with the genealogy of the Tucker family an agreement was found, made by Paul Chase when he was land-

[1] Situated on the Main Street. See Brattleboro House, p. 607.

lord of the "Stage-House," in 1829, with Amos Tucker of Halifax. The agreement between the two men was in substance that Amos Tucker, who was the driver of the stage, was making arrangements with Mr. Chase for supper, lodging and breakfast for himself and feed for his horse each day. The price which he was to pay was thirty-five cents for the two meals, lodging and good hay for the horse. The agreement specified that "In taking those meals, if Amos Tucker is present with us at mealtime he is to have an equal chance with the family or those present with a warm meal; otherwise, he is to have such victuals as are already cooked or such as can be obtained without the extra trouble of cooking particularly for him."

Of those who early in life began their career by rendering services as bartender, office clerk, or occupying some subordinate position here, were: Edson Fessenden, William Chamberlin and Simeon Leland. Fessenden was a native of this town, but for many years a citizen of Hartford, Connecticut, where he successfully filled important offices in that city, among them, president of the Phœnix Life Insurance Company. Chamberlin was an eminent wholesale merchant in New York, and began business in that city by retailing goods from a wheelbarrow, on a capital of but $100, and that was lent to him by Major Henry Smith, who was, at the time, keeping the old stage-house here. The fame of Leland, as a man of enterprise and success, reached from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Henry A. Willard, who became the owner of Willard's Hotel in Washington, was also a clerk. Edward Crosby came to Chase's Tavern at seventeen, his duty being to call out the hours to passengers for the stages. He was afterwards promoted to be clerk and office assistant.

About the time of the last war with Britain it was the custom to roll into the big barroom a hogshead of old West India rum, and supply customers from the faucet.

The only hall in the village for public gatherings was in this house. It was dedicated in 1816 by feasting and dancing.

Some old invitations to sleighrides and to assemblies are souvenirs of the years from 1829 to 1835. One invitation to a dance at Chase's Assembly Room gives the hour for beginning the dance as six o'clock and is signed by John G. Leavitt, W. H. Wells, Samuel H. Elliot, W. H. Cune, W. W. Fessenden, F. Holbrook.

Four-horse coaches from Boston, Troy, Hanover and Hartford, frequently ten in number, would meet for supper at Chase's Stage-House, continuing their journey in the cool of the night. In the winter the guests gathered around the huge fireplace, where fires were burning day and night.

A few of the old stage notices are to be seen in the newspapers of the time:

Chase's Stage-House.

Stage leaves every morning at 3 o'clock; arrives at Troy and Albany the same evening, where it intersects with the great western canal steamboats for the New York Railroad for Ballston and Saratoga Springs.

Leaves Chase's at 3 A. M. (Sundays excepted) for Boston, via Keene, Peterboro, Milford and arrives in Nashua for 4.30 train for Lowell and Boston.

Cooledge Sargent and Company.

Old Mail Line leaves Brattleborough for Hartford every morning at 3 o'clock.

Tickets, $4.25.

Telegraph Mail at 6 A. M., $5.50.

The subscribers having purchased the lines of Stages heretofore running from Brattleborough to Winchester, will continue to transport passengers between those places every day in connexion with the Boston and Albany Stages. The business will be done under the firm of Blake, Holbrook & Company.

John R. Blake,
John C. Holbrook,
Wells Goodhue.

July 7, 1829.

## Bridges

The first bridge across West River was a trestle bridge starting at a point of rocks east of Weld's shop. The bridge in its present position was built after 1795 and opened in 1799; it was a toll bridge, granted to John W. Blake and Calvin Knowlton for one hundred years.

The old road leading across the Main Street bridge was laid by the county commissioners across the plain of the Wood farm and around the brow of the hill on the east side of the cemetery, across the field to the Newman house and down on the east side of Cemetery Hill to the bridge over the Whetstone and on the east side of the main highway as far as the Dowley house, continuing about where the road now runs. Not till 1796, after the toll bridge was constructed, was the Putney road opened.

The south bank of the brook from the bridge down was very rocky and steep, and no road was built there till about the time the Connecticut River bridge was built in 1804, but a road ran from Joseph Clark's about

where the road is now, back of the Brattleboro House, and round down to the island in the river, then called Little Spruce Island. The road down the hill past the machine shop to the electric light station was the road to the mill yards, to Barrett's ferry and the boat landing, where the arch now is. The road down High Street came down Green Street to Oliver Wells's at the foot of the first steep hill near where Mrs. Julius J. Estey lives, then across to the top of the hill by Charles R. Crosby's, and then along the south side hill to the other road where the north end of the Brooks House now stands.

### First Bridge across the Connecticut

The original charter of the bridge corporation was granted in an act of the New Hampshire Legislature of 1802, and the first bridge across the Connecticut, connecting the town with the road on the New Hampshire side leading to Hinsdale, was built in 1804. It was built under the name of "The Proprietors of the Hinsdale Bridge and Sixth New Hampshire Corporation," the purpose of the company being to bridge the Connecticut at Brattleboro and also to build and operate a turnpike from the New Hampshire end of the bridge through the towns of Hinsdale and Winchester to the Warwick line in Massachusetts. It was built on the site of the present structure and was a toll bridge. Before the bridge was built the only way to cross the river hereabout was by the old ferry, which was still in operation near the Simon Brooks farm, two miles below the village.

At the dedication of this bridge there was a great celebration and an oration by a distinguished lawyer of the town. Just at the point where the speaker had begun to grow interestingly eloquent, the bridge timbers began to crack, when the excited orator, perceiving the threatening danger, called out in stentorian tones, "Run, damn you, the bridge is going down!" Fortunately, however, the bridge did not go down.

Oliver Chapin was a pioneer in this enterprise and owned a large share of its stock. Other corporators were Foster Alexander, Cyrus Shattuck, Seth Hooker, Edward Gustin, Thomas Taylor, John W. Blake, Samuel Dickinson, Gardner Chandler, George H. Hall, John Holbrook, Silas Barrett, James Elliot, Stephen Hawkins, Reuben Alexander, Daniel Twitchell and Daniel Hawkins, Junior.

The date of the bridge over "the creek," as the little river was called, is not known; both bridges stood until 1820, when the one over the Connecticut was rebuilt, "an arch bridge," as the former bridge was found to be defective.

A few rods above the bridge was the general landing-place for merchandise, which was brought by flatboats from the lower country.

Since the first bridge there have been five or six new ones built, one-half or more of the number having been carried off either by high water or ice. The first toll-keeper was an old resident by the name of Pettis, who, it is said, was in the habit of standing at one end of Mechanics' bridge, so-called, at the lower end of Main Street, for the purpose of collecting toll from those passing to the New Hampshire side. He was succeeded in turn by Reuben Metcalf, who served for twenty-five years, and lived in a little one-story red house which had but two rooms. Then came Richard Gill, who tended the bridge for thirteen years, until he committed suicide by drowning, just above the bridge. He was followed by Asa Sherwin, who served seven years. Finally "Uncle" John L. Putnam took charge, and was a familiar and much esteemed character at the toll-house for thirty-eight years and three months. During that period he moved out of the house with his family twice on account of high water, April, 1862, and again in October, 1869, when he moved out in the night, and for four months he collected toll from a small improvised office which he occupied in the bridge while the tollhouse was rebuilding.

Ephraim Nash was the surveyor who ran all the lines in 1790 and for years after. It is upon his original survey of "the county road leading from Bennington through Brattleborough to Connecticut river" that many of the street lines of the village are based, for the old road came down High Street. The record is dated April 15, 1791.

On Main Street are to be found two original landmarks. One is a stone post at the corner of Terrace Street; another, the middle of the doorstep of the Sikes house, finally the residence of Charles F. Thompson.[1]

The road, bridge and inn indicate that people of a similar purpose have taken the first steps towards civilization. The church then appears to embody their aspirations and the school follows as the handmaid of the church. In Brattleboro the newspaper appeared within a few weeks of the school.

## The Burying Ground

The land—originally a pine forest—used for "the Burying Ground" was given for the use of the East Village of Brattleboro, in 1797, by Joseph Clark, Esquire, and his wife. She was the first occupant and was buried there the same year. Additions to this land, on the east and south, were made in 1849 by Colonel Arnold J. Hines, George B. Simonds and others who formed a Prospect Hill Cemetery Association.

[1] Taken down to make place for the Federal Building.

## CHAPTER XIX

## BRATTLEBOROUGH ACADEMY

Brattleborough Academy—Built by joint stock company—Roswell Harris—Reverend William J. Harris—Reverend Charles C. Harris.

"An act establishing an academy in the town of Brattleborough, in the county of Windham, state of Vermont," was signed by Roswell Hopkins, secretary of state, the fourth day of November, 1801, in Newbury, Vermont, from which the following extracts are taken:

It is hereby enacted by the general assembly of the state of Vermont that there be, and hereby is constituted and established an academy in the town of Brattleborough, in the county of Windham, to be known and designated by the name of Brattleborough Academy or the Asylum of Youth. And it is hereby further enacted that the Reverend William Wells, Mr. John Noyes, John W. Blake, Joseph Clark and John Steward, Esquires, and Lemuel Dickerman, Physician, all of Brattleborough, the Reverend Gershom C. Lyman of Marlboro, Arad Hunt, Esquire, of Hinsdale, N. H., William Bigelow, Esq., of Guilford and Dr. Josiah Goodhue of Putney, all of said county of Windham, and such others as shall be appointed in manner, and to the number herein directed, shall form and constitute the board of trustees for the said institution, and be known by the name and style of the Corporation of Brattleborough Academy—and the said corporation and their successors in office are hereby declared, constituted, ordained and appointed a body corporate and politic, to all intents and purposes, with all the rights, powers, privileges and immunities to which any academy in the state is entitled—And it is hereby further enacted, that the said corporation shall have full power to take by gift, grant, purchase or devise, any estate, either real, personal or mixed for the use of said Academy, provided that said estate shall not exceed the value of the sum of $6,000. That all such estate for use and benefit of said institution shall be free and forever exempt from all taxes; and the persons of the instructors and preceptors and the students belonging thereto during their continuance therein be, and they are hereby exempted from all taxes and military duties. . . . That the first meeting of the board of trustees be holden at the dwelling house of

Rutherford Hayes [now owned by Mrs. Mary Hayes Bigelow, a granddaughter of Rutherford Hayes] in said Brattleborough on the 17th day of December at 2 of the clock in the afternoon at which time and place, or at some adjournment of said meeting said board of trustees shall proceed to elect such officers as they may deem necessary for the benefit of said institution.

It is recorded that at that meeting Reverend Gershom C. Lyman of Marlboro, William Bigelow, Esquire, of Guilford, John Steward, Joseph Clark, Esquire, Doctor Lemuel Dickerman and John Noyes of Brattleboro were the members of the board present. Officers were elected, also a committee of two, Doctor Lemuel Dickerman and John Noyes, appointed to "draught" a system of rules and regulations to be established as the laws of the Academy. The land on which the Academy was situated was given by Honorable John Noyes.

Thus it was the original Academy was built by a joint stock company in 1802, the charter of the company having been granted by the state of Vermont in 1801, and renewed in 1821. Its construction was in the days of "wrought nails, pod augurs and flint-lock muskets." During the thirty years in which Mr. Roswell Harris was preceptor many young men were fitted for college courses, among whom a few are here mentioned who later became influential men: Alonzo Church, president of Georgia College; William R. Hayes, attorney; Royall Tyler, Junior; Reverend Lewis Grout, Stanford R. Clark, Samuel Elliot, Wells Goodhue, William C. Bradley, Doctor John L. Dickerman, William R. Mead, Henry K. Field, W. H. Bigelow, R. H. Bigelow and C. H. Davenport. Burnham's "History of Brattleboro" states, "In by-gone days this Academy was famous for its exciting, thrilling exhibitions in the ancient, spacious meeting-house."

The rules and regulations of the institution provided for four terms of school each year, three of which were of twelve weeks', and one of ten weeks' session; each morning session to be opened by prayer, when it was requested that each student be present; two recitations on each day of the week, Wednesday and Saturday afternoons excepted, and Wednesday afternoons were devoted to public speaking and compositions for criticism. The immediate government of the school was required of the preceptor, and the tuition for languages and higher branches of English studies was fixed at $3 per quarter and $2.50 for common English branches.

In 1815 the school closed and remained closed for two years. During that period the second story of the building was rented to Anthony Van Doorn.

In November, 1833, a vote was passed that each student admitted to

the school should receive a certificate of admission, for which he should pay twelve and a half cents to the preceptor.

At a special meeting of the board of trustees held April 13, 1847, it was voted that a sufficient sum be taken of the funds of the Academy to defray the expenses of recasting the bell, and Mrs. Admatha Dunklee was appointed to cause the bell to be recast, the expense being $8.69.

Extensive repairs were made in 1842, resulting in a new Academy building. The first chemical apparatus was installed in the institution in the year 1848 at a cost of about $30.

The dedication of the new Academy was largely attended. Prominent speakers were present and an excellent program was arranged. The structure was considered one of the best in town and for several years was used for public gatherings and entertainments. The area of the Academy was fifty-six by forty feet. The upper story was improved and used as a town house. In the spring of 1854 the first school was held in the new Academy and the old Academy was converted into a boarding house and used for that purpose in connection with the school until it was torn down.

Since the institution was established in 1802 the names of forty professors have been enrolled, with terms of service varying from one to thirty years, among the preceptors being: Reverend Titus Hutchins of Westmoreland; Luke Whitcomb; Reverend Elijah M. Plumb, D.D.; Andrew M. Brown, A.B., Amherst; J. F. Allen, A.B.; Thomas C. Briscoe; Elijah J. Rowe, Hanover College; E. H. Barstow, Dartmouth; J. W. Tucke; Joseph Russell Gaut, B.A.; George B. Newton; Roswell Harris; Reverend Charles E. Bruce; E. P. Hooker, Middlebury; Henry M. Grout, A.B.; Professor C. H. Chandler; Arthur Folsom, B.A.; V. F. Lang, A.B. (See p. 660.)

## Roswell Harris

William Harris was the first settler in West Brattleboro. He came with his family of nine children from Bolton, Massachusetts, in 1768. His farm included a large part of the West Village. His son, William, Junior, was the father of Roswell Harris, "the beloved teacher." William Harris married Abiah Brooks. A daughter, Betsey, born in Brattleboro March 22, 1800, married May 18, 1818, Doctor Russell Fitch of West Brattleboro.

An old highway may still be traced from a point near the farm buildings of Frank B. Richardson, extending north to the present stage road. In a house, now in ruins, situated on the crossroad near the foot of Round Mountain, Roswell Harris was born March 6, 1798. He grew to manhood

on this farm, was eager for an education and availed himself of all the advantages within his reach. He was a born teacher. At the age of sixteen he began teaching district schools—his first school was in Wardsboro in the winter of 1813-1814—and he followed that pursuit to earn money, while fitting for college under the special tuition of Reverend Caleb Burge. He entered Middlebury College in 1817 and graduated there in 1821. While in college he devised a plan for the uplift of the Academy of which he had been a student, and upon his graduation, in accordance with his plan, the institution was reorganized under a new charter, the buildings were repaired, he was made principal, and in a few years he raised it from its waning condition, fired it with new life and soon made it rank with the best academies in the state, of which there were then many, most of them having since been put out of existence by high schools.

But Mr. Harris was ambitious to enter the ministry, so he studied theology and graduated from Andover Theological Seminary in 1826, after a full course, and entered upon the work of his profession. Without being installed as a pastor he preached for two years as a licentiate in Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts, and in Antrim and Derby, New Hampshire, when an affection of his throat, with which he was always afterwards afflicted, compelled him to give up preaching. He then accepted the position of principal of Hampton, New Hampshire, Academy, about forty miles southeast from Concord. That academy was very prosperous during the five years of his management. He had large classes of young men fitting for college, and many who became distinguished in business, in political life and in the learned professions might well give Mr. Harris credit for his thorough instruction and his magnetic power to stimulate students to develop their best qualities.

In August, 1833, Mr. Harris was induced by the trustees of Brattleborough Academy to again take charge of that institution, which he restored to a high state of prosperity. It was especially noted for its large class of young men preparing for college, most of whom were destined for the ministry under the guidance of the principal. It may also be safely stated that a good number of young women in the academy were destined to become ministers' wives without guidance from the principal.

In 1837, on account of ill health, Mr. Harris resigned his position and did not resume it until 1845, when he again took up the work and continued it until 1853, when he finally retired. His greatest success in the Academy was in these last eight years.

Mr. Harris was the first superintendent of schools for the town of Brattleboro and held the office many years.

September 16, 1835, he married Matilda, daughter of James Leavitt of Hampton, New Hampshire, who died in West Brattleboro December 13,

1841. She had been an assistant of his in Hampton Academy. He married, second, Miss Mary F. Harris, who died in New Milford, Illinois, February 16, 1877. He died March 6, 1870.

There were three sons by the first marriage.

Reverend Doctor William J. Harris, born in 1836 in West Brattleboro, graduated from Yale College and received his degree from Trinity in 1856.

He received his first idea of episcopacy from a little prayerbook which he bought for seventeen cents at an auction-room in New Haven during his Junior year at Yale. After graduating he followed the orthodox teachings of his father, was principal of a Presbyterian Academy at St. Stephen, New Brunswick, from 1856 to 1859, and was pastor of several Congregational churches in New Hampshire and Vermont, his first parish being in Manchester, New Hampshire. In 1865 he went to Boston, was confirmed in the Episcopal Church, became rector of Episcopal churches in New England and dean of the cathedral at Sioux Falls, South Dakota. A sermon in meter by Reverend William J. Harris, D.D., entitled "Nain," for the sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, has been published.

He also taught in the Monson Academy. He finally became diocesan missionary for Vermont.

He married Miss Mary Gale Hill, who died in 1918. He died June 22, 1917.

Children:

Emma, married William M. Hall of Montreal.

William Leavitt, born in Rutland, Vermont, December 2, 1874; graduated from Dartmouth in 1896, and from the Law School of Boston University with highest honors, completing the three years' course in two years. He was junior member of the law firm of Burke, Cobbett & Harris, Lowell, Massachusetts, when he died, June 11, 1908.

Reverend Charles C. Harris, after graduating at Middlebury College, studied theology in Philadelphia, where he was assistant at Grace Church. He was the rector of St. Michael's Episcopal Church in Brattleboro from June, 1869, to March, 1874. After resigning here, he was the rector of Christ Church, Guilford, for two years. He then removed to the West, where he resided for ten years.

Mr. Harris's other rectorships were at Trinity Church, Bridgewater, Massachusetts; St. John's Church, Lawrence, Massachusetts; Holy Trinity, Lincoln, Nebraska, and St. Mary's, Mitchell, South Dakota. He was a man of kind heart and genial manners. He was always faithful in the dis-

charge of his parochial duties, and made many friends both within and without his parishes.

He married, first, February 17, 1874, Miss Georgietta Colden. There was a daughter, Bessy H., who married and has children. He married, second, a daughter of Harvey Josselyn of Bridgewater, Massachusetts. Children by this marriage: Charles Gilbert; Guy; Mabel and Gertrude, twins, have died.

Mr. Harris died in Parsons, Kansas, December 3, 1886, aged fifty-one.

## CHAPTER XX

## FEDERAL GALAXY. BENJAMIN SMEAD, 1797

The first printing press, set up in 1797, and the first newspaper, *The Federal Galaxy,* were started by Benjamin Smead in 1797. The printer and editor were generally one. In 1798 he published a sermon by Reverend William Wells, the first publication in Brattleboro, preached on the occasion of the burial of Pardon Taylor and Edward Palmer, both of whom were drowned the day before in the Connecticut River.

*The Galaxy* was printed on a four-page sheet measuring about seventeen by twenty-one inches, four columns to a page, in good-sized type, but of the "old style," and was sold to subscribers for $1.34 per year, payable on the last day of every quarter.

Until the question of state boundaries began to be settled, the interest and sympathy of the pioneer of the eighteenth century were without any clearly defined limitations, and the people of Vermont felt farther from the Carolinas than from the continent of Europe. The thoughts and ways of the old world were still familiar. The first newspapers reflect the general interest in world-wide affairs. An idea of what was considered news in those days may be gained from the contents of Number 71, Volume Two, dated May 8, 1798. The entire first and second pages, and nearly one column of the third page, are taken up with a copy of the "Instructions to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry, Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary to the French republic," signed by Timothy Pickering, secretary of state, and bearing date July 15, 1797,—nearly ten months previously! Following this article, under the general head of "Domestic Events," is given about a column and a half of news from South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, New York and Massachusetts. Then follows a half column of editorial matter, the leading article treating upon the then all-absorbing topic of our relations with France. Something more than a column of this page is occupied with advertisements. Two and a half columns of the fourth page are devoted to a report of the proceedings of the American Congress, House of Representatives, extending from Wednesday, March 28, to Tuesday, April 3. The remainder of the page is taken up with

advertisements, among which are three applications for divorce. There is not a local or state paragraph in the entire paper. *The Galaxy* was continued until about 1802, when Mr. Smead removed to Dansville, New York.

## CHAPTER XXI

## NOTABLE EARLY SETTLERS

Notable Early Settlers—Henry Wells, M.D.—Stephen Greenleaf—Stephen Greenleaf, Junior—(Jeremiah Greenleaf)—Rutherford Hayes and wife Chloe—Deacon Russell Hayes—Rutherford Hayes, Junior—Hayes's Store, Dummerston—William R. Hayes—President Rutherford B. Hayes—George Holmes Hall, M.D.—John Welland Blake—Lemuel Dickerman, M.D.—Judge Lemuel Whitney—Honorable Richard Whitney—Honorable James Elliot—Samuel Elliot—Doctor Samuel Stearns—Joseph Clark.

### Henry Wells, M.D.

Henry Wells, M.D., son of Obadiah Wells, was of the fourth generation from Reverend William Welles, Norwich Cathedral, England, whose son, William Wells, was the first founder of Southold, Long Island.

Doctor Henry Wells was born in Essex County, New Jersey, June 14, 1742. He took his first degree at Princeton at the age of fifteen, studied medicine in New Haven with the famous Doctor Hull for four years, and in 1760 Yale College conferred on him the degree of A.M.; in the following year he returned to New York for a four years' continuation of his studies. He studied divinity for a short time after 1764, and added the business of an apothecary to his early medical practice in New York (when the population of that city was less than ten thousand), where he married Hannah, daughter of John and Elizabeth Sibley Stout, May 28, 1764, in the old Dutch Church on Nassau Street. She was born February 11, 1747, and died October 1, 1813. Doctor Wells was hardly more than twenty-five and his wife twenty, the mother of two children, when they started for their new home in the wilds of Brattleboro, of which he and his father became patentees in 1766. They came by a sloop to Hartford, Connecticut, and from thence followed the Connecticut River. His father and mother (Mary, daughter of Captain Cornelius Conkling, who died in Brattleboro in 1780) came with him.

He was the first physician of Brattleboro—when a doctor's saddlebags carried simple remedies to the remotest dwelling; and the first town clerk —elected to office in 1768.

On the brow of a hill two miles west of the East Village, Doctor Wells

erected a substantial frame house of considerable size on a farm of about one thousand acres.[1]

From 1768 to 1781, when he removed to Montague, Massachusetts, he constantly held some public office. His name is attached to two memorials to the King in behalf of the government of the Province of New York.

In his profession Doctor Wells attained the highest rank and was called in consultation to distant parts of New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut. From 1785 he was counsellor of the Massachusetts Medical Society. As a recognition of his services in stopping an epidemic in Greenfield and its vicinity in 1802, Dartmouth conferred on him the honorary degree of M.D. He had the confidence of all his professional brethren throughout the country.

His habits and manners were conformable to what is called the old school of gentlemen. His dress was Quaker-like in simplicity, velvet or buckskin breeches, long jacket with flapped pockets, and broad-brimmed, low-crowned hat.

He died August 24, 1814, aged seventy-two.

Of his thirteen children two sons were born in New York. Seven more children were born to Doctor and Mrs. Wells in Brattleboro. All removed with the father to Montague. (See Appendix.)

### Stephen Greenleaf

Stephen Greenleaf was a descendant of Stephen Greenleaf who came to America in 1635, and son of Doctor Daniel Greenleaf of Boston, born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, November 2, 1702, married Miss Silence Marsh, by whom he had ten children. He married a second time, and died in July, 1795.

Stephen Greenleaf was born in Bolton, Massachusetts, October 15, 1735. He married January 11, 1758, Miss Eunice Fairbanks of Boston and removed to Brattleboro in the autumn of 1771, having purchased eight hundred acres, the "Governor's Farm."

He died June 8, 1802, aged sixty-seven. Mrs. Greenleaf died March 18, 1826.

They had eleven children, six born in Boston, five in Brattleboro.

The oldest son, Stephen, born in Boston January 31, 1759, came with his father to Brattleboro in 1771.

In 1783 he married Miss Anna Sargent, who died October 11, 1813. He married, second, Miss Cynthia Ryan. He was drafted at the age of eighteen and served for a short time in the War of the Revolution, and

[1] This house, purchased from Micah Townsend, its second owner, in 1801 by Chief Justice Royall Tyler, was not taken down until 1875, by S. Gilbert Smith.

was present at the surrender of Burgoyne. He was of large stature and an athlete in strength and agility.

Bred a carpenter and wheelwright, many of the first buildings in Brattleboro were erected by him. In 1799 he was elected town clerk and was reëlected to office forty-five years in succession, declining it finally on account of his age. He died March 5, 1850.

A few books, which he read during the long winter evenings by the light from the kitchen fireplace, mathematical problems worked out by himself alone and the practice of penmanship were his education, and he was obliged to stretch himself horizontally on the floor to get the full light on his books. He was a natural mathematician and was valued as a tutor for that subject.

His penmanship in the old town records is a model of uniformity and precision. Besides his work as town clerk, he wrote in 1834 several letters to friends respecting the past and present of Brattleboro, which were printed in *The Phœnix,* and he also furnished a sketch of the town for Thompson's "Historical Gazetteer of Vermont," published in 1846. A painting of Major Greenleaf hung in the gallery of the west end of the Town Hall until it was remodeled into the Auditorium—as a memorial of the love and respect in which this "Nature's nobleman" was regarded by three generations of his fellow townsmen.

These verses written by Stephen Greenleaf, Junior, show a bit of the quiet humor which was one of his characteristics, and that Fast Day was not a universally serious matter as far back as his time.

ON THE 6th MAY THE CITY KEPT FAST, 1781.

The Farmer kept Fast—at holding the plough;
The City kept Fast as the D---l knows how,
For some kept Fast at even and odd,
And some kept Fast at drinking Todd.
Some kept Fast at seven up
For ninepence a corner and a Cup.
Some kept Fast the money they got;
Others kept Fast at pipe and pot.
Some kept Fast at sliding the goose,
And some kept Fast to Petticoats loose.
Some kept Fast between the sheets;
Others kept Fast and walked the streets.
Some kept Fast at playing Ball;
Indolence kept no Fast at all.
Some kept Fast, got drunk and slept—

As droll a Fast as e'er was kept.
Those who a steady Fast did keep
Were found keeled up and fast asleep.

Children of Stephen Greenleaf, Junior, by first marriage:

Thomas Sargent, born March 25, 1784; married Miss Dimmis Nash, by whom he had three children; married second, Miss Lydia Miller, by whom he had six children.

Anne, born September 24, 1788; married Thomas Ellis of Brattleboro.

Stephen Scollay, born August 22, 1795; died September 20, 1813.

Other children of Stephen and Eunice Greenleaf:

Eunice, born August 19, 1761; married George Dickson of Ohio.

Daniel, born in Boston January 16, 1764; married Miss Huldah Hopkins, lived in Guilford, Vermont. His son:

Jeremiah Greenleaf, born in Brattleboro December 7, 1791; married Eunice Elvira, daughter of Doctor Simon Stevens of Guilford, where they resided and had six children. He was a teacher and the author of Greenleaf's Grammatical Chart. He entered the United States service from Guilford during the War of 1812, and was promoted to lieutenant in 1816. In 1820 he published a work on grammar entitled "Grammar Simplified, or an Ocular Analysis of the English Language," which he claimed relieved the study of objectionable features and made it comparatively easy of attainment. It was acknowledged the best treatise ever produced on that subject and the first edition was published in Brattleboro in 1819, the twentieth in 1822. At a later period, he prepared a modified form of this work, the "Labor Saving Grammar," which appeared in 1855. His children were: Halbert Stevens, born April 12, 1827; Malcolm Cyprian, born February 11, 1831; Thomas Benton, born February 27, 1837; three daughters younger.

Emory Greenleaf, born in Guilford August 26, 1793; died 1849; married Miss Gratia Houghton of Guilford and had six children; removed West.

Stephen Greenleaf, born in Guilford, 1795; married Sarah, daughter of Joseph and Sarah Weatherhead, resided in Brattleboro; died in 1850; she was born in Guilford March 17, 1797; died in Philadelphia February 12, 1891. Their children were: Sarah, who died November 12, 1858, at West Chester, Pennsylvania, where she was teacher in the High and Normal School; Ellen, married J. R. Gaut, at one time principal of the Brattleborough Academy; died in Philadelphia June, 1887.

Elizabeth, born January 18, 1774; married James K. Goodenough of Watertown, New York; died March 25, 1847.

Doctor Christopher, born in Brattleboro, 1776; married Miss Tabitha Dickinson of Hatfield. They had five children. He practiced his profession at La Fargeville, Jefferson County, New York, and died there in May, 1837. Mrs. Greenleaf died May 21, 1837.

### Hayes Family—Rutherford Hayes

George Hayes, who came from Scotland and was living in Windsor, Connecticut, in 1762, was the first ancestor of the Hayes family in this country. He raised a family of ten children.

His son Daniel was taken captive by the Indians in 1702, carried into Canada and kept there a prisoner five years.

Ezekiel, son of Daniel, with his wife Rebecca, daughter of Judge John and Sarah Trowbridge Russell of New Haven, also great-granddaughter of Reverend John Russell of Hadley, Massachusetts,—where he concealed the Regicides,—came to New Haven in 1773. Their son, Rutherford Hayes, was born in Branford, Connecticut, July 29, 1756.

Captain Blakesley of New Haven bought and settled the tract of meadowland beyond West Brattleboro known as the "Sergeant Farm." His four sons having located along that meadow, sent "enticing words" to their friend Rutherford Hayes and he, at the age of twenty-one, set out for Brattleboro. This was in 1778.

Rutherford Hayes knew something of blacksmithing, which trade he had learned from his father, and the new settlement in Brattleboro was very much in need of a blacksmith. They offered to build him a shop and send for his tools if he would stay. He refused at first, saying that he "came for a visit and did not care to stay in the woods." He boarded on his arrival in the family of Israel Smith, who lived in a small red house then standing on the spot now occupied by the Hayes mansion. Before the visit of Rutherford Hayes was over he had fallen in love with Chloe, the daughter of Israel and Abigail (Chandler) Smith, and decided to remain. The settlers made a bee, shoveled away the deep snow and built a log shop for him near the foot of what is now Greenleaf Street, then the only road to Marlboro, and here he worked at his trade of blacksmith which he spoke of later in life as a "dirty, black business, but it brought white money."

He and Chloe were married in 1779, in her seventeenth year, and they occupied a house next to her father's, above the shop, where four of the eleven children were born.

He served as ensign in the "South (Vermont) Regiment" of New

York troops, being commissioned July 24, 1782, and received a grant of land in Chenango County, New York, for losses and services.

In 1789, Israel Smith and all the younger members of his family moved to Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York, where he had received a grant of six hundred and forty acres of land from the state because he had espoused their cause in the controversy over the New Hampshire Grants.

It was about this time that Rutherford Hayes built the house which he kept as an inn and which has been the home of his descendants to the fourth generation.

In old age, after his innkeeping days were over, Mr. Hayes became a farmer "in easy circumstances." He is described as a "round corpulent old gentleman, with an elastic, square step, medium height, with florid complexion, sandy hair, a cheerful temper, and friendly, courteous manners." Also as "a consistent and active church member, maintaining for many years family worship and dying as a Christian." After he was seventy he became a total abstainer "fearing" that his "example would be quoted against the cause of temperance." He died September 25, 1836.

His wife Chloe, born in Hadley, Massachusetts, November 10, 1762, with only six months of schooling, matured into a remarkable woman, a great worker, and a Christian character. She kept a diary now cherished by her descendants.

She was passionately fond of flowers and stole time from her care-filled days to cultivate them. She had skill in needlework of all kinds and an artist's love for fancywork, copying her designs from the flowers in her garden. She loved the work so much that on Saturday afternoon as the Sabbath hours drew on, "she was wont to put her worsted-work in her workbasket and push it as far under the bed as she could and get it all out of her mind for Sunday." One of her grandsons said "She knit more stockings, mittens, and gloves, wove more rag carpets, spun and wove more cloth, elaborated more wonderful rugs, lamp-mats and bags, than any woman of her generation."

W. D. Howells, who married one of her granddaughters, once wrote of her, "She left upon the memory of many surviving children and grandchildren the personal impression of her strong and resolute character, and her rugged Puritan virtues, tempered and softened by æsthetic gifts amounting almost to genius." Her æsthetic gifts have been an inheritance in the family of her oldest granddaughter, Mary, who married Larkin G. Mead.

Children:

Polly, born February 8, 1780; married, 1804, Honorable John Noyes. (See p. 247.)

Linda, born February 28, 1782; married, first, in 1803, John Pease who died in 1804; a son; married, second, November 24, 1808, Samuel Elliot. (See p. 215.)

Russell, born May 31, 1784.

Rutherford, Junior, born January 4, 1787.

Clarissa, born November 24, 1790; married May 15, 1811, Azor Moody of Granby, Massachusetts.

Sarah, born April 11, 1793; married May 25, 1815, Dyar Bancroft of Chesterfield, Massachusetts. They had four children.

Abigail, born 1796; married in 1820, Asa Robbins of Granby. She died January 19, 1867; five children.

Fanny, born September 27, 1800; married February 3, 1824, Levi Smith of Granby; died August 2, 1870. They had five children.

William Rutherford, born December 6, 1804.

Deacon Russell Hayes, the oldest son of Rutherford Hayes, Senior, passed a life of usefulness on the old homestead, sharing his energies and affection in service to the academy and the church, and caring for the declining years of his parents. He was "a Christian of equable temper, a man of excellent judgment and a neighbor highly esteemed."

He married, first, Rhoda, daughter of Gideon Moody of Granby, who died January 7, 1828; married, second, Hannah L., daughter of Moses and Abigail (Baker) Forbes of Townshend, Vermont; married, third, Martha, daughter of Barnabas and Martha Billins of Northampton, born April 16, 1800, died August, 1872. Children by this marriage:

Mary Ann, born October 3, 1838; married November 15, 1856, William Howard Bigelow, born in Easton, Washington County, New York, December 21, 1829; graduated at Williams College in October, 1852. He taught a fall term in the Brattleborough Academy, and commenced the study of medicine with Doctor Willard Arms. In 1853 he assisted Reverend James Tufts in the Academy at Monson, Massachusetts, but was interrupted by a hemorrhage of the lungs which led him to abandon professional ambitions and to seek an outdoor life in the West. He began by surveying in Des Moines, Iowa, but located after a time at Sioux City, Iowa, where he organized the firm Bigelow & White in real estate and banking. He was mayor of the city.

In 1864 he went to Chicago and established the firm Bigelow Brothers, dealers in lumber, carrying on the manufacturing of lumber at Muskegon, Michigan; 1872-1874 he spent with his family in Europe. On their return they resided in New Haven for the educational advantages to their sons, passing summers at the ancestral home of Mrs. Bigelow. He died August 12, 1882. Children: Russell, born July 22, 1859, at Sioux City (see p.

975); William H., born July 22, 1861, married Miss Margaret Allardice, and died December 19, 1900; Hayes, born in New Haven, February 20, 1879, married Carolyn, daughter of H. J. Clark of West Brattleboro.

Martha Jeannette, born March 14, 1841; married June 7, 1862, Joseph Nash Field, brother of Marshall Field of Chicago and member of his firm. She died January 23, 1864. By a second marriage he had five children.

Rutherford Hayes, Junior, spent his early life in West Brattleboro, was employed as a clerk in a store in Wilmington, where he married September 19, 1813, Sophia Birchard, daughter of Roger and Drusilla (Austin) Birchard of that town, born April 15, 1792. She died October 30, 1866.

In 1812 young Hayes formed a partnership with John Noyes and opened a store in Dummerston Center. Here they prosecuted a successful business until 1817, when Mr. Hayes closed out his interest in the store, having accumulated a fortune for the times, and removed to Delaware, Ohio, where he purchased land and established himself as farmer.

His wife being very much opposed to this departure westward, stayed for a time with her children in the family of John Noyes, but soon removed to a small building which then stood just east of the store, where she and her children remained until her husband returned and took them to a western home.

Mr. Hayes was a man who commanded universal respect. He died in 1822, a few months before the birth of his son who became President of the United States, leaving only moderate means to his wife and three children. A wealthy bachelor brother, Sardis Birchard of Fremont, Ohio, came to her aid, and assumed charge of educating the children. Mrs. Hayes possessed a rare combination of physical and mental power, and was beloved and admired by all who knew her. Children: Lorenzo, Sophia, Fanny Arabella, Rutherford Birchard.

From *The Boston Journal*, August 18, 1877:

On the south side of the Common, in the middle of the town of Dummerston, connected with a large, modern wooden structure, stands the little store in which Rutherford Hayes, father of the President, first embarked in business as a member of the firm of Noyes, Mann & Hayes (John Noyes and General Jonas Mann). The partners came from West Brattleboro and set up a country store—they bought the store in 1811 from the Samuel Porter Estate for $525—where they continued to do business for several years. The firm dissolved in 1814 and John Noyes

and Rutherford Hayes united their fortunes and opened a store in a long, two-story building, painted red, which still stands on the east side of the green. A portion of the second story was fitted up as a ballroom, and here in "ye olden time" the rustic belles and beaux were wont to trip the light fantastic toe, to the music of the violin. The ceiling, from which great patches of plaster have fallen, is arched, and along the sides of the hall are permanent seats, innocent of paint, which have grown brown with age.

In this building Mr. Hayes carried on business between the years 1812 and 1817. The kitchen and porch of the house, now owned and occupied by Mr. Asa Knight, were built by Mr. Hayes and are still in a good degree of preservation. When Mr. Hayes married Miss Birchard they lived for a short time in the red house, and from there moved into the larger residence.

President Rutherford Birchard Hayes was born in Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822.

Mr. Hayes graduated at the head of his class at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, and graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1845. He began practice in Fremont, but removed in 1849 to Cincinnati, where he soon came into prominence in his profession.. His army career began with the Civil War and ended with it. Enlisting originally as a private soldier, the governor of Ohio appointed him major of the Second Ohio Infantry, having first offered him the colonelcy, which Mr. Hayes modestly declined on the ground that it should go to a more competent and experienced man. In every engagement throughout his service, mostly in West Virginia, he bore himself with marked courage, skill and self-poise. This was notably the case in the battle of South Mountain, where, with his arm broken by a bullet, he fought at the head of his regiment until, overcome by pain and loss of blood, he was carried from the field. His charge across the slough in the battle of Opequan was scarcely excelled during the whole war as a feat of personal gallantry, and the skill and intrepidity with which he handled his division at Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek stamped him as a man of real military genius. For the qualities thus displayed he was promoted to be colonel and then to be brigadier-general, and in March, 1865, he was brevetted major-general.

In 1864, while he was still in the field, General Hayes was nominated for Congress by the Republicans of his district, and it shows the quality of the man that, when urged to come home and take the stump, he answered with this telegram:

In Camp, Oct. 2: Yours of the 29th ult. is received. I have other busi-

ness just now. Any man who would leave the army at this time to electioneer for Congress ought to be scalped.

Truly yours,
R. B. Hayes.

He was elected to Congress, and took his seat December, 1865. He was three times elected governor of Ohio, the last time in 1875 under very unusual circumstances, as the pronounced advocate of an honest currency. The National Republican Convention met at Cincinnati in June, 1876, and General Hayes was nominated on the seventh ballot, Mr. Blaine being the principal candidate at the start. The Democratic candidate was Samuel J. Tilden. An electoral commission was the outcome of the controversy that followed, and the result of the commission's deliberation was to declare Mr. Hayes elected. He was inaugurated March 5, 1877.

December 20, 1852, he married Lucy Ware Webb, born in Chillicothe, Ohio, August 28, 1831, a daughter of Doctor James Webb; she was educated at the Wesleyan Female College, Cincinnati. She died at Fremont, Ohio, June 25, 1889.

After the death of Mrs. Hayes the ex-President was a yearly visitor in Brattleboro, the old ties of relationship and early association growing stronger in his years of bereavement and loneliness.

### William Rutherford Hayes

William R. Hayes, the third son of Rutherford Hayes, Senior, was born December 6, 1804, prepared for college under the instruction of Reverend Mr. Hallock, and graduated at Yale in the year 1825. He took a high stand in his class. The following is a bill of his expenses while in college:

Mr. W. Hayes Dr.

1822 To the President and Fellows of Yale-College.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| May 1. | To Tuition, $11.—Ordinary Repairs, 80 cents, | $11 80 |
| | To Chamber rent, 2.—Sweeping, 75 | 2 75 |
| | To Glass, 9 .—Damages, 13 .—Average Damages, 27 | 50 |
| | To Wood for Recitation room, | 65 |
| | | 15 70 |

C. Q. F.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| To Wood, | Nut | " 2 " | at 7.40 . . . . . | 2.70 | |
| " " | Oak, | | at . . . . . | | |
| " " | Pine, | | at . . . . . | 58 | 3.28 |
| To sawing, splitting, &c. | | | | | |

To balance of old account,

Dr. To the Steward of Yale-College

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| To board, 14 weeks, at 1.68 . . . . . | 23.52 | |
| To proportion of his Salary, . . . . . | 11.85 | 24.37 |
| | | 43.35 |

Rec'd payment June 5th 1822.

S. Swining.

These bills are payable at their date; and if not paid within fourteen days after vacation, the student against whom they are charged, cannot recite till he exhibits to the Treasurer a certificate from his parent, guardian or patron, that he has seen them.

Closing the three years of his studies at the law school in New Haven, under the care of Judge Daggett, he was admitted to the bar, and opened an office in Brattleboro in 1828; he married October 10, 1830, Harriet, daughter of Henry and Harriet Hayes Trowbridge of New Haven, born August 2, 1808; she married, second, Reverend William Patton, D.D., who died in New Haven, September, 1880; she died January 24, 1874. Mr. Hayes is said to have had a fine voice, and to have been a successful pleader. In his will be left $1000 for the Academy at West Brattleboro.

He, with two other professional men, his daily associates, Mr. Elliot of his own profession, and Doctor Dickerman, were among the subjects of the revival of 1832. He became thereafter an earnest, active Christian, and was restrained from preparing himself for the gospel ministry by failing health. Skillful physicians advised him to seek a milder climate. In 1836 he relinquished the practice of law, and moved to Barbados in the West Indies. His health was gradually restored, and he spent the rest of his life engaged in prosperous mercantile pursuits, and in discharging the duties of United States consul for the Island of Barbados. He engaged heartily in the support of temperance and in the abolition of slavery, organizing societies in his new home, and he wrote and labored successfully for the promotion of these reforms.

Quoting from Doctor Bacon of New Haven: "He was known and honored there and at home as a business man of eminent skill, courtesy and probity, and a Christian gentleman, ready for every good word and work."

His life was suddenly terminated by a malignant erysipelas July 13, 1852.

George Holmes Hall, M.D.,

born in 1763, was the first resident physician of the East Village, from 1790 to 1807. He also had a store for the sale of drugs, hardware and groceries, which stood at the southeast corner of his property on Main Street, the site of the Hunt house. In 1797 the store and its contents were destroyed by fire, a blow from which Doctor Hall, it was said, never entirely recovered, although he lived ten years afterwards, and died April 3, 1807. *"Multos ille bonis flebilis occidit"* is the inscription on his tombstone.

His widow Sarah, born in 1764, married, second, Richardson Bigelow. She died in July, 1809.

Children:

Helen M., died, aged twelve.

George W., married Sarah, daughter of Deacon John Holbrook, September 17, 1818; died February 1, 1824. She died September 5, 1849. They had three children.

Gardner C., born 1796; married October 6, 1823, Julia Ann, born January 27, 1806, daughter of Colonel Thaddeus and Jemima Loomis Leavitt of Sheffield, Connecticut. He died March 22, 1856. (See p. 498.)

Honorable John Welland Blake,

a descendant in the fifth generation of William Blake of Dorchester, Massachusetts, was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, in (probably) 1759, the eldest son of Joseph and Deborah (Smith) Blake. There are records showing that land in Rockingham was conveyed to him by Samuel Sargent in 1789, and, two months later, a conveyance of the same land away from John W. Blake, when he moved to Brattleboro. He married May 24, 1790, Abigail, daughter of Judge Daniel Jones of Hinsdale, New Hampshire, and June 17 of the same year was admitted to the bar of Windham County, becoming one of the foremost lawyers and most influential citizens of southern Vermont.

He bought considerable real estate in the village of his adoption, fifty acres where the Emerson Block stood on South Main Street, and the house built by Judge Samuel Knight where the Federal Building now is. Mr. and Mrs. Blake and their nine children lived in this house many years.

He held the office of postmaster from 1790 to 1792. In 1795 the Legislature granted him and Calvin Knowlton of Newfane an exclusive charter for the toll bridge across West River. Mr. Blake and Mr. Knowlton also secured the charter for a turnpike road from Rockingham to Brattleboro.

Mr. Blake represented the town in the Legislatures of 1798, 1799 and

1802, and became a leader in the political activities of the state. He finally moved to the brick mansion built by Jonathan Townsend, where the Vermont National Bank now stands, where he entertained lavishly. "An inexhaustible fund of anecdote" added to the charm of his conversation, and attracted to him a social environment which fostered habits proving disastrous to his professional life, and which were the final cause of the sale of his real estate to Francis Goodhue in 1811. "But he was a gentleman of wealth, education and polish, a man of true distinction."[1]

Mrs. Blake died December 14, 1808, aged forty-two; he died October 27, 1818, aged fifty-nine, and they are both buried in the "graveyard on the hill."

Children of John Welland Blake:

Henry Jones, born March 4, 1792; married February 18, 1816, Gertrude B., daughter of Isaac Truax of Albany; died November 30, 1822.

John Rice, born February 3, 1793. (See p. 309.)

Anna Sophia, born July 2, 1796; married Henry Cabot; died March 22, 1845.

Children: Elizabeth, George, Anna Sophia.

Charlotte Smith, born April 7, 1798; married January 15, 1822, Dexter Chapin of New York; she died March 17, 1837.

Frances Williams, born October 10, 1800; married January 13, 1823, Edward Clarke of Northampton; she died September 30, 1828.

Harriet Barker, born September 6, 1802; married December 10, 1827, James Houghton of Brattleboro.

William Caldwell, born July 10, 1804; died unmarried August 17, 1830.

Mary Welland, born March 30, 1806; married June 7, 1828, Frederick S. Hill; married, second, Dr. Page.

George Baty, born May 19, 1808. (See p. 508.)

### Lemuel Dickerman, M.D.,

the sixth in descent from Thomas, who came from Bristol, England, and settled in Dorchester, Massachusetts, was born October 18, 1751, at Stoughton, Massachusetts. When a boy he was a bound apprentice to learn shoemaking, but left his employer and traveled on foot to Brattleboro. Here he obtained employment on the farm of Doctor Henry Wells, and, according to the tradition, from him Doctor Dickerman learned his profession, and "became so accomplished that he assisted him in practice until so many preferred the young doctor, that the old one sold out and went to Montague, Massachusetts."

[1] Burnham.

Doctor Dickerman was the third physician in Brattleboro and the longest in practice, which he combined with farming on a large scale. His farmhouse, situated about three miles northwest of the village, was standing in 1869. A son in three generations of his descendants followed his profession of medicine. There is a painting of him, in possession of a grandson, expressing the character and sensitive perceptions for which he was noted.

He married March 13, 1779, Lucinda Arms, daughter of Major John and Susanna Willard Arms of Brattleboro, who was born in 1757. "She was of an excellent family." She died September 2, 1833, aged seventy-six. He died October 8, 1832, and was buried on Meeting-House Hill. Children:

Lucinda, married Jonathan Herrick and settled in Canada.

Polly, born January 4, 1781; married July 3, 1799, Windsor Newton; died January 31, 1823.

Susan W., born November 16, 1782; married Josiah Putnam, son of Asa, born in 1781; he died March 24, 1864.

Theda, born April 19, 1785; married December 1, 1803, Alfred Barrett; died June 10, 1805.

Sophia, born March 19, 1787; married Alfred Putnam.

John Locke, born March 12, 1790; married October 6, 1813, Kezia, daughter of John and Kezia Dickerman, born March 27, 1791; she died September 26, 1850; he died December 15, 1857. Children:

John Locke, M.D., born June 23, 1814; married June 16, 1844, Miss Emily Ann Squires, who died November 5, 1887; he died at Rutland, Vermont, February 16, 1879. Children:

Harriet Emily, born October 19, 1846. She taught painting and for many years was corporation clerk in the secretary of state's office, Boston, Massachusetts; married November, 1902, Edward Minturn Ransom; died December 9, 1902.

Sarah Harston, born September 25, 1848; married December 18, 1879, Patrick Frank Connors, born January 6, 1848; she died December 23, 1910.

Willard Arms, M.D., born September 15, 1817. He began the practice of medicine with his father in 1840, and went soon after to Keene, New Hampshire, where he was for some time with Dr. Twitchell, the elder, one of the most eminent and successful surgeons of his day. He went to Foxboro in 1858 or 1859, and practiced there for some thirty-two years. He married, first, Miss Mary Caroline Smith of Bennington, who died May 28, 1845; married, second, Emeline, daughter of Leland and Polly Crosby Fairbanks

of Wardsboro; died in Taunton, Massachusetts, December 15, 1890.

Harriet Maria, born March 14, 1824; married June 15, 1848, Joel Mills Haven of Dummerston; died at Rutland September 25, 1878. He was of the firm Fisher & Haven, merchants in Brattleboro. At the time of her death she was president of the Rutland Auxiliary of the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions; vice-president for the state of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Her deep religious experience and knowledge of the Bible made her a remarkable Sunday school teacher. She was of the stuff reformers are made of, full of inspiration which was carried with indefatigable energy into good works for her fellow creatures.

Lemuel, M.D., born January 4, 1826; married, first, Miss Lucretia Ann Pope; married, second, Miss Maria Knapp of Foxboro; he died August 4, 1895.

Willard Arms, born February 28, 1792; married January 1, 1822, Miss Nancy Crombie, born September 17, 1805; he died April 17, 1836. Their children were:

Willard, died in infancy.

Maria, born October 6, 1796; died July 11, 1816.

### Whitney Family—Judge Lemuel Whitney

Judge Lemuel Whitney was born in Petersham, Massachusetts, in 1764 and came to Newfane in 1785, where he held the office of sheriff.

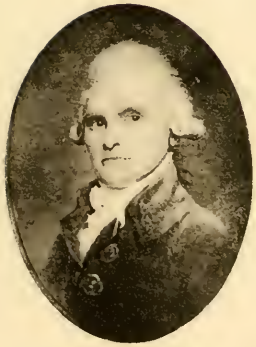
He removed from Newfane to Brattleboro East Village in 1790, occupying at first a low, unfinished house where the Peoples Bank now is. The next year he bought about an acre of land on "the plain,"[1] as the level part of Main Street was then called, brought from Newfane Hill his house containing but two rooms and, with another story under it, set it up on the site of the house now occupied by Mrs. George Dowley. Additions and improvements on this house made it finally one of the most attractive in the village. Here he lived until his death on April 4, 1857.

He was town representative ten years, from 1803 to 1807, 1827, 1831, 1832, 1834, 1836; clerk of the Supreme Court; 1796 to 1816, clerk of the county; 1817 to 1828, judge of probate; 1790 to 1847, justice of the peace. From 1818 to 1821 he was the grand master of the Masons in Vermont.

He was a man of independent opinions and fearless in his expression of them, and as honorable as he was independent in all the relations of his life. "In theology, a Unitarian; in politics, a Whig to the backbone, and

[1] The land now the Common was, in other records, spoken of as "the plain."

Samuel Stearns



DOCTOR SAMUEL STEARNS

Stephen Greenleaf Town Clerk

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

Sam^l Rock

Joseph Stern

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

a warm admirer of Henry Clay. He was, as compared with most men, of gigantic stature, and his dignified presence, with a good understanding of parliamentary rules, well qualified him to preside at public meetings."

Mrs. Sophia Root, consort of Lemuel Whitney, died July 6, 1842, aged fifty-three.

Children:

Susan, married Grindall R. Ellis; died September 9, 1872, aged eighty-four; they had three children.

Lieutenant George, died October 19, 1824, aged twenty-seven.

Lieutenant Lemuel, died February 28, 1825, aged twenty-four.

Captain Samuel Brenton, married January 1, 1821, Miss Amelia Hyde. They moved to Woodstock, Vermont, in 1835; she died May 18, 1851, aged fifty-one. Children:

George Frederick, born December 24, 1821; married February 7, 1849, Miss Augusta Eaton; died December 6, 1866. Children: Harry, Mary, Ellen.

Emily Hyde, born October 23, 1823; married October 24, 1849, Charles Chapman of Woodstock; died September 2, 1908. Children: Frank H. of Rutland; Carrie, married George Updike of Omaha; Lucy, married Frederick W. Wilder; Henry B. of Woodstock; Mary, married Pliny Fisk.

Susan Jane, born September 26, 1825; died August 8, 1833.

Dana Hyde, born March 6, 1828; died at Newport News, Virginia, July 23, 1861.

Lucy Fitch, born February 28, 1830; married October 10, 1859, at Woodstock, Vermont, James Brewer Jones, born at Windsor March 31, 1826, died December 21, 1901. Children: Fred Whitney, born February 15, 1861, died January 3, 1871; William Field, born April 23, 1862, married at Portland, Maine, November 14, 1894, Miss Lena A. Newhall, and has a son, James Newhall, born October 17, 1897, and a daughter, Eleanor Whitney, born December 8, 1901, died September 28, 1917; Mary Wells; Ellen Hyde; Alice Whitney.

Charles Lemuel, born at Cavendish, February 23, 1832; in 1834 his parents moved to Brattleboro. Lemuel was tuner for J. Estey & Company and later head tuner of the New Haven Organ Company. For several years he was salesman for J. Fisk, Senior. He married Frances Jane, daughter of John Gore, born October 9, 1836; died November 17, 1872. He was agent for a mowing machine invented by her father. In 1853 he became proprietor of the old Brattleboro House. He finally entered the employ of O. B. North

& Company, New Haven, in 1869. He died January 8, 1912, at the home of his daughter, Alice Chase, who married George B. Bascom of Ticonderoga.

Samuel Brenton, born June 4, 1842; died August 3, 1914; organist of Christ Church, Boston.

### Honorable Richard Whitney

Honorable Richard Whitney, a brother to Judge Lemuel Whitney, was born in Petersham, Massachusetts, in 1776, practiced law in Brattleboro in 1808, and was secretary of state in 1806.

He was one of the group of intellectual and literary lights who shone as members of the literary society, but became mentally deranged towards the end of his life. He was committed to the care of Mr. Hooker of Hinsdale, New Hampshire, the son-in-law of Reverend Bunker Gay, whose house on the Hinsdale road is still standing.

A council of physicians—Doctor Perley Marsh of Hinsdale being one of the council—decided upon trying, for the recovery of Mr. Whitney, their theory of cure; a temporary suspension of his consciousness by keeping him completely immersed in water three or four minutes, or until he would become insensible, and then by resuscitation awaken him to new life. Passing through this desperate ordeal, it was hoped, would divert his mind, break the chain of unhappy associations and thus remove the cause of his disease. Upon trial this system of regeneration proved of no avail, for, with the returning consciousness of the patient, came the knell of departed hopes, as he exclaimed, "You can't drown love."

The next resort was opium, and Mr. Whitney died under the treatment, September 9, 1815. He is buried in the cemetery at Hinsdale.

The vat in which this victim of the medical profession suffered and struggled back to life is still to be seen in its original place, a witness to what would, otherwise, be considered an incredible story. The tradition is that the cries of Doctor Perley Marsh's patients worked with such poignance on the sympathies of his wife that, when she became a widow, she resolved on the benefaction to Brattleboro which was the foundation for the Asylum for the Insane in this place.

The monument over Mr. Whitney's grave has the following inscription:

> Here lies the mortal remains of
> Richard Whitney, counsellor at
> law, of Brattleboro, Vermont, who
> departed this life Sept. 9, 1815,
> aged 39 years. Those who knew

him not, may learn from this monumental stone that his virtues have rendered his memory precious to his bereaved friends. The sight of it will excite a tender recollection of his worth in the bosoms of those who knew him, and a tear of sincere regret at his early and untimely departure. Let us humbly hope he has gone where his virtues will be justly appreciated.

ELLIOT FAMILY—HONORABLE JAMES ELLIOT

Honorable James Elliot was born in Gloucester, Massachusetts, August 18, 1775. His father died at sea when he was an infant, of disease contracted in the navy in the service of his country, and his mother subsequently removed to Salem, Massachusetts, to live among relatives. At the age of seven he went to work for Captain Sanderson, a merchant and farmer at Petersham, Massachusetts. He had already manifested a precocious taste for reading, had read the Bible three times; in reading he gained a thirst for military glory.

He remained in Petersham seven years, and from there came to Guilford, Vermont, where he was clerk in a general merchandise store. The Indians were active in their hostilities upon the settlements northwest of the Ohio, and on July 17, 1793, he enlisted at Springfield, Massachusetts, as the first noncommissioned officer in the Second United States Sub-Legion, commanded by Captain Cornelius Lyman.

After his return to Guilford in 1796 he had a store of his own, studied law, and about 1800 began to practice at the bar, occupying an office with his brother Samuel in Brattleboro.

In 1798 he published four volumes, entitled "The Poetical and Miscellaneous Works of James Elliot, Citizen of Guilford, Vermont, and late a Non-Commissioned Officer in the Legion of the United States."

Many of the pieces are versifications of the odes of Horace. Among the pure original effusions is one on "The Autumnal Seasons," addressed to Royall Tyler, of which the four concluding stanzas are:

Oh Thou! my early and my constant friend!
In thee the fruits of early knowledge shine;
In thee the graces and the virtues blend—
A soul sincere, a feeling heart are thine.

In thee has nature various powers displayed;
Art, eloquence and taste, alike to grace
The bar, the senate, or the studious shade,
To wield the sword, or tread the walks of peace.

On thee, long may the rays of science fall,
And in thy life and writings greatly glow:
Long be thy useful life—and thine be all
That conscious virtue can bestow.

Be thine throughout life's variegated year,
The meed of genius and the poet's lays;
And in thy autumn may bright suns appear,
To gild the happy winter of thy days.

"Polite Literature" was a formative influence on the minds and manners of this period, and poesy was one of the accomplishments of a cultivated man or woman. Of unequal merit, these poems are printed here to make known the inner individuality of the writers.

Considering the period at which our author wrote, soon after the close of the Revolutionary War, his ideas of equality may be considered as possessed of interest.

ODE TO EQUALITY

All hail, divine Equality!
Benignant daughter of the sky!
Sister and friend of Godlike LIBERTY!
Descend from the ethereal plains,
Proclaim on earth, JEHOVAH reigns!
'Tis Nature's King who rules on high,
O'er COUNTLESS EQUAL WORLDS EQUAL POWER MAINTAINS!

Thou, gentle, soothing, sovereign balm of woe,
And purest bliss that human beings know,
'Tis thine to cheer old age and guide the youth:
Come issue from thy calm retreat,
And fix on earth thy peaceful seat
Attended by the radiant ORB OF TRUTH!

On REASON'S basis build thy throne;
Exalt the peer and prince to MAN,
And humble all the ignoble clan!
Beneath Oppression's iron rod,

Obedient to a tyrant's nod,
No more, the wretched, human race shall groan—
Oh! come with VIRTUE in thy train,
And o'er the UNIVERSE extend thy glorious reign!

The book contains twenty-five short essays, called "The Rural Moralist," which had been generally published in *The New England Galaxy*. Of these, one was written by his brother, Samuel Elliot, and another by John H. Palmer, then a youth of seventeen. They are apparently imitations of Addison, Steele and other English authors of that time and are quite creditable to the writers. But the most interesting part is a journal kept by the writer during his military service. He was also the author of a series of critical essays called "The Rural Wanderer," printed in *The Farmers' Museum*.

Mr. Elliot was clerk of the Vermont House of Representatives, 1801 and 1802; elected as a Federalist to the Eighth Congress and was re-elected to the Ninth and Tenth, 1803 to 1809; representative to the State Legislature, 1818 and 1819; clerk of Windham County Court, 1819 and 1820, and constantly from 1826 to 1836, inclusive; register of probate from December 26, 1822, to November 30, 1834; state's attorney, 1837 and 1838; justice of the peace for twenty-one successive years.

Following his six years in Congress he resided a short time in Philadelphia, where he edited *The Freeman's Journal*, and returned to Brattleboro.

He was one of the incorporators of the first joint stock company that originated in Brattleboro, which built the first bridge connecting the East Village with New Hampshire, in 1804. He sustained through life the character of an honorable man, with talents and intellectual acquirements of the first order.

His superior mental endowments were made more effective to the public service by habits of thorough study. The variety of subjects of which he had accurate knowledge was remarkable in view of the limited opportunities of his youth. Congressional records contain reports of his speeches on fifteen different questions of national importance. In the Ninth and Tenth Congress he made notable speeches in relation to the defense of ports and harbors, on suspension of writs of Habeas Corpus, and on the tariff.

He went to Newfane about 1825, represented that town in the Legislature, 1837-1838, and died there November 10, 1839, aged sixty-four; his remains were brought and deposited in Prospect Hill Cemetery.

He married Lucy, daughter of General Dow, who survived him thirty years, residing in Binghamton and New York with her daughter. She died January 25, 1869, aged eighty-eight.

Children:

James Madison.

Mary A., married at Dover September 27, 1832, Wright Pomeroy of New York; he died March 21, 1884, aged seventy-three; she died April 22, 1896, aged eighty-four. Their only child, Stella M., died March 13, 1869, aged thirty-five.

Honorable Samuel Elliot was born in Gloucester, Massachusetts, August 16, 1777. Samuel, like his brother James, began active life as clerk in a store in Guilford, but came to Brattleboro before 1800, was admitted to the Windham County bar in June, 1804, and established a law practice here. In 1804 with several others he was instrumental in the erection of the first bridge across the Connecticut River. In 1805 he purchased fifteen acres of land west of Main Street on either side of what is now Elliot Street, which was named for him, and in 1808 all the land west of his first purchase extending the length of that street, south of Green Street and to Whetstone Brook and erected a brick dwelling house of two stories, in the midst of extensive and well-laid-out grounds. His law office, a one-storied wood building, stood where the Peoples National Bank now is. He sold, about 1835, the site of this property to Ashbel Dickinson. He succeeded John W. Blake as postmaster but, being a prominent and active Federalist during Jefferson's administration, lost the office and was succeeded by Asa Greene in 1811.

He was judge of probate for this district, 1807, 1808, 1813, 1814, 1829, 1830, 1838, 1839, and represented the town in the State Legislature, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1822, 1823, 1828, 1829, 1830; he was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1814; was a candidate for Congress; was also associate judge of this county in 1844-1845, where he was widely known as a man of marked ability and unquestioned integrity. He was state's attorney in 1814, 1822, 1823, 1824. He was justice of the peace twenty-seven successive years.

A natural philanthropist, he was concerned for the alleviation of every kind of suffering the world knew.

In 1826 his mind and heart were stirred by the atrocities committed on the people of Greece by the "unspeakable Turks." Mr. Elliot's influence and eloquent appeals led to an organization of ladies who contributed garments of their own making, which were sent with those from different parts of New England to those unfortunate people.

At that time William Morgan, a stone mason of Batavia, New York, wrote a book revealing the secrets of Freemasonry, followed by the abduction and probable murder of Morgan. "Freemasons unfit for

an office of confidence" became a political slogan in an anti-Masonic convention. In the Vermont congressional campaign of 1829 seven thousand votes were cast by anti-Masons. "A Voice from the Green Mountains on the subject of Masonry and Anti-Masonry by Samuel Elliot, Esquire," was printed by George W. Nichols in 1822.

Patriotism was another controlling passion in Mr. Elliot's nature, to which his eminent powers as an orator were dedicated. The principal figure in Fourth of July celebrations, his services were in demand wherever justice and mercy were in need of noble and fitting expression.

Like many of his gifted contemporaries, his intimate feelings often found vent in verse.

He married May 26, 1805, Miss Fanny Foster, who died the following year, leaving a child, Edwin Day Elliot. (Died June 15, 1873. His widow, Annie, died August 10, 1888.) Burnham speaks of her "blooming beauty" that found so soon a grave. On her tombstone in Prospect Hill Cemetery is inscribed:

For other nymphs let
vernal roses bloom,
Mine be the dreary region
of the tomb.
In Memory of
Mrs. Fanny A. Elliot
Consort
of Mr. Samuel Elliot
who died July 26, 1806,
ae 22
O World farewell! Gay Scenes of life adieu,
I go to join my dear departed friends.

In *The Brattleborough Messenger* of December, 1824, were printed these lines addressed by the boy, then eighteen years of age, to his unknown mother:

In childhood's gay and sportive hours,
I reckless play'd upon thy grave;
Well pleased to pluck the sweet wild flowers,
Which o'er thy grassy bed did wave.

I loved to view thy marble stone,
To read the sculptur'd letters try;
But when my father wept thereon,
I could not think what made him cry.

Remembrance cannot bring to light
Thy form, or make thy face appear;
But fancy paints thee fair and bright
As holy, beauteous angels are.

And now I love to think of thee—
Of all thy virtues, all thy worth—
And hope my soul with thee will be
When I am pillowed deep in earth.

### Ode

Written for the Celebration, at Brattleboro, of the 51st Anniversary of American Independence—By E. D. Elliot.

Tune—"Adams and Liberty."

Ye sons of New England, oh! welcome the day,
When our fathers arose, 'mid war's wild commotion,
And swore to destroy the wild despot's array,
Or die for their country with patriot devotion:
Though each prospect look'd drear,
Yet they thought not of fear,
But sternly pursued their heroic career,
Resolving to burst the harsh fetters they wore,
And still live as freemen—or cease to live more.

Then the tempest of war gather'd over our land,
And the slaves of Oppression and Discord surrounded;
But Heaven protected our patriot band,
Till Earth with the fame of their exploits resounded:
Then from regions of light,
Fair Freedom took flight,
And our green hills first saw the goddess alight,
And may she her blessings ne'er cease to bestow,
While our mountains stand fast, and our rivers shall flow.

From Europe, debas'd by oppression and crime,
The *Eagle of Liberty* quickly ascended,
And sought in the wilds of this far western clime,
An asylum, by valour and virtue defended:
Here in peace she resides,
In her strong hold confides,
And her pinions shall rest, while Freedom presides:
And still shall our mountains—our valleys be free,
While the gales fan our shores, or enliven the sea.

And oh! while we cherish one thought for the dead,
Or memory the worth of our sires shall retain,
The Rights for which fearless *they* suffer'd and bled,
*We* will sink in the grave, or with honour maintain.
And though Peace we desire,
Should invaders conspire,
Like our sires we will conquer, or *freemen* expire:
"For ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves,
While the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves."

Children of Edwin Day and Annie Elliot:

James Henry[1] of Newark, New Jersey, editor of *The Home Journal*, married September 5, 1864, Miss Sarah E. Dresser of Blackstone.

William Cowper of Providence, Rhode Island, married October 11, 1871, Miss Kittie L. Clarke.

Fanny Foster.

Rose Standish, married June 23, 1873, Louis H. Stellman.

Children:

Wilhelm E. Stellman of West Brattleboro, married Lillian, daughter of Thomas Miller. They have a daughter, Maxine.

Gladys.

Louis M. Stellman of Syracuse, New York, married Miss Corinne Blodgett. Children, Evelyn and Barbara.

Frances M.,[2] born March 8, 1876, graduated from Glenwood Seminary, and took a nurse's training at Lynn, Massachusetts. She was for two years an efficient nurse in the Ancon Hospital in the Panama Canal Zone; this was followed by public health work in South Boston, and in Wallace, Idaho.

November 24, 1808, Mr. Elliot married, second, Linda, who was Widow Pease, a daughter of Rutherford Hayes; she died January 5, 1832. Their children were:

Reverend Samuel Hayes, born October 23, 1809; he graduated, 1841, from Union College, and Yale Seminary; married October 9, 1844, Marcia Laurette, daughter of Colonel C. R. Harvey of Woodbridge. He was pastor at Woodbridge, Jamestown, New York, and Westville, Connecticut, from 1842 until 1855, and conducted West Rock Seminary, but was compelled by failing health to leave the ministry,

[1] Under the name Mercutio he was a frequent contributor to the Brattleboro newspapers.

[2] January 1, 1919, Miss Stellman became superintendent of the Brattleboro Mutual Aid Association, where her remarkable ability, wisdom and poise found further opportunity for public service. She died May 24, 1919.

when he entered into business in New Haven. He was author of: "The Rolling Ridge"; "Parish Side"; "Attractions of New Haven"; "Emily Maria: a True Narrative"; "Dreams and Realities in the Life of a Pastor and Teacher," etc. "New England Chattels, or Life in the Northern Poor House," had a wide circulation and was the means of radical reformation in the treatment of the poor. Before this time many of the poor were auctioned off to the highest bidder. He died September 11, 1869.

James H. Elliot finished his course at Trinity College with promise, and had been chosen to be valedictorian of his class but was prevented by illness, and he died December 2, 1838, at Savannah, Georgia, aged twenty-seven.

Fanny E., born December 28, 1813; died April 2, 1852.

Belinda, born April 6, 1816; married August 27, 1839, R. W. B. McClellan, son of Robert and Jane Bolton McClellan of Colerain, Massachusetts. She wrote of her brother, William C.,

> He was our youngest brother, fondly loved—
> Companion, friend, and cherished counsellor.
> Sweetly in him did blend
> A childlike, simple spirit, with a mind
> Matured, refined, with knowledge and with grace.
> To God he consecrated all he had:
> Yes, on His altar freely laid himself.

William C., born June 21, 1818. The health of William C. Elliot, the youngest son, failed after about two years at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, and he died in Brattleboro December 5, 1839.

Janette, born December 11, 1820, after her school life in Brattleboro attended the Misses Draper's School in Hartford, and afterwards lived with brothers and sisters in North Adams, New Haven and Providence. A poem by Janette Elliot, "Family Gatherings," appeared September 26, 1850. She married May 12, 1857, Marion Keeler of Fremont, Ohio; she died in Fremont September 4, 1899, leaving three children.

Sophia, born June 18, 1823; married December 21, 1845, S. Gilbert Smith, born in Marlboro February 13, 1824; she died May 28, 1904, aged eighty. He died in 1889. Children:

Mary Elliot, born September 2, 1849; died November 15, 1870.

Reverend Clifford Hayes, born August 11, 1856; married, first, Miss Nellie Bartlett; married, second, Miss Martha Votey. A son, Howard.

Alice Janette, born September 13, 1861; married May 13, 1890, Fred C. Brown. Children: Raymond C., Maud Anna.

Anna W., born July 1, 1864; married May 1, 1908, Rodney Wheeler of West Brattleboro.

Honorable Samuel Elliot married, third, Sophia, daughter of Captain Elisha Flint of Brookline, November 19, 1834. He died December 10, 1845. She died December 27, 1845, aged thirty-five.

Mr. Elliot wrote several papers on the appearance of Lafayette in this country in 1824; also the following:

Oration at West Springfield, Mass., July 4, 1803. Printed by A. Haswell & Co., Bennington.

An Oration delivered at Brattleborough, Vt., February 22, 1812. Printed by William Fessenden, Brattleborough.

An Address to the members of the Washington Benevolent Society, and Publick, delivered at the Semi-annual meeting of the county Society of Windham County, Vt., at Newfane, June 11, 1812. Printed by William Fessenden.

Oration pronounced at Brattleborough, Vt., before the Washington Benevolent Societies, July 6, 1813, in Commemoration of American Independence. Printed in Brattleborough.

A copy of Orations and Addresses of Samuel Elliot is in the Historical Society's Library, State House, Montpelier.

In 1842 was printed An Humble Tribute to my Country; or Practical Essays, Political, Moral and Miscellaneous, including a brief account of the Life, Sufferings and Memorable Visit of General Lafayette, by Hon. Samuel Elliot, printed by Otis, Broadus & Co., 1842.

### Samuel Stearns, M.D., LL.D.,

was the second son of Benjamin Stearns, who was born in Concord, Massachusetts, November 8, 1714. He married Dinah Wheeler of Boston in 1738; died January 5, 1755. Their second son was Samuel Stearns.

In the northwest corner of Prospect Hill Cemetery is a slate stone slab fast going to decay, which bears the following inscription:

Samuel Stearns, LL.D.
Died Aug. 8, 1810.

Nature was his preceptor, philosophy
His mistress, and astronomy his prompter.
Disappointment ever succeeded his best
Endeavors; he deserved better.
Ingratitude was the reward of his labors.
Peace to his ashes.

That Samuel Stearns was a remarkable man for his time, and that he experienced life's vicissitudes in their most aggravated form, is demonstrated in the few fragmentary accounts of his life that are left to us. It is difficult, with the slight amount of material at hand, to arrive at an estimate of this man's character, so as to partially, at least, account for the multiplicity of his misfortunes and discover the reason why he was pursued with such pertinacity by "the shafts and arrows of outrageous fortune." He had an overconfidence in his intellectual ability, and as a result was possessed of an egotism that must have rendered him obnoxious to many with whom he came in contact. In his writings he frequently refers to himself as Doctor of Canonical and Civil Law, speaks of his extensive travels in Europe, of his numerous astronomical publications, and is constantly alluding to prior events in his own life in such a manner as to give the reader the impression that he loved to magnify his own achievements. He was born in Lancaster, Massachusetts, in 1747, and was, to use his own language, "early taught by parents and ministers to fear God and honor the king. I was also instructed in the various branches of grammar, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, navigation, surveying, astronomy, music and medicine. I always had a natural inclination to do good; to walk in the paths of righteousness, and to shun vice and immorality." Probably all his instruction was received at the hands of his parents and the village clergyman, though his medical studies may have been directed by some neighboring physician, as he makes no mention of having attended academy or college, which he would have been likely to do had such been the fact. It is evident that he received a good education from some source, and when quite young removed with his parents to Paxton, an adjoining town, where, at the age of twenty-six and on the eve of the Revolutionary War, we find him engaged in the practice of medicine and compiling and publishing almanacs. Up to this time nothing had occurred to change the current of his existence; his medical practice was fair, and his fame as an astronomer led many of the inhabitants to consult him on the turn of future events. But upon the announcement of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country his troubles began. At the outset, and probably with reason, he was suspected of being a Tory; his practice fell off, his friends deserted him, and the wonder is that, entertaining the sentiments he did respecting his allegiance to the King, he did not find means to dispose of his property and flee to the royal lines. He chose to remain, and endure the sneers and insults that were no doubt freely bestowed upon him until 1780, when he was arrested. His experiences for the next seven years are given in his own words, copied from a petition dated at Brattleboro, July 18, 1799, and addressed to His Excel-

lency Robert Liston, Esquire, British Minister to the United States, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (then seat of the United States government), and by him to be transmitted to the King:

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty:—

The petition of Samuel Stearns most humbly,—That when the unhappy dissensions commenced between Great Britain and Your Majesty's American colonies he was an inhabitant of Paxton, in the county of Worcester, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, where he followed the practice of physic and the making of astronomical calculations. That for a number of years he suffered persecution in consequence of his loyalty to Your Majesty, and attachment to the British government, was made a prisoner on the twenty-third day of September, A. D., 1780, accused of holding a traitorous correspondence with, and of offering aid and comfort to the enemy, supposed to be Your Majesty's armies, but was liberated by giving bonds for his appearance before the Supreme Judicial court in April following.

That on the third day after he was thus recognized he received information that his adversaries had issued a second warrant with a design to put him in close confinement, and finding that his life was in great danger, fled for protection to Your Majesty's army, then at New York. That he resided within the British lines during the remainder of the war, and Congress having ratified the treaty of peace between Great Britain and America, he returned to said Paxton in the year 1784, with a design to collect sundry debts due to him, ascertain the value of the property he had left and remove his family to Nova Scotia.

That although it had been agreed in the 6th article of said treaty, that no prosecutions would be commenced against any person, etc., for, or by reason of the part he had taken in the war; and that no person would on that account, suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty or property, yet in less than two days after his return he was seized and imprisoned in the gaol in said county of Worcester, under the pretence of being brought to trial, in consequence of the accusations already mentioned.

That, without any trial, without the finding of any bill against him, and without his being allowed anything to eat, drink or wear, at the expense of the county or state (water excepted) he suffered two years and eleven months' confinement in a very disagreeable prison, although it had been customary to allow state's prisoners something for their subsistence, even if they had been thieves, highway robbers and murderers, and although he frequently petitioned the general court or assembly of the commonwealth of Massachusetts praying for liberation and the enjoy-

ment of those rights which were granted to him as one of Your Majesty's subjects in the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and America.

That, for a long time he was treated with neglect and contempt, but was at last discharged from confinement on the 28th day of July, 1787, by order of the said General Assembly. That he was liberated in a very distressed condition, being destitute of house and home and the common necessaries of life, but went with his claims for the loss of his houses, lands, etc., to Montreal, in the Province of Quebec, in hopes it was in the power of the commissioners appointed by Your Majesty to inquire into the losses, services and sufferings of the American loyalists, to grant compensation. That he found it was not in the power of the commissioners to receive his claims because they had not been delivered to them previous to the beginning of May, 1786, at which time he was in prison. He, therefore, went to Great Britain, petitioned for relief and had some compensation granted for what he suffered in the time of the war, but not anything that he knows of, for his sufferings since the establishment of the peace. That he returns his sincere thanks to Your Majesty for those favours, and further begs leave to mention that he returned to America in the year 1791; and having been informed that the commonwealth of Massachusetts had paid for his board whilst he had been a state's prisoner, went into that government to visit his friends in the year 1793, when he was unexpectedly seized and imprisoned in the gaol in the county of Bristol, for not paying for said board. That he suffered four days, eighteen hours and fifteen minutes close confinement in said county of Bristol, and lost by this prosecution 141 pounds, 16 shillings and 6 pence, sterling. He also lost, when imprisoned in Worcester, 273 pounds, 19 shillings and 9 pence, sterling, in consequence of his non-appearance before the Supreme Judicial Court, when he resided within the British lines in the time of war, the greatest part of which sum was paid to said commonwealth by his bondsmen, who were also imprisoned. That said imprisonment also prevented his collecting the debts that were due to him in said state, which amount to 368 pounds, 6 shillings and 6 pence, sterling, including the principal, which, joined, amount to 784 pounds, 2 shillings and 9 pence, besides the two years, eleven months, four days, eighteen hours and fifteen minutes imprisonment which he has suffered repugnant to the requisitions of the articles of the peace. That he has petitioned to Your Majesty's commissioners in Philadelphia, and those appointed by the President and Senate of the United States of America, for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of all losses and damages as divers merchants and others, Your Majesty's subjects have sustained in consequence of their being debarred by sundry lawful impedi-

ments from collecting their debts in said states, praying that the said commissioners, would aid and assist him in obtaining compensation, but they esteem themselves as not empowered to act upon the subject, because his imprisonment is considered not as a lawful but as an unlawful impediment to his collecting his debts. That he understands that a number of Your Majesty's subjects in Nova Scotia and elsewhere, who formerly belonged to Massachusetts, are debarred from receiving compensation for their debts in the same manner, although it does not appear by the records that the General Assembly of Massachusetts ever repealed the laws they made in the time of the war for the purpose of protecting the American loyalists, and which were repugnant to the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and America, till the year 1787. That it appears by an article of Congress passed in the year 1794, that no foreigner is allowed to sue any state within the limits of the United States of America. Therefore, he sees no way to obtain compensation for the injuries and abuses that he has received than that of imploring Your Majesty's most gracious aid and assistance. He therefore prays that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to aid and assist your petitioner, and all others Your Majesty's loyal subjects, who have been injured by violations of the treaty aforesaid, "and for whom no provision appears to be made at present for their relief" in obtaining compensation of the United States in such a way and manner as Your Majesty in your wisdom may see fit.

This petition bears the following endorsement:

Sworn before me this 23d of July, 1799.

LUKE KNOWLTON,

Member of the Honorable Council for the State of Vermont in America and Justice of the Peace throughout said State.

The five or six years succeeding his release from imprisonment, 1787, were spent in various parts of the United States and Europe. In 1789 he was for a short time engaged in editing *The Philadelphia Magazine*. He also published an almanac, which was printed in Bennington, though it does not appear that he had at that time any intention of locating in Vermont. (The Universal Calendar and North American Almanack for the year of our Lord, 1790, and from the creation of the world, according to Sacred Writ, 5752. Being the second after Bissextile or Leap Year, and the fourteenth of the Independence of the State of Vermont and America, calculated for the Latitude and Longitude of the State of Vermont. By Samuel Stearns. Professor of the Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Physic. Printed at Bennington, Vt., by Haswell & Russell. 12mo. pp. 24. The same for 1791.)

In 1790 he published a work entitled "A Tour in Holland, by an American." This work was published in Worcester, Massachusetts, though he was then in Europe; probably he sent over the manuscript. In 1791 he had published in Dublin a work entitled "Doctor Stearnes's Tour from London to Paris"; also, in London, "The American Oracle," 1791, comprehending an account of recent discoveries in arts and sciences. Not far from 1796 he came to reside permanently in Vermont. His first settlement was in Dummerston, where he engaged in the practice of physic. There were at that time several families in this section who had removed here from the vicinity of his early home, which may have been the reason he selected this comparatively new state for his residence; or it may have been that he sought to elude creditors, who were forever on his track. Very soon after his arrival he took steps to consummate a scheme that had been in his mind for many years. His own words will best convey the scope of his project: "In the year 1772, observing that the physicians could not agree when they met to consult upon dangerous cases, I undertook to examine into the causes of the disagreements, and found it to be from their being instructed by different physicians and by different books." To remedy this he proposed to publish a regular and universal system of surgery, physic and materia medica, so that all physicians might receive their instructions from the same source and forever put an end to medical bickerings. He had carefully prepared such a work, entitled "The North American Dispensatory"—of 350 pages. He died before it was finished, but the materia medica portion is complete.

He petitioned individuals, medical societies, State Legislatures, and finally the United States Congress, with a persistency that is painful to contemplate, to aid him in establishing a lottery whereby he might raise the means necessary ($15,000) to place his work before the medical fraternity. The matter finally resulted in his publishing in 1801, by subscription, a small work entitled "Stearns' Herbal," which, viewed in the light of the ambitious project of which it was the outcome, seems contemptible in the extreme. Upon the list of subscribers are forty-seven names comprising the most prominent citizens of that time in Brattleboro. Here is a letter he received in reply to a petition sent to Judge Tillinghast, then a member of Congress from Rhode Island, soliciting his aid in securing an act to legalize a lottery for the purpose mentioned above. It is a fair specimen of the replies he received from all whom he addressed on the subject—not a positive rebuff, but an excuse that varied with the position and circumstances of the individual addressed:

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 13, 1799.

S. Stearns, Esquire,—Dear Sir: Your favor of last month, enclosing petition and sundry letters, received. According to your request, I de-

livered your letters and advised with some influential members respecting the adoption of the measure, and have to observe that I received very little encouragement. I was at the time so much out of health as to entirely prevent me from attending Congress for about ten days. Immediately upon being able to resume my seat I offered your petition and moved a reference to a select committee, to which the House did not agree. Am not able to ascertain with precision the reason which actuated this decision, but presume it rests on the ground of Congress never having granted a lottery in any case, and also that it is not in the power of any person to secure the copyright of any performance of the kind. With respect, ob't serv't,

T. Tillinghast.

Received March 6, 1799.

Although the last ten or twelve years of his life were spent in Vermont, he seems to have continued his early habit of roving about, as he speaks of being in a number of different places in New England. After settling here, it is not known how he obtained his livelihood; he might have realized something from the sale of his books; perhaps he continued his medical practice in a desultory way, or friends may have assisted him. He taught astronomy and other branches of higher mathematics. He was for a time in Newfane jail, for debts; while there he wrote a poem entitled "The widower in Jail exposed to Sale," dated July 15, 1780. He was married before his arrest in 1780, but it is still unknown whether or not he had any children. During the last few years of his life he had a strange predilection for writing doggerel verse. Any commonplace occurrence would at once suggest to him a theme and, once started, his jingling meter would continue indefinitely. A specimen or two may suffice to give an idea of his abilities as a versifier:

Lines Addressed to Young Students.

If thou art young and hast a mind
Much profit in the world to find
And be a man of fame;
Then learn to read, also to write,
To cypher too and well indite
And wear an honest name.

He continues in the same strain to the extent of twenty stanzas, giving advice on every subject that would be likely to cross the mind of a schoolboy. Here is an epitaph which was written at the request of the parents of the deceased, though not until eight years after her death.

In memory of Miss Polly Ward, who died Nov. 17, 1795, aged 5 years, 6 months, 27 days.

By bouling cyder she was slain
When less than 6 of age.
Then her exquisite Racking pain
Removed her from the stage.

But her immortal spirit went
To the Almighty King
Where all the Godly ones are sent
The praise of God to sing.

During his residence within the British lines in 1780-1783, he compiled and published the first nautical almanac that was ever printed in America. Reverend Doctor Walker of Hartford, consulted respecting the authenticity of this claim, and when and where he obtained his degrees LL.D. and M.D.,—he received F.R.S. in England,—made a reply, though not giving exact date, interesting as tending to show that authorities recognize his titles and support his claim. He says: "I find in looking up Samuel Stearns that he is in the Boston Athenæum Catalogue and elsewhere, credited with his degrees M.D. and LL.D. Also that some of the notices accord to him the credit of the first publication of nautical almanacs."

In what has been written there is more or less confusion of dates, but in the main they are correctly stated.

He died in Brattleboro August 8, 1810.

The epitaph of his first wife, Sarah, in Dummerston, reads:

The Hon. Mrs. Sarah Stearns, the amiable consort of the Hon. Samuel Stearns, one of the senators of the University of Aberdeen in Scotland, Physician and Doctor and Master of the canon and civil laws, died in this town Oct. 14, 1801, aged 54 years, ten months, 22 days.

He married, second, Mrs. Elizabeth Kelly, widow of Alexander Kelly of Dummerston, who died January 15, 1803. Dr. Stearns's marriage certificate reads: "This may certify that on the tenth day of November in the year 1803, the Hon. Samuel Stearns L.L.D. one of the Royal Pensioners of the Kingdom of Great Britain, after being lawfully published three Sundays, was on the said tenth of November legally married by me, according to the method practiced by the church of England, to Mrs. Elizabeth Kelly of Dummerston, in the county of Windham, State of

Vermont, in America and in the presence of the following witnesses,— Samuel Mead, Rector of the church in Alstead." Eleven witnesses were present.

There was quite a village in school district Number 3, East Dummerston. The store known as Roger Birchard's burned in 1870, was owned in 1804 by Captain Jabez Butler, a Revolutionary soldier, Samuel Stearns, M.D., LL.D., and Asa Houghton, astronomer. Doctor Stearns probably lived in the house north of the store. An old apple tree set out near the house in 1776 measured thirteen feet in circumference. Mr. Stearns claimed he gathered from it, in a single year, fifty bushels of apples. A sister of Doctor Stearns was wife of William Herschel, the astronomer.

### Joseph Clark

came from England to Auburn, Massachusetts, at an early date and died in 1800.

Children:

Joseph of Brattleboro, born in 1775, married April 3, 1796, Miss Freedom Alexander of Northfield, Massachusetts. She died September 6, 1834.

Joseph Clark at one time owned most of the land on the south side of Whetstone Brook to the Vernon and Guilford lines, and established the first shop for wool carding and cloth dressing. The water rights owned by him were sold, in 1811, to Francis Goodhue by John Holbrook. He was for many years engaged in the hardware and drug business on Main Street. He was representative in 1800-1801 and 1855. He died October 31, 1870.

Henry, married Electa, daughter of Jonathan Goodenough, in 1808; she died in 1810, and he afterwards married Eunice, her sister, who died in 1823. Children:

Electa, born February 20, 1814; married May 10, 1836, Doctor Reuben Spaulding of Montpelier, Vermont; died February, 1855. Children: Henry G., a Unitarian clergyman of Boston, Massachusetts; Frederick; Edward, M.D., died in Dorchester April 16, 1876, aged thirty-one.

Joseph, born February, 1816; married, 1846, Elisabeth, daughter of Doctor Charles Chapin of Brattleboro, who died October 4, 1870. Children: Oliver C.; William O., who died September 29, 1876, aged twenty-six.

George H., born January 12, 1818. He was educated in the common schools of Brattleboro, studied surveying with Addison Brown and with his father, who was also a surveyor, and was engaged most of

his life in that occupation and in farming. November 7, 1842, he married Sarah Hubbard, daughter of Colonel Erastus Nims of Sullivan, New Hampshire, who died May 2, 1896. He resided in this town all his life; died November 20, 1901. Their eldest son:

Henry G., born October 14, 1843; married December 16, 1865, Miss Josephine Wooster of Brattleboro, who died September 10, 1899. Children:

Mary Josephine, married June 20, 1893, Gerry L. Messer. A son, George.

Sarah Louise, married January 1, 1895, Ernest E. Perry. A daughter, Clara Clark.

Alice Cordelia, married June 19, 1894, Charles A. Risbey of New York.

Charles H., born January 17, 1872.

Henry married, third, Sophia, daughter of Judge Gilbert Dennison of West Brattleboro, who died October 3, 1855, aged sixty-one. He died March 19, 1855. Their daughter, Sophia D., married November 5, 1850, Thomas Doane of Charlestown, Massachusetts.

Freedom,[1] married Hiram Houghton.

Rufus, died June 10, 1860, aged sixty-nine. Sally Goodenough, his wife, died April 8, 1889, aged ninety-two. She was a woman of rare graces of character, manners and speech. Deprived of her eyesight for some years before her death, she was cared for in the home of her daughter Eunice, who married Reverend E. Hale Barstow.

Children of Rufus and Sally Goodenough Clark:

Mary A., born January 18, 1818; married December 9, 1841, Reverend Thomas P. Tyler; died May 17, 1850.

Caroline G., born September 8, 1820; married March 12, 1844, Reverend James Aiken, born November 10, 1810; died February 1, 1885; she died March 11, 1895.

Sarah Frances, died March 29, 1843, aged nineteen.

Eunice Goodenough was educated at Mrs. Phelps's School, West Chester, Pennsylvania; married Reverend E. Hale Barstow, for some years pastor of the Congregational Church of Walpole, New Hampshire, and was afterwards at the head of a private school in Newton, Massachusetts. Mr. Barstow with his family subsequently moved to Haverhill, New Hampshire, where he died April 10, 1862, at the age of forty-six, and Mrs. Barstow continued to reside there until her death, June 14, 1885, aged sixty-three. She

[1] Freedom H. Clark married October 17, 1839, Robert H. Pitman of Albany, New York, according to another record.

left four children: one son living in the West; another studying for the ministry; a daughter, Sally Clark, 1851-1916, a teacher in Bradford Academy, Massachusetts; a younger daughter, a teacher in Portland, Maine.

"None knew Mrs. Barstow but to love her—of graceful person and presence, winning and refined in speech and manners, glad and hopeful of face, with true motherly devotion to her family, of the tenderest filial regard for the comfort and happiness of the aged mother, kind and condescending to her inferiors without sacrificing her innate dignity of character, and over and above all the graces of a noble Christian life."

Rufus, Junior, married January 7, 1862, Miss Jane A. Mason; died March 28, 1876, aged thirty-six; she died March 7, 1913, aged seventy-five.

## CHAPTER XXII

## AN INDUSTRIAL ERA

John Holbrook—William Fessenden (The Reporter)—Joseph Fessenden—Thomas Green Fessenden—Joseph Steen—Honorable John Noyes—General Jonas Mann.

### Deacon John Holbrook

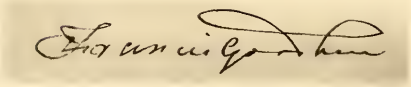
The era of industrial development which made the early prosperity of this village began with the coming of John Holbrook in 1795, of William and Joseph Fessenden and, in 1811, of Francis Goodhue.

Deacon John Holbrook was born in Weymouth, Massachusetts, July 10, 1761, and died in Brattleboro April 6, 1838. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, his father moved with his family to Dorchester. English officers stationed on Dorchester Heights were so pleased with the conduct and appearance of young Holbrook that they offered to instruct him in drawing and surveying and engineering. The opportunities of obtaining knowledge of this character were limited in this country at the time, and to this event in his early history may be attributed much of his success in after life, although his natural gifts of mind and character would have triumphed over obstacles under any imaginable circumstances. He soon became so efficient that he was employed by the government, and in this capacity, soon after he became of age, his duties led him beyond his native state to Newfane, Vermont, where he brought letters of recommendation to Luke Knowlton, one of the first judges of the Supreme Court of Vermont and of the county court, who assisted him to employment as a land surveyor. Young Holbrook ran town and division lines in the vicinity of Newfane. The county of Windham was largely primeval, an almost unbroken forest, and his work was attended with many hardships; many a winter's night he was forced to sleep in the dense forest on a bed of hemlock, subsisting on sliced pork spread over brown Indian bread.

At the age of twenty-five he married Judge Knowlton's daughter, Sarah, who was a young woman of uncommon personal beauty and grace and in her subsequent life a power in Brattleboro's social life. For a few years they lived in Newfane and Wardsboro, and children were born to them in both towns; they moved to Brattleboro in 1795-1796. She used

MRS. HOLBROOK

DEACON JOHN HOLBROOK



JOSEPH GOODHUE

WELLS GOODHUE

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

to relate to her grandchildren how one day she and her mother were left alone in the house when they heard a great racket outside and, going to the window, saw a huge bear in the act of ripping the boards from the pigpen; then, seizing a pig, he carried it to the woods near by. The men, soon returning, were told of the bold capture, and started in pursuit of bruin, which in time was brought back, several excellent steaks being cut for the family consumption from the carcass, while the skin made a comfortable robe. The settlers sought such elevations as Newfane Hill, to protect themselves from the Indians who were wont to make their attacks from ambush along the valleys.

From Newfane, where he had a share in a small general store, Mr. Holbrook took his produce and articles of barter on pack horses over a bridle path defined by marked trees along the West River Valley, down through Brattleboro, then unsettled, to Greenfield, where they were exchanged for dry goods and groceries. His eldest daughter, afterwards Mrs. Fessenden, was the first woman to ride in a wheeled conveyance from Newfane to Greenfield.

After accumulating his first $1000, he moved to Brattleboro, buying the old mill which stood where Hines & Newman afterwards built their machine shops, and also buying the house which in later years was converted into a public house known as the American House, his family occupying the house in part. He soon sought another outlet for his farmers' produce and articles of domestic industry and handiwork, taken in at the Brattleboro store, and for this purpose formed a business partnership with David Porter, a leading merchant of Hartford, Connecticut, under the firm name of Porter & Holbrook at Hartford, and Holbrook & Porter at Brattleboro. He started the first flat-bottomed boats on the Connecticut River between here and Hartford, and for many years these boats were the principal means of exchanging heavy freight with the seaboard. He owned *The Highlander,* a flatboat that would carry twenty-four tons and was the largest on the river. He became successful in importing goods from the West Indies all the way to Brattleboro by water. Thomas Hines, father of Colonel Arnold J. Hines, was Mr. Holbrook's assistant in starting his first mechanical operations. He also built a slaughterhouse on the island across the river, where large quantities of beef, pork, hams and tongues were cured for the West Indian market.

About the year 1811 he sold his house, store, mills and other property to Francis Goodhue, who came from Weathersfield, Vermont, in that year, and who at once took an active and conspicuous part in the town's trade and life. Mr. Holbrook then removed to Warehouse Point, Connecticut, where he lived two or three years. He was one of the original

directors of the old Phœnix Bank of Hartford, and is said to have put the first bank notes in circulation in Brattleboro.

In 1816, owing to the death of his son-in-law, William Fessenden, who married his daughter Patty, and was for many years an enterprising paper-maker, printer, bookbinder and dealer, as well as publisher of one of Brattleboro's first newspapers, it was necessary for Mr. Holbrook to return to Brattleboro to assume charge of the business, which he subsequently enlarged after taking as partner Joseph Fessenden, brother of William, who was also a son-in-law, under the firm name Holbrook & Fessenden. The pure whiteness and clearness of the post and letter paper made at their mill were said to be due to the purity of spring water for which the town was noted.

For undertaking to publish a large family Bible, by subscription, in this obscure town, so far away from the centers of trade, Mr. Holbrook was ridiculed by the foremost publishers of the day in New York and Boston, and certain failure by them was confidently predicted; but they little knew the character or capabilities of the man. In spite of prophecy and discouragement, he supplied all subscribers with the Bible and made it a complete financial success.

Mr. Holbrook retired from active business, though still associated with the firm Holbrook & Fessenden from 1832 to 1837, when he became president of the Brattleboro Bank. Joseph Fessenden died in 1834. John C. Holbrook, son of Deacon John, and others then bought out the old concern, and published in Boston, as Richardson, Lord & Holbrook, a twelvemo, octavo, quarto and a Polyglot Bible, Comprehensive Commentary, Church History and Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, doing a very large business. The company failed owing to poor management during the financial crisis of 1836 and sold to William Field, later Ticknor & Field. John Holbrook's name had been given freely to his son's notes and when the panic came his own fortune was seriously impaired.

July 15, 1816, "Mr. John Holbrook was set apart as deacon" by the members of the first church of the East Village. In 1826 John Holbrook, Asa Green and Francis Goodhue formed the Western Aqueduct Association which brought to High Street the first water supply. He was one of the first trustees of the High School Association and one of the original trustees of the Vermont Asylum for the Insane. The Holbrook residence was at the corner of Main and Elliot Streets, where the Vermont National Bank now stands, but when he retired from active business in 1825 he built the house facing the Common, which is the best specimen of colonial architecture the town has had, with twenty acres adjoining, which were laid out under his direction in flower, vegetable and fruit gardens. He also built for his son, John C., the fine brick mansion, third house north

of the Congregational Church on Main Street, afterwards occupied by Major J. J. Crandall, Wells Goodhue, B. D. Harris and George C. Averill.

Deacon John Holbrook had "a tall, strong and well-proportioned figure and a commanding personality." An anecdote is extant which illustrates his sterling, resolute and independent character. A clergyman, who was a distant relative, was temporarily enjoying the deacon's hospitality when a discussion arose, the parson persistently advocating the doctrine of infant damnation. Although the deacon was the leader and supporter of the church, he refused to further entertain one who held such "damnable views" and firmly showed his guest the door.

*The Vermont Phœnix* of April 13, 1838, said of him:

He was one of the oldest inhabitants of this village, and had probably done more to promote its prosperity than any other individual. For many years he was occupied in extensive business with his fellowmen, and by his unyielding integrity he won the respect of all who knew him. The afflicted and distressed always received his attention and kindness; and he was ever ready to aid all worthy public enterprises and institutions. By this afflictive dispensation of Divine Providence, his family are bereaved of a kind and affectionate husband and father; the church with which he was connected of one of its firmest pillars and brightest ornaments; the community of an useful member; and the world of a generous philanthropist.

John Holbrook married November 30, 1786, Sarah, daughter of Judge Luke Knowlton of Newfane; died April 6, 1838; she died March 22, 1851, aged eighty-four.

Children:

Patty, born March 21, 1788; married October 9, 1807, William Fessenden; died January 16, 1870.

Franklin, born January 27, 1792; died February 4, 1810.

Frederick. (See p. 788.)

Sibbel Lane, born June 15, 1794, in Wardsboro; married October 1, 1810, Joseph Fessenden. (See p. 238.)

Sarah, born March 28, 1796; married September 17, 1818, George W. Hall, who died in 1825; she married, second, June 28, 1828, Isaac Coale of Boston; she died September 5, 1849.

Sophia K., born March 15, 1798; died November 20, 1821.

Lucinda, born March 25, 1800; married February 10, 1823, Rudolphus Bennett, Junior; died November 8, 1843, in Davenport, Iowa.

John Calvin. (See p. 495.)

Eliza, born April 15, 1804; died March 23, 1858.

THE REPORTER—FESSENDEN FAMILY—WILLIAM FESSENDEN

*The Reporter* was started by William Fessenden in 1803-1804. He was born in 1779, in Walpole, New Hampshire, the son of Reverend Thomas K. Fessenden. After learning the trade of printer in his native town, where he served his time with Messrs. Thomas & Carlyle, he stopped in Brattleboro on his way to New York to procure employment as a journeyman printer; and the fact becoming known to his landlord, Samuel Dickinson, John W. Blake, Esquire, and other leading men, who desired to have a Federal paper published here, Mr. Fessenden was induced to remain and embark on the undertaking. He obtained a press and other materials in Boston, at second-hand, established *The Reporter* and remained proprietor of it until his death in 1815.

This was a village of hardly a dozen dwellings when Mr. Fessenden commenced publishing his paper. With no capital, but a mind fertile in resources, he labored under great disadvantages. He often made a journey on horseback to some distant paper mill, and returned with just enough paper bound upon the back of his horse to issue *The Reporter* one week.

At this time Anthony Haswell was trying to publish "Webster's Spelling Book" in Bennington. As Mr. Haswell did not succeed, his effects were soon sold. Mr. Fessenden in some way came into possession of the plates and fixtures for the spelling book. Under his economical, judicious management there was a demand and inducement for many helpers in this enterprise, and the population soon doubled.

The editorial charge of the paper was after the first few years left largely to others, in 1814-1815 being in the care of his brother, Thomas Green Fessenden.

Soon after the death of Mr. Fessenden it passed to his father-in-law, Deacon John Holbrook, whose daughter Patty he married October 9, 1807, and by Mr. Holbrook it was continued until merged into *The Brattleborough Messenger* about 1826. In the meantime another paper, *The Independent Freeholder and Republican Journal,* was started about 1808 by a printer named Peter Houghton, under the patronage of Judge Chapin, but was soon discontinued.

Mr. Fessenden, accompanied by his wife and infant, was returning to Brattleboro from a visit to his friends at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1815. While riding in a sleigh, some miles from any habitation, he was suddenly seized with an apoplectic attack. Mrs. Fessenden, with a child in her arms and a dying husband at her side, drove to Mr. Pomroy's inn at Northampton, Massachusetts, and here Mr. Fessenden soon breathed his last. It was not only that he was a man of great business sagacity, thereby benefiting himself and others, but it was his integrity, benevolence, moral

excellence and social virtues that won all hearts. Only thirty-six years of age at his death, and only about twelve years a resident of this place, yet men who attended the funeral service of Mr. Fessenden have said that never, before or since that time, has the death of any person caused so universal sorrow; all business was suspended, and when the head of the procession arrived at Prospect Hill Cemetery the rear rested on Main Street opposite the entrance to Elliot Street. He died January 20, 1815.

The following extract is taken from the village paper of January, 1815:

Rarely does it occur that a person who had so much to do with mankind in the common concerns of life, so universally obtained their good will; no man was his enemy, no one spoke of him but in praise. He was at the head of a widely extended establishment, that he had himself created, which gave employment and bread to a large number of families and individuals in this village, where his early death will be long felt and deeply regretted. Cut off in the prime of life and in the midst of his usefulness, his decease has created a void which we almost despair of seeing again occupied. He was amiable in private and useful in public life; a most affectionate husband, a fond parent, a dutiful son, an affectionate brother and a steady friend; open-hearted and generous, he had nothing selfish in his nature, and apparently lived more for others than for himself.

Left a widow in 1815, with four children, "Mrs. Fessenden seemed to have a charmed life. Time withered the faces of her contemporaries and covered them up in darkness forever, while her face, at fourscore years, had the smoothness and bloom of youth. Though all her life one of the most attractive, substantial and beautiful women in Brattleboro, no earthly influence, no second love, could swerve her devotion from the memory of the early loved and lost. Of the character and magnitude of her loss, as well as the loss of the community of that day, the traditions and records of the past inform us."

Children:

Reverend William W. Fessenden, born March 9, 1812, left his native town in 1842, and from that time until 1880 was in New York City as bookkeeper and accountant. He was then ordained minister of the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church, Brooklyn, Long Island, and having a personal income sufficient to admit of freedom in the choice of activities, he supported a mission in North 8th Street and gave liberally to many like Christian benevolences. He died January 26, 1900.

Sarah E., a very brilliant woman, married in 1828 the Honorable Elisha Allen; died April 20, 1845. (See p. 522.)

Sophia W., possessed great personal beauty, a strong mentality, and sparkling wit; she died August 6, 1890.

Ellen C., married J. S. Blake of Boston; died July 24, 1881, aged fifty-one.

Brattleboro Imprints. 12 vols., 16mo and 12mo, calf, by Wm. Fessenden.

Call to Unconverted, etc., Richard Baxter, printed by Wm. Fessenden, 16mo, 1813; Force of Truth, an authentic narrative, Thos. Scott, 18mo, 1819; Lindley Murray Grammar, 12mo, 1819; Murray abridgment, pub. by Holbrook, 18mo, 1815; Narrative of Indian Wars in New England, Wm. Hubbard, 16mo, 1814; Meditations and Contemplations, Jas. Hervey, 16mo, 1814; Pilgrim's Progress, Bunyan, 16mo, 1815; Essay on Bailments, Wm. Jones, 1813; Prayer, etc. for Particular Persons, Benj. Jenks, 16mo, 1814; Heartease in Heart Trouble, under all kinds of Afflictions, John Bunyan, 18mo, 1813; Stranger in France, Tour Devonshire to Paris, first printed London, 1803, Fessenden, Printer, 16mo, 1806; Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia and Dinastas, Samuel Johnson, in 1 vol., 1813; Solitude Sweetened, etc., Jas. Meikle, 1817; Elements of Philosophy of Human Mind, 1808; Human Understanding, John Locke, 1806, etc.

These books are of superior workmanship in both printing and binding.

Joseph Fessenden, born January 17, 1777, after the death of his brother William became associated with his father-in-law, Deacon John Holbrook, in the publishing business and the manufacture of paper. He owned and occupied, at the time of his decease, the estate afterwards purchased for the Vermont Asylum for the Insane, and now covered by their extensive buildings.

Mr. Fessenden married Miss Sibbel Lane Holbrook, and together they added greatly to the attractions of this valuable property. She died January 28, 1835.

A humanitarian spirit, manifested in action as in sentiment, was the prominent feature in the characters of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Fessenden. To the noble influence of the Fessenden family this village owed an elevation of tone about this time which was felt in the social conditions years after they had passed away.

At a society meeting of the Congregational Church, of which Mr. Fessenden was a prominent member, he was stricken with apoplexy and died August 28, 1835.

Children:

General Franklin H. Fessenden, born September 24, 1811, the oldest son of Joseph Fessenden, was one of the partners in the publishing house at the time the business was assumed by the "Brattle-

borough Typographic Company." He was also of the firm Hall & Fessenden, agents of the Vermont Mutual Fire Insurance Company, established in 1828; later of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company and in 1847 of the New England Health Insurance Company. He married December 20, 1832, Henrietta A., eldest daughter of Major Henry Smith, born October 31, 1813.

He received his commission as brigadier-general in 1834.

General Fessenden was a valuable member of society, highly esteemed for his many noble qualities, and died in Brattleboro, much lamented, January 2, 1863. Mrs. Fessenden died at Menasha, Wisconsin (April 2, 1884), where she had moved with her family in 1869. Children:

William Alfred and Joseph, died in 1834 and 1836, each being one year of age.

Frederick Holbrook, born January 6, 1837; killed in battle near Nashville, Tennessee, December 16, 1864.

Jane R. S., born November 26, 1838; married April 11, 1861, Edward F. Wright of New Auburn, Minnesota; died July 9, 1866.

Ann Elizabeth, born September 2, 1841; married October 14, 1869, Charles E. Judson of Ansonia, Connecticut; he died December, 1912.

Harriet Augusta, born November 4, 1844; married October 15, 1868, A. Duane Clinton of Menasha, Wisconsin.

Thomas Kendall, born July 22, 1849; died April 3, 1915.

James Craig, born June 24, 1854; died December 30, 1869, of cholera at Zanzibar.

Mary Chester, born August 12, 1859; married October 27, 1886, George L. Borden of Oshkosh, Wisconsin.

Sophia W., died August, 1890.

Reverend Thomas R. Fessenden, born September 10, 1813, began his studies with Reverend E. H. Newton and continued them at Phillips Exeter Academy and at Pittsfield, Massachusetts; he graduated from Williams College in 1833, after which he studied theology at Andover, Yale and Princeton; he was licensed by the Windham Association and served as pastor in Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York State until 1854. He married October 23, 1839, Miss Nancy Cowles of Farmington, Connecticut.

He was a member of the Connecticut Legislature three years; established an Industrial School for girls in Connecticut; raised $300,000 for Hampton Institute, Virginia; and gave himself to every good work in Farmington, Connecticut, where he died January 10, 1894.

Jane Wells, born August 24, 1815; married Doctor Joseph Clark of San Francisco; died July 9, 1896.

Elizabeth Porter, born July 5, 1817; noted for personal beauty, and superior mental qualities; died with consumption July 28, 1836.

William Alfred, born May 27, 1819, was drowned in the Connecticut River, opposite the village, August 2, 1826. His body, and that of another lad, Andrew Jackson Shattuck, were taken from the water by some members of a circus troupe, at that time near the river making preparations for their exhibition.

### Thomas Green Fessenden

was born at Walpole, New Hampshire, in 1771. He graduated at Dartmouth in 1796, and immediately thereafter entered upon the study of law at Rutland, Vermont, with Nathaniel Chipman, with whom he afterward formed a partnership and practiced for about a year. During his residence at college he had evinced a rare literary taste, and had attracted some attention by the publication of a Yankee ballad entitled "Jonathan's Courtship," so that while pursuing his law studies he frequently contributed to the columns of *The Farmer's Weekly Museum*. One of his earliest productions, an ode to the new year, 1798, is quoted by Buckingham in his "Newspaper Reminiscences"; he says it filled a whole page of *The Museum*. It opens thus:

Old Time, a persevering codger,
Like debtor dunned, a nimble dodger,
Who, having scampered one inch by you,
Will never afterward come nigh you.

Another, published the same year and in the same paper, was designed to celebrate an event which did not come off according to the program laid out. The old frigate *Constitution* was finished, and a day appointed for her launch. A large crowd assembled, expecting to see her glide gently to her future home; but some defect in the apparatus designed to assist her seaward held her fast to the stocks, and the exhibition had to be postponed. Fessenden thus refers to the circumstance:

But man is under contribution
To sing the frigate Constitution,
Lest this our pithy ode be lost on
Commercial wits and tars of Boston.
Bostonians built a stately frigate,

And undertook to man and rig it;
The aforesaid frigate, on a day
Appointed, was to glide away.
The wished-for day arrived, when lo!
Miss Constitution would not go.

For two years preceding 1801 he was constantly employed in his legal practice and as a contributor to the columns of *The Museum*. In 1801 he became interested in a hydraulic hoisting machine, and, a company having been formed in this state, he accepted the foreign agency and immediately sailed for Europe. Arriving in London, he found that his machine was in common use there, thus at once destroying all prospect of the pecuniary reward he hoped to gain by its introduction. He very soon engaged in another enterprise, which had recently been set on foot by an American then in the city—namely, the building of a mill to be run by the waters of the Thames. For what purpose this mill was to be used is not ascertainable; but at the outset it was endorsed by leading capitalists, including the Lord Mayor, and Fessenden invested his entire fortune in the business. He struggled along, bearing a large share of the embarrassments and disappointments incident to the inauguration of a new mechanical contrivance, for nearly two years, when the enterprise collapsed through lack of funds to push it farther. Meanwhile he had become acquainted with Mr. Benjamin Perkins, who had recently set all London agog over the wonderful cures performed by his metallic tractors. These tractors—which, by the way, were the invention of Dr. Elisha Perkins of Norwich, Connecticut (born 1741),—were metallic instruments shaped like a mariner's compass, and when allowed to come in contact with the body, were, in theory, capable of attracting or drawing out all disease, near and remote, that might be lurking in the system. The success of the tractors in this country induced the son of the inventor to cross the water with them, and it was he whom Fessenden met in London. The tractors had proved to be the fashionable novelty of the day, and Perkins's office was always crowded with patients awaiting treatment at his hands. As a natural result he was frowned upon by the members of the recognized medical faculty, and his "quackish methods" denounced in no measured terms. Fessenden, either from a friendly desire to defend Perkins against assaults he deemed uncalled for (as it is evident he had faith in the virtue of the tractors), or else seeing in the doctors' war an opportunity to reach the public mind at a favorable moment and thus secure what he probably needed—funds—did, in the summer of 1803, publish a volume entitled "Terrible Tractoration," a poem in four cantos. It proved a success, and rapidly passed through three editions, returning to the author a compensation far beyond his

expectations. Of the character and merits of the work his friend Hawthorne says: "The poem professes to be a poetical petition from Dr. Christopher Caustic, a medical gentleman who has been ruined by the success of the metallic tractors, and who applies to the Royal College of Surgeons for relief. The wits of the poor doctor have been somewhat shattered by his misfortunes, and with crazy ingenuity he manages to heap ridicule on his medical brethren while railing against Perkinism. The first canto is most characteristic of the author. It is occupied with Dr. Caustic's description of his mechanical and scientific contrivances, embracing all sorts of possible and impossible projects, every one of which has a ridiculous plausibility. The inexhaustible variety in which they flow forth prove the author unrivalled in his way." Daniel Webster, in reviewing the work in 1805, says of it: "In commending it we are only subscribing to the opinions expressed by the people of another country. To be behind that country in our appreciation of his merits were a stigma; it is pardonable to go beyond it. National vanity may be a folly, but national ingratitude is a crime. It belongs to that class of productions which have the good fortune to escape what Johnson angrily but too justly denominates the general conspiracy of human nature against contemporary merit." It passed through three editions in this country, the last appearing in 1836.

In 1804 Fessenden returned to New York, and for the next four years was engaged in a variety of literary enterprises. His chief work during this period (published in Philadelphia) was a political satire entitled "Democracy Unveiled, or Tyranny Stripped of the Garb of Patriotism." Like his previous effort, "Terrible Tractoration," it at once became popular. It lashed the Democrats with an unsparing hand, and copious footnotes laid bare every political scheme then on foot. In the latter part of the year 1806 he began the publication in New York of a sixteen-page quarto sheet. This too was political in character and lived only about a year. A quotation from this sheet, taken from his New Year ode for 1807, emphasizes the oft-asserted fact that history repeats itself, and shows that the same material for political weapons that we use now was in existence at that time. Of our navy Fessenden writes:

> Of ships of war we cannot one float,
> Save now and then a *hog-backed* gunboat;
> With such, if bridged the Atlantic o'er,
> They could not match a seventy-four;
> A frigate blessed with any breeze,
> Would run down fleets of them with ease;
> Nor could their means of molestation
> The least impede her navigation.

In 1808 he came to Brattleboro and engaged with his brother William in editing and publishing *The Reporter*. He resided here and at Bellows Falls, where he for a short time edited a paper, until 1822, when he went to Boston and became editor of *The New England Farmer*. During his residence in this section he was constantly occupied with his pen. He published two legal works, a dictionary of agriculture and "The Lady's Monitor," a poem devoted to the consideration of female education, and he was continually called upon for New Year odes and Fourth of July addresses. Here Mr. Fessenden won the affection and the esteem of all who knew him by the simplicity and amenity of his manners, his generous and frank nature and his strict integrity. He was remarkable for his good nature, and many are the sallies of his wit remembered by his friends. His generosity of heart knew no bounds. The following little incident illustrates his utter thoughtlessness of self when this quality was called into exercise. When he first removed to Brattleboro—an entire stranger to most of the inhabitants—he took a morning walk, and coming to the toll bridge found there a poor family whom the gate-tender had stopped for want of money. Fessenden at once emptied his pocket of all the change he happened to have and let them through, passing along with them. On his return he found himself in a like situation, and it was not without some parleying and explanation that he succeeded in getting through.

Buckingham says of him: "He had the book of Yankee Comparisons always at the nib of his pen, and quotes from Tabitha Towzer, which you will, I think, agree with him is ludicrously rich in sportive metaphor:"

My Tabitha Towzer is fair,
  No guinea pig ever was neater,
Like a hackmatak slender and spare,
  And sweet as a muskrat or sweeter.
My Tabitha Towzer is sleek,
  When dressed in her pretty new tucker,
Like an otter that paddles the creek,
  In quest of a pout or a sucker!

After assuming charge of *The Farmer* he gave up political writing and devoted his whole time to the interests of agriculture. The paper obtained an extensive circulation, and its editor became known to the yeomen of the United States as authority on all subjects pertaining to their interests.

The active part of his life was spent at a period when it was contemptuously asserted by foreign reviewers that America had no literature, and though the productions of his pen at that time were of a transitory character, yet he contributed his mite in replying to the question that has since

been triumphantly answered, Who ever reads an American book? This tribute is from Hawthorne:

On the 13th of November, 1837, while on my way to Boston expecting shortly to take him by the hand, a letter met me with an invitation to the funeral. He had been struck with apoplexy on Friday, three days before, and had lain insensible till Saturday night, when he expired. The burial took place at Mount Auburn on the ensuing Tuesday. It was a gloomy day, for the first snow storm of the season had been drifting through the air since morning and the Garden of Graves looked the dreariest spot on earth. The snow came down so fast that it covered the coffin in its passage from the hearse to the sepulchre. The few male friends who had followed to the cemetery descended into the tomb, and it was there that I took my last glance at the features of a man who will hold a place in my remembrance apart from other men. He was like no other. In his long pathway from the cradle to the place we had now laid him, he had come—a man, indeed, in intellect and achievement—but in guileless simplicity a child. Dark would have been the hour, if, when we closed the door of the tomb upon his perishing mortality, we had believed our friend was there.

Other publications of Thomas Green Fessenden:

Oration at Rutland, Vt., July 4, 1798. Together with an ode adapted to that occasion. Printed at Rutland by Josiah Fay, 1798.

The American Clerk's Companion, and Attorney, Prompter. Printed by John Holbrook, Brattleborough, 1815.

The Husbandman and Housewife. A collection of valuable Receipts and Directions, relating to Agriculture and Domestic Economy. Bellows Falls, Bill Blake & Co., 1820.

The American Annual Register of Public Events; Vol. III. Fessenden & Co.'s Series for 1831-32. Fessenden, Brattleborough, 1833.

The American Gardener. Boston, 1828. 1832. N. Y. 1852.

Essay on the Law of Patents, and New Industries. Boston, 1810. 1822.

### Joseph Steen

Joseph Steen was the son of James Steen who was born in Malpos, Cheshire County, six miles from Chester, England, May 19, 1761. He was a landholder, and by trade a housebuilder. In December, 1785, he married Elizabeth Wood, who was a native of Chester. In 1793 political troubles caused the taxes to be so great upon real estate that rents were not enough to pay them; the "press-gang" also went about the country,

enlisting men peacefully if they could, but otherwise forcibly, for the army and navy.

James Steen sold his property, receiving therefor but little more than enough to pay the expenses of his removal. On recommendation from a Mr. Nelson of London, to Kirk Booth, Esquire, of Boston—whom he luckily found aboard the ship *Galen* on the passage—he obtained from Mr. Booth a letter of introduction to Reverend William Wells, D.D., then but a short time settled in Brattleboro, Vermont. He settled in this village in 1795, living at first in the old Dickerman house on the point where Doctor Hamilton now lives. He died February 27, 1826, aged sixty-eight.

His son, Joseph Steen, was born in this village March 2, 1797. He worked at housebuilding with his father until 1814, when he commenced learning the trade of a printer under William Fessenden, and remained with the publishing house of Holbrook & Fessenden until 1828. That year he purchased of Thomas & Woodcock the right to sell in the state of New York a "pulp dresser," and for the two following years he was engaged in selling and installing it in the paper mills of that state.

He married January 5, 1821, Eliza L. Miller, who died October 25, 1881, aged eighty-one.

James Steen built the house in which the long life of his son and the lives of his family were passed.

Joseph Steen's quiet operations in the book and stationery business continued from 1830, when he bought of George H. Peck one-half of the bookstore and bindery business, but the next year dissolved partnership with Peck and took simply the bookstore and stationery business into his hands. His shop was on the corner of Main and High Streets, "Steen's Corner," and subsequently, 1858, on the opposite side of Main Street.

Printing was hard work in those days, being done by hand power stimulated by alcohol in the form of whiskey blackstrap, rum or rye gin. For being a solitary exception in a total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, Mr. Steen was ridiculed by his fellow workmen; but he lived to see nearly all of them in drunkards' graves. Near the printing office was a whiskey distillery, constantly sending into the atmosphere a delightful aroma, while the old presses were as constantly sending forth into the same atmosphere, "The Mysteries of Udolpho," "Scottish Chiefs," "Alonzo and Melissa," "Democracy Unveiled," "Paul and Virginia," "Romance of the Forest," etc.[1] But when he reached manhood he was known to declaim in a public lyceum against novel reading; and in 1830 he was foremost in organizing a temperance society in this village.

[1] Peter Parley's Arithmetic, with numerous engravings, was printed by Joseph Steen.

Mr. Steen made some approach to obeying the scriptural command, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." He read Paine's "Age of Reason," but could not become an infidel.

In 1838 he tried Democracy under Van Buren's administration, and for a short time was editor and proprietor of *The Windham County Democrat,* years afterwards—until 1847—conducted by George W. Nichols. This experiment worked upon him as harmlessly as did Paine's "Age of Reason." In 1840 he was editor of *The Flail,* a Whig campaign paper, which had a circulation of five thousand copies per week. This paper was published by William E. Ryther, later of Bernardston, Massachusetts.

Mr. Steen was the last agent appointed here for paying pensions to soldiers of the Revolution of 1776, having continued that duty until the last one died.

He was appointed assignee in bankruptcy for Windham County in 1844; justice of the peace in 1848; selectman, 1854-1855; school committee, first chosen to put in operation the graded school system in 1841. He was prominent in advocating school reform by effective remarks to the assembled voters of the district. He was severely censured by a wealthy man in this place for his action respecting the schools, but neither wealth nor position could ever close his mouth. He was always ready to sell books, but never his principles.

His early struggles with poverty, his prudence, economy and self-culture under difficulties—never having attended school over five months—and being by trade a printer, remind us, in these respects, of Benjamin Franklin.

In July, 1881, he sold his bookstore to W. H. Geddis.

He died August 11, 1881.

Children:

Edward T., of San Francisco, California, married Miss Margaret N. Whitcher of New York, 1856.

Doctor William C., died in Bennington, March 4, 1862, aged thirty-eight.

Annie E., born July 4, 1834; married E. E. Flint; died December 5, 1915. Children: Ethel Steen, died ——; Mrs. Robert W. Murphy of Arlington, Massachusetts.

Joseph F., of San Francisco, married Miss Laura J. Flye.

Susan B., daughter of Jonathan and Hannah (Butterfield) Salisbury, who was born October 25, 1805, in the house on the east side of the road north of the Asylum, for many years following her school days was employed in Holbrook & Fessenden's printing office, and also worked for Joseph Steen. In 1869 she went to Hartford to make a home for a

cousin, Edson Fessenden, president of the Ætna Insurance Company, and with him she remained nineteen years. She returned to Brattleboro and lived to the age of ninety-eight, with her sister, Mary C.; she died December 27, 1903.

Her will, besides bequests to relatives, contained substantial benefactions for the Centre Church, the American Board of Foreign Missions and the Brattleboro Home for the Aged and Disabled.

### Honorable John Noyes of West Brattleboro

Prominent among the citizens of Windham County in the early part of the present century was Honorable John Noyes of West Brattleboro. Born at Atkinson, New Hampshire, April 2, 1764, he was fifth in the line of descent from Nicholas Noyes, one of the early settlers of Massachusetts, and inherited the aptitude for learning which belonged to his ancestry. After graduating at Dartmouth, 1779, he became a tutor in the college and was instructor in the class of Daniel Webster. (Mr. Webster, in the time of his fame, visited Dartmouth College, and held a "reception." Among the students presented to him was John H. Noyes, who was introduced as a son of his former tutor. "I wish," said Mr. Webster, taking the student's hand, "that I could do you as much good as your father did to me.") Mr. Noyes's attention turned to theological study, and he prepared himself for the ministry; finding it unsuited to his health, he returned to teaching, and had charge for some years of Chesterfield (New Hampshire) Academy.

In 1800 he removed to Brattleboro and engaged in mercantile business with General Jonas Mann. Their store was in West Brattleboro. As the business of the firm increased, it drew in other partners and extended its operations to other towns—under the name of Noyes & Mann in Brattleboro, 1813, or Noyes, Mann & Hayes, 1812-1820, in Wilmington and Whitingham. (John Noyes was one of the richest men in Windham County.) A principal article of produce in these towns was potash, exchanged for goods at the store—tea, coffee, tobacco, calico and plain stuffs, together with the "mug of flip," the common attendant of every bargain. Nearly all classes then drank liquor, from the ministers and magistrates down.

At forty years of age Mr. Noyes married Miss Polly Hayes, by whom he had nine children. After serving in the State Legislature, 1808, 1810, 1811, 1812, he was elected to Congress from the southern district of Vermont in 1815 and entered the House of Representatives as fellow member with Clay, Randolph and other celebrities, of whom he was fond of telling anecdotes in after life.

In 1812-1817 Mr. Noyes had in Dummerston a store, Noyes & Hayes,

which was on the north side of the old meeting-house, west of the road, in 1791, and was moved to the present site in 1795. Austin Birchard succeeded Rutherford Hayes in 1817, when the firm became Noyes & Birchard; this firm dissolved in 1819. When Roger Birchard entered as partner the firm became A. & R. Birchard. Mr. Noyes removed to Dummerston and continued to reside there until 1821, when, having acquired what he deemed a competence, he retired from active business to a farm in Putney, and occupied himself mainly thereafter in superintending the education of his children.

Mr. Noyes died in Putney October 26, 1841.

The Noyes house was built by Simeon Colby in 1794. Ebenezer Nash and Asa Black were subsequent owners. Honorable John Noyes and R. Hayes bought the house October 27, 1814; the Knights, in 1827.

An oration delivered in Brattleboro July 4, 1811, by John Noyes, Esquire, was published in Brattleboro by William Fessenden in 1811.

Children:

Mary J., born September 16, 1806; married June 8, 1829, Larkin G. Mead and lived in Brattleboro. (See p. 542.)

Joanna S., born September 10, 1807; married August 14, 1833, Samuel, youngest son of Ezekiel Hayes II.

Elizabeth F., born September 16, 1809; married June 28, 1831, Doctor Farnsworth E. Ransom, and had three children.

John Humphrey, born in West Brattleboro September 3, 1811; educated at the Academy there before removal to Putney. (See p. 519.)

Horatio S., born April 16, 1815; Yale, 1835; married May 24, 1843, Mary Augusta, daughter of Honorable David Chandler of Saxtons River. He was a banker in Springfield. She died February 22, 1855. He married, second, May 19, 1857, Abbie S., daughter of Charles Woodman of Arlington, Massachusetts. Children:

Edward H., born September 18, 1844; graduated from Norwich University, went to Chicago in 1864, and was of the firm E. H. Noyes & Company, grain merchants, a member of the Chicago Board of Trade; married October 4, 1870, Cornelia, daughter of John G. Hamilton. He died November 3, 1914. Children: William Hamilton Noyes, Albert Hamilton Noyes.

Charlotte Augusta, born in Brattleboro December 29, 1846; died 1851.

Charles Rutherford, born April 16, 1858; U. S. Military Academy, 1879; second lieutenant, ninth infantry, U. S. A.

William Stacy, born August 4, 1859, of E. H. Noyes & Company.

Mary Louisa, born August 10, 1861.

Harriet Hayes, born July 5, 1817; married March 3, 1841, John L. Skinner; had one son.

Charlotte Augusta, born in Dummerston March 2, 1819; married September 7, 1841, John R. Miller of Putney; had two children.

George Washington, born December 4, 1822; married July 12, 1847, Helen, daughter of Alexander Campbell of Putney; had four sons.

### General Jonas Mann

General Jonas Mann, born 1768; married Mary, daughter of Joseph and Roxanna (Miller) Negus of Dummerston. (William Negus and Joseph Negus were among the early settlers of Dummerston.) They lived in West Brattleboro, in the house now occupied by Miss Susan E. Clark, and General Mann owned most of the land of the present village. He was general of militia. He was on the board of directors of the old bank from 1822 to 1829. He removed in 1823 to Syracuse, New York, where he engaged successfully in business and where his generosity and liberality towards every educational and religious effort for the advancement of the people, made him one of the formative influences of that city.

He died in 1831, leaving four children, of whom Mary A., born in Brattleboro March 22, 1815, inherited the best characteristics of her father and mother, being unusually gentle and refined, yet possessing great strength of character and common sense.

She completed her education at Mrs. Willard's School, Troy, and soon after met a young graduate of West Point, detained at Syracuse by illness contracted when on his way to join his regiment in the Black Hawk War. The result was that in May, 1833, at the age of eighteen, she was married to Lieutenant Randolph B. Marcy, then only twenty-one years of age. He was born in Greenwich, Massachusetts, April 9, 1812, and graduated from West Point in 1832.

She followed the fortunes of her husband with courage and cheerfulness in long journeys attended by discomfort to army posts—at first to Fort Howard, on Green Bay, Wisconsin, where they passed four years, to Fort Winnebago for two years, and to Fort Gratiot, Michigan—but was often separated from him, waiting in army posts for his return from frontier achievements.

After 1852, when he was sent on an expedition to explore the Red River, she returned again to friends at home. He was absent on duty when she died, January 29, 1878, in Baltimore, where her later years were spent. Although in the highest and best sense an accomplished woman of the world, she preserved to the last a guileless simplicity of thought and action.

In Florida against the Seminole Indians in 1857, in Utah against the

Mormons, promotion came to her husband. He was promoted to the rank of major and made paymaster of the northwestern posts. On the outbreak of the Civil War Major Marcy was made General McClellan's chief of staff; was promoted colonel and inspector-general August 9, 1861; served with General McClellan in campaigns in West Virginia, on the Peninsula and in Maryland, being made brigadier-general of volunteers September 23, 1861.

He was finally made inspector-general of the United States Army with rank of brigadier-general to date from December 12, 1878. He continued in this office up to January 2, 1881, the date of his retirement after forty years of service.

He died in Orange Mountain, New Jersey, November 22, 1887.

Their daughter, Ellen Mary, born in Green Bay, Wisconsin, became the wife of General George McClellan, and was a woman of great social distinction, in Europe as in her own country. Fanny married Doctor Taylor.

General and Mrs. Marcy came many times to Brattleboro to visit her birthplace, and General and Mrs. McClellan were guests at the Water-Cure after the Civil War.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### NOTABLE EARLY SETTLERS—(CONTINUED)

Chief Justice Royall Tyler ("The Contrast," Description of Earliest Village from autobiography of Madame Royall Tyler, Literary Society)—Honorable Oliver Chapin—Captain Samuel Root—Ezra Clark—Nathan B. Williston—Honorable Jonathan Hunt—Asa Green—Grindall R. Ellis—Reverend Alonzo Church, D.D. —Eccentric persons: Jimmie Barnes and Sukie, his wife.

#### TYLER FAMILY—CHIEF JUSTICE ROYALL TYLER

Chief Justice Royall Tyler was the son of Royall Tyler, whose father, William Tyler (born March 15, 1688, died July 1, 1755), married December 7, 1710, Sarah Royall (born September 23, 1688, died April, 1740), daughter of Joseph and Mary Royall. William Tyler married, second, Jane, daughter of William and Margery Bray Pepperell, who was a sister of Sir William Pepperell.

ROYALL TYLER was born in Boston, Massachusetts, July 18, 1757. His family was wealthy and influential, giving him favorable opportunities for intellectual culture. His father, Royall Tyler, Senior, was a man of marked ability, and a graduate of Harvard College at nineteen years, and soon after engaged in mercantile business in company with his brother-in-law, Samuel Phillips Savage. He was a member of the King's Council from 1765 until his death in 1771. As such the name of Royall Tyler, Senior, appears upon the most important committees, during the long contest between the General Court and Governors Bernard and Hutchinson, occasioned by the Stamp Act, the quartering of the troops in Boston, and the removal of the General Court sessions to Cambridge. As the spokesman of the committee, he demanded of the governor the removal of the troops from Boston.

Amid the excitement, agitation and tumults of this period his son Royall was growing to boyhood. The fireworks, processions, pealing of bells and salvos of artillery which marked the brief intoxication of loyalty, on the repeal of the Stamp Act, was to him a childish, though vivid memory, and he was a lad fitting for college at the grammar school when the same bells sounded the tocsin of alarm on the fearful night of the "Boston massacre." Notwithstanding the political agitation of the times and heavy taxation, amounting often to more than one-third of their income, the family enjoyed twelve years of prosperity and domestic quiet. The next year, Mary, the eldest daughter, died, aged eighteen, and in

May, 1771, Royall Tyler, Senior, closed his honorable career at forty-eight years. He was buried in the tomb built by his father in the churchyard of King's Chapel. It is situated on the westerly side of the ground adjoining the sidewalk of Tremont Street, and is covered with a slab sculptured with the coat of arms of the family.

At Commencement, July 15, 1772, Royall Tyler entered the freshman class of Harvard College, being then within three days of his fifteenth year. His class seems to have been an able one, numbering among others, who afterwards distinguished themselves, Chief Justices Sewall and Thacher, and Christopher Gore, governor and United States senator of Massachusetts. The latter was his roommate, and many years after, Judge Tyler, while driving with his son down into Maine, pointed out a house where he and Gore spent some weeks, having been rusticated by the faculty for an unlucky *contretemps* in which they had involved themselves. Their room was over the front door of one of the college halls, and from the window they had thrown down a line with a hook properly baited, endeavoring thereon to catch one of a litter of pigs in the yard below. Intently watching the issue of this experiment, they failed to notice the approach of the Reverend and austere President Langdon, until he had ascended the steps, removed his cocked hat, and was wiping his forehead. The line was pulled up with a sudden jerk, in the hope that he might not see from whose window it came; but alas, swinging across the doorway in its quick ascent, the hook caught the wig of the venerable doctor and brought it up with a run. Aside from the unlucky result of his fishing for pigs, the only punishment recorded during his whole course was a fine of sixpence for abusing a library book.

Royall Tyler graduated in July, 1776, completing his collegiate course in his nineteenth year, while the country was in a delirium of hope and fear of its first month of independent existence. No record is known to exist of his comparative standing in his class. His reputation, however, for wit, genius and elegant scholarship had already extended beyond the walls of Harvard. He was recognized in the cultivated circles of Boston as the brilliant scion of a prominent family; and Yale, as a compliment, perhaps unprecedented, this same year, almost simultaneously with his Alma Mater, bestowed on him the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He commenced at once the study of law with the Honorable Francis Dana of Cambridge. For the three years succeeding he pursued his professional studies, mingled with more congenial literary occupations and the pleasures of social intercourse. A remarkably brilliant set of young men, contemporaries and intimates in college, formed a club, which met statedly at the rooms of Colonel John Trumbull, the young soldier and painter. Among those of this coterie who became distinguished in after life, beside

Royall Tyler

ROYALL TYLER'S HOUSE . GUILFORD

COCKAYNE BOSTON

Be it remembered that at Middlebury this
20th January 1809 appeared Ebenezer Langdon
of Castleton and acknowledged himself Indebted
to James Hecock of Lansingburgh County of Rens-
alier State of New York in the sum of Two hundred
Dollars for the prosecution of a Writ of Error of this
Date - wherein Jonah Churchill of Hubbardton is Pf
and the said Hecock Deft this Writ is Returnable
to Sup. Court Rutl. County Jany Term 1810 -
and is brought to reverse a Judge rendered by
the County Court Rutland County on the third monday
of Novr 1808 for the sum of $96 - 96 Dam $13.17
in an Actn upon [illegible] in which
first said Hecock was Pf and said Churchill
Deft - taken in due form of Law before
me

Royall Tyler Chief Judge
Sup Court

(TWO THIRDS SIZE OF ORIGINAL)

COCKAYNE BOSTON

Christopher Gore and himself, were Rufus King, subsequently delegate to the American Congress, United States senator and ambassador to England; William Eustis, governor of Massachusetts, member of Congress and secretary of war; Aaron Dexter, professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica at Harvard, and Thomas Dawes, justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Such a youthful company must have been an efficient mutual stimulus to intellectual exertion, and we do not wonder that Colonel Trumbull recalls, with pleasure, the evenings when in his studio they "regaled themselves with a cup of tea, instead of wine, and discussed subjects of literature, politics and war." He also mentions his having painted, at this time, a portrait two-thirds length, of Royall Tyler. This picture, which would now be so invaluable, both for the sake of the artist and the subject, was unfortunately lost some thirty years afterwards, destroyed by fire.

Tyler, when a gay gallant of twenty, in scarlet coat and shortclothes, entered the house of his friend, Mrs. Joseph Pearce Palmer of Boston, and took from her arms her infant child (Mary Palmer) and said, "This child will become my wife." Time verified his prophecy. In the varied and in the elevated departments of human effort—in the pulpit, at the bar, mercantile and teachers' desks—her children have proved the character of their maternal parentage. That mother, who was little Mary Palmer, was seated in her mother's arms at the dining table of General Joseph Warren when he partook of his last dinner, and received the parting hand from his most intimate friends for the last time, before marching to his death on Bunker Hill. The story as related near 1830 by the aged Mrs. Palmer has been recorded. She said: "My husband was an early associate and intimate friend of Joseph Warren, therefore we, with other of his friends, were invited to dine with him, as he said, 'for the last time.'" Beautiful in her old age, seemingly, as Madame Récamier, with swimming eyes and trembling lips she continued: "Joseph Warren was an ardent patriot, an accomplished scholar, elegant in manners, universally beloved, and was the idol of Boston. After dinner, we all and each begged and prayed that he would not go to the battle-field; but vainly did we try to move him; he firmly believed the cause demanded the sacrifice of his life, and he must obey that demand. Amidst the flames, constant roar of artillery, and panic-stricken inhabitants, I fled from the city with my little Mary crying and clinging to my bosom."

When a girl of fourteen, Mary Palmer accompanied the family of Elbridge Gerry to New York, where she witnessed the inauguration of Washington, April 30, 1789.

Mr. Tyler was admitted to the bar in 1779, at the most gloomy period of the War of Independence. The business of Boston had been nearly

ruined by the British occupation and the siege, while the presence of hostile fleets on the coast still prevented its revival. Such commerce as was possible had been driven to the more distant parts of Maine, where the building of vessels for the privateering service also contributed to the activities of trade. This seems to have induced him, in the first instance, to establish himself at Falmouth (now Portland), a town which, having been burned by the enemy three years before, was rapidly rising from its ashes. His residence there was brief, and would not have been known to the writer, but for a notice of him in Willis's "History of the Law, the Courts, and the Lawyers of Maine," which states that "Royall Tyler came to Falmouth in 1779. He was a fine scholar and an accomplished man. He continued but about two years in our state. After studying law he became aide-de-camp to General Sullivan during the Revolution and took part in the attack on Newport."

The improving prospect of peace and the revival of business soon made it expedient for Mr. Tyler to return to the vicinity of Boston. He removed to Quincy, then called Braintree, with the intention of identifying himself permanently with the interests of the place. He purchased landed property there, and is mentioned by its local historian as one of the first who endeavored to supply the pressing want of water power by erecting a windmill on an original plan of his own. Popular as a lawyer, and admired as a wit, his neighbors seem nevertheless to have lacked confidence in his skill as a millwright. They made his undertaking a butt of their ridicule. Meeting one day the minister of the village, from whom he hoped for a more favorable judgment, he asked what he thought of his mill. "Very ingenious," replied the parson, "and in theory undoubtedly correct. When I was young, I built one just like it, and the only fault it had, was that it would not go." Such proved to be the case with Mr. Tyler's also.

The measures taken to suppress Shays's Rebellion engaged Mr. Tyler once more in military service. January 19, 1787, Major-General Benjamin Lincoln took command of the state of Massachusetts. He appointed Royall Tyler his aid-de-camp, with the title of major, and in the heart of one of the coldest of New England winters took the field, pressing on with all speed, to save the arsenal at Springfield. The fortnight following the defeat of the rebels was spent in vigorous pursuit of them through the blustering storms of winter over the hills of Berkshire, covered with two feet of snow, into New York and "the territory called Vermont." Major Tyler, with a troop of cavalry, was actively employed in this service.

The energetic coöperation of the authorities of the bordering states entirely paralyzed the action of the fugitives. They meekly acknowledged

their error and sued for pardon of their crimes. Special terms of court were held for trial of those in custody. Fourteen were condemned to death for high treason, and many more to imprisonment, fines, whipping and the pillory. The submission of the rebels was, however, so complete that the government felt itself strong enough to be merciful. None of the sentences were executed, and before the summer was over an act of general amnesty was passed. Even Shays himself was permitted to return home unmolested. He soon removed to Sparta, New York, where he died in 1825.

After this stirring episode in his life, Mr. Tyler returned to his law office in Boston. He evidently kept up his acquaintance and correspondence with those gentlemen whom he met at Bennington. The following letter, from one of the most distinguished men of Vermont, we copy:

BENNINGTON, 28 Aug., 1787.

Sir:—You find, by this time, I dare say, that the government of this State has been very friendly to yours. Such persons as have been criminals, and have acted against law and society in general, and have come from your State to this, we send back to you; and others, who have only took part with Shays, we govern by our laws, so that they do not and dare not make any inroads or devastations in Massachusetts. As to the appendix to the Oracles of Reason, should you procure £18 or £20 by subscription, in ready money, it shall be published next spring.

I am, sir, with respect,
Your humble servant,
ETHAN ALLEN.

To Maj. Tyler.

During the year 1788, Mr. Tyler remained in Boston, engaged in the practice of law, and no doubt in literary pursuits, although no production of this date can be found. The care of the family property had been left to him, and must have occupied much of his time. An incident connected with this is among the few that can be recalled. Tyler lane, or alley, had, in a former generation, been opened from Ann Street, through the family estate to the town dock, to be held and used by the public for that purpose only. The town authorities, having determined to close the lane, proceeded, against Mr. Tyler's protest, to move a small wooden building upon the ground. Nearly forty years afterwards, his son, General John S. Tyler, brought a successful suit for the recovery of this land. An old man was found who remembered distinctly that when a long line of men and boys were moving the building, by a rope attached to it, Royall Tyler stood on the boundary of this land, forbidding their moving it across the line; that he had an axe in his hand, and, as they did not stop, with one

blow he cut the rope, letting those who were pulling at it go headlong, with shouts and laughter, to the ground.

At this period the wonderful acting of Garrick and Siddons, and the success of Dr. Goldsmith and others as writers of comedy, had revived in England a taste for the drama. In our larger cities the stage was well supported, even Boston having so far overcome the prejudices of Puritanism as to fill the old Federal Street Theatre with its wit and fashion. Mr. Tyler was intimate with the managers and principal actors of this establishment, and became much interested in dramatic literature and art.

No American play had yet been produced on the regular stage, and urged by these friends, he resolved to attempt a comedy which should have the elements of success as an acting drama, and also be strictly national in plot and characters. The field was in good measure clear before him. The typical Yankee, especially now so familiar, had not yet appeared on the stage or in print.

The general plan which he adopted and which led to distinguished success, was to contrast the homely, honest plainness of our native character and breeding with the polished, tinseled hypocrisy and villainy of foreign fashionable society. His dramatis personæ naturally disposed themselves in pairs: the two gentlemen and their two menservants, the two mistresses and their two maids, etc., and each pair being in marked contrast one with the other suggested "The Contrast" as an apt title to the play.

Here is a transcript of the title-page:

THE CONTRAST,
A Comedy; in Five Acts:
Written by
A Citizen of the United States:
Performed with Applause at the Theatres in New York, Philadelphia, and Maryland; and published (under an Assignment of the Copy Right)
By THOMAS WIGNELL.

Primus ego in patriam
Aonic—deduxi vertice Mufas.—Virgil.
(Imitated.)
First on our shores I try Thalia's powers,
And bid the *laughing, useful* Maid be ours.

Philadelphia:
From the Press of Prichard & Hall, in Market St.,
Between Second and Front Streets.
M. DCCC. XC.

The dedication runs as follows:

As a Just Acknowledgement of the Liberal Exertions by
which the Stage has been rescued from an Ignominious Proscription,
THE CONTRAST,
(Being the First Essay of American Genius in the Dramatic Art)
Is Most Respectfully Dedicated
TO
The PRESIDENT and MEMBERS of the
Dramatic Association,
by
Their Most Obliged
and
Most Grateful Servant,
THOMAS WIGNELL.

Philadelphia.
1 January, 1790.

The second of the three paragraphs of the "Advertisement" or prelude is interesting. It reads: "In justice to the author, however, it may be proper to observe, that this comedy has many claims to public indulgence, independent of its intrinsic merits. It is the first essay of American genius in a different species of composition; it was written by one who never critically studied the rules of the drama, and, indeed, had seen but a few of the exhibitions on the stage; it was undertaken and finished in the course of three weeks; and the profits of one night's performance were appropriated to the benefit of the sufferers by the fire at Boston."

Many of the most distinguished public men of the day are found in the published list of subscribers to this edition of the comedy, among them George Washington; Aaron Burr; Charles Carroll of Maryland; Roger Chew; A. J. Dallas of Philadelphia; William Falkener, Virginia; Peter Freneau, Esquire, Charleston; Reverend Ralph Higginbotham; Thomas Hull, Esquire, London; H. Knox, Esquire, Secretary of War; His Excellency Thomas Mifflin, President of the State of Pennsylvania; Honorable Robert Morris; Jonathan Pinckney; Nicholas G. Rutgers, Esquire; Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General; Major-General Baron Steuben; William Smallwood, Esquire, late Governor of Massachusetts; Jonathan Trumbull, Esquire, of New York; Prosper Wetmore, etc., etc.

The prologue, "written by a young gentleman of New York, and spoken by Mr. Wignell," is not too long or dull to copy:

Exult each patriot heart!—this night is shown
A piece, which we may fairly call our own;
Where the proud titles of "My Lord! Your Grace!"
To humble Mr. and plain Sir give place.
Our author pictures not from foreign climes
The fashions or the follies of the times;
But has confin'd the subject of his work
To the gay scenes—the circles of New York.
On native themes his Muse displays her pow'rs;
If ours the faults, the virtues too are ours.
Why should our thoughts to distant countries roam?
When each refinement may be found at home?
Who travels now to ape the rich or great,
To deck an equipage and roll in state;
To court the graces, or to dance with ease,
Or by hypocrisy to strive to please?
Our free-born ancestors such arts despised;
Genuine sincerity alone they prized;
Their minds, with honest emulation fir'd,
To solid good—not ornament—aspired;
Or, if ambition rous'd a bolder flame,
Stern virtue throve, where indolence was shame.
But modern youths, with imitative sense,
Deem taste in dress the proof of excellence;
And spurn the meanness of your homespun arts,
Since homespun habits would obscure their parts;
Whilst all, which aims at splendor or parade,
Must come from Europe *and be ready made.*
Strange! we should thus our native worth disdain,
And check the progress of our rising fame.
Yet *one,* whilst imitation bears the sway,
Aspires to nobler hights, and points the way.
Be rous'd, my friends! his bold example view:
Let your own Bards be proud to copy *you!*
Should rigid critics reprobate our play,
At least the patriotic heart will say,
"Glorious our fall, since in a noble cause,
The bold *attempt alone* demands applause."
Still may the wisdom of the Comic Muse
Exalt your merits or your faults accuse.
But think not, 'tis her aim to be severe;
We are all mortals, and as mortals err.

If candor pleases, we are truly blest;
Vice trembles when compell'd to stand confess'd.
Let not light Censure on your faults, offend,
Which aims not to expose them, but amend.
Thus does our author to your candor trust;
Conscious, the *free* are generous as just.

Two casts of the characters are given:

| | New York. | Maryland. |
|---|---|---|
| Colonel Manley | Mr. Henry | Mr. Hallam. |
| Dimple | Mr. Hallam | Mr. Harper. |
| Vanrough | Mr. Morris | Mr. Morris. |
| Jessamy | Mr. Harper | Mr. Biddle. |
| Jonathan | Mr. Wignell | Mr. Wignell. |
| Charlotte | Mrs. Morris | Mrs. Morris. |
| Maria | Mrs. Harper | Mrs. Harper. |
| Letitia | Mrs. Kenna | Mrs. Williamson. |
| Jenny | Miss Tuke | Miss M. Tuke. |

Servants.

Scene—New York.

The first edition of "The Contrast" was limited to five hundred and thirty-six copies. Only two copies of the first edition are known to be in existence,—one presented to George Washington by Thomas Wignell, now in the possession of Mr. James Benjamin Wilbur of Manchester, Vermont; the other owned by Doctor Frederick Atkinson, President of the Brooklyn and New York Polytechnic Institute.

Wignell, to whom the author gave the copyright, was a comic actor of some celebrity. He sustained the character of Jonathan, both in New York and Maryland.

The play had its first public presentation on the boards of the John Street Theater, New York, April 16, 1787, just after the inauguration of Washington, and while the First Congress was in session. It was received with great favor by the brilliant gathering at the young metropolis and had a run (very unusual at that period) of several weeks.

It is said that until "The Contrast" was produced, a strong prejudice existed against the stage. It helped in breaking up this prejudice and revolutionized the popular feeling that both Quakers and Puritans, supported by the Continental Congress, had arrayed against it. After the success of Tyler's play, American writers turned out other plays in rapid

succession. When General Washington attended a first-night performance of an American play the victory was won.

Town meetings were held in Boston, resolutions were passed instructing representatives in the Legislature to work for the immediate repeal of laws against theatrical amusements, and upon such repeal being denied, citizens put up the funds necessary to erect a theater and invited the American company to give a series of performances in Boston. Although the authorities demurred and interfered somewhat, the new theater was built and in time the prohibitory laws became obsolete and ignored.

In the book of the play as reprinted by the Dunlap Society in 1887 is a just acknowledgment of the liberal spirit by which the stage was rescued from an ignominious proscription. On the title-page the author is described as "A citizen of the United States." There is also the following dedication inscribed:

"The Contrast" (being the first essay of American Genius in the Dramatic Art) is most respectfully dedicated to the President and Members of the Dramatic Association.

Mr. Tyler also wrote a farce under the title of "May Day in Town," which was brought out at the same time as an afterpiece with marked success. He was petted, caressed, feasted and toasted, and no doubt lived too freely.

The first American novel honored with republication in England was also written by Judge Tyler in Guilford. It was entitled "The Algerine Captive, or the Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike Underhill; Six Years a Prisoner among the Algerines," and was published at Walpole, New Hampshire, by David Carlyle, Junior, in 1797. Messrs. G. and J. Robinson, Paternoster Row, London, republished the work in 1802, and improved greatly on the American edition.

It is dedicated to the poet Humphreys. This work is said to have been mistaken by an English critic for a narrative of actual adventure. It is a fictitious book of memoirs, in which the author ventilates his opinions on various topics of American society, paints the horrors of the slave trade, and the now almost incomprehensible grievances which the European and American powers for a long time endured from the assumptions of the Algerines. In the close of the work, there are some sketches of Mahometanism. The book is written in short chapters, with spirit and neatness of style. There is quite enough of ingenuity in the thought, coupled with the descriptions of the manners of the time, to redeem this work from the neglect into which it has fallen. Though printed in, at least, a second American edition, it is now exceedingly scarce.

In 1797, he wrote a comedy in three acts, "The Georgia Spec, or Land in the Moon," in ridicule of a speculating mania for wild Yazoo lands. It was repeatedly performed in Boston with success. He wrote other dramatic productions, but none of them have been published.

In 1799, he composed a Fourth of July ode for the public celebration of the Day at Windsor, Vermont, and a convivial song for the same occasion. He was frequently called upon for these services, and for the occasional prologues in vogue at charitable and other theatrical benefits.

In 1804, Tyler was a contributor of verses to *The Columbian Sentinel.* In 1809, he published two volumes of "Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court of Vermont." He still wrote for journals—there were seventy-four articles on the literature of the period in the Portfolio of 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, from the "Workshop of Colon & Spondee"—and in other quarters. Some of his latest productions appeared in *The New England Galaxy.* In 1806, he was a contributor to Buckingham's monthly periodical, *The Polyanthus,* of the papers entitled "Trash," and a number of fugitive poetical pieces, and again, on the revival of the publication in 1812.

Though the writings of Judge Tyler are but little known at the present day, yet his ability has been warmly eulogized by those best acquainted with his scattered productions.

Among his later publications was "The Yankee in London," purporting to be a series of letters written by an American abroad. The comments on English life and manners were recognized as sensible and just, but it finally leaked out, to the astonishment of his readers, that the author had never been across the ocean, and so drew upon his imagination and familiarity with English people and customs for material for his letters.

After his return from Vermont he rusticated with his mother again, a widow living at Jamaica Plain, and after a few visits of condolence, we learn no more of him for four or five years, except that his spirits seemed greatly depressed. In the spring of 1790 Mr. Palmer removed from Boston onto a farm in Framingham, Massachusetts, and during the summer Mr. Tyler called (Mrs. Palmer living there), being on a horseback journey to Vermont, where, as he informed Miss Mary, he had determined to start anew in life, leaving his mother in the care of his brother, John, and relinquishing the Boston property for her use and support.

It seems that he was engaged to Abigail, daughter of John Adams, when the latter was transferred from The Hague to England as our representative abroad. His betrothed received paternal summons to England, and after her arrival there broke the engagement, subsequently marrying her father's secretary. This circumstance very probably led

the young lawyer to forsake the associations connected with Boston for the then comparative wilderness of Vermont, and the "new State" certainly presented peculiar attractions at that time.

In the summer of 1790 Mr. Tyler visited Vermont, probably for the first time since the Shays affair. This time he ascended the valley of the Connecticut to Windsor, where the Supreme Court was in session. In January following he established himself in the middle of the town of Guilford, Windham County, as the lawyer of the place.

In a small account book he kept during this year, the first entry is January 15; from the charges it appears that his practice rapidly extended through the country. He attended the courts not only of Windham, but the adjoining counties. In Bennington, during the summer, 1792, he renewed many of his former acquaintances, and after the adjournment of court, drove into Berkshire County, Massachusetts, to visit at Stockbridge his friend, Judge Sedgwick.

Another attraction doubtless led him in this direction, and induced him to continue his journey to New Lebanon, New York. His steadfast friend and devoted admirer, Mary Palmer, whom, not improbably, he already hoped to make his wife, was spending a year there with a brother of her mother. She was now seventeen, and unquestionably was a very lovely and beautiful girl. It required much explanation of bygone relationships to convince the uncle and aunt of the propriety of Miss Mary's warm greeting of a fashionable gallant.

Mr. Tyler returned to Guilford and attended the fall sessions of the courts. The next winter he made his promised visit to his friends, the Palmers, in Framingham, with a fine pair of black horses, which, with his accustomed facetiousness, he had named "Crock and Smut." He now acknowledged to Miss Mary, who had returned home, that since he saw her at her uncle's he had determined in his own mind that it was quite indispensable to his happiness that she should become his wife. He did not ask for any set time; he must prepare a cage before he took his bird, and he had a prospect of obtaining a house in the spring, but some time must elapse before it could be finished and furnished.

No stage lines were as yet established, and all travel was by horseback in summer and sleighing in winter.

Mr. Tyler left his affianced bride and returned to his clients in Vermont. It appears from his docket at the June term of 1793, he had sixty-two cases, thirty-two new entries; November term, forty-eight entries, twenty-two new ones. With an extensive and growing practice and a reputation for literary ability already established, gifted with remarkable powers as an orator, overflowing with wit and humor, genial and social, his acquaintance soon extended throughout the state. It is the universal

testimony of his contemporaries that he had no rival. The intercourse between the towns on the opposite sides of the Connecticut was constant and intimate, and Mr. Tyler's practice extended into New Hampshire. It chanced that on one occasion, about Christmas time, he was attending court at Charlestown. The Episcopal parish there was vacant and, some of the lawyers having heard that he had written sermons for the Guilford people on one occasion of the minister's absence, he was strongly urged by bench and bar to conduct church service on the ensuing Sunday, and also on Christmas day. Both his reading of the service and the sermons were greatly admired. In narrating this incident he was wont to say, "After this I was strongly urged to turn my thoughts to the Church and prepare to take orders, being assured that I had mistaken my vocation, that it was my bounden duty to turn my talents that way, etc., and it would have been rest to my soul, at that time, had I *dared,* but a consciousness of having lived too gay a life in my youth, made me tremble lest I should in some way bring disgrace upon the sacred cause."

It was at Charlestown that he formed the acquaintance of Joseph Dennie, who became his most intimate friend. Thomas & Carlisle had established a magazine at Walpole, which had now taken the name of *The Farmer's Weekly Museum,* or *The New Hampshire and Vermont Journal,* on which Dennie was employed, first as contributor and afterwards as editor. The success of this periodical was unprecedented. "Dennie," says Joseph T. Buckingham in his reminiscences, "was aided in his task as editor, by Royall Tyler, then a lawyer in Guilford, Vt., who furnished all those agreeable and humorous articles, purporting to come from the shop of Messrs. Colon and Spondee. For three years succeeding this arrangement *The Museum* had no rival. Its circulation extended from Maine to Georgia, and it was more richly supplied with original communications of a literary character than any other paper that had then, or has since, been published in the United States." These contributions to *The Museum* were to Mr. Tyler a mere amusement of leisure moments, the outcome and overflow of wit and humor. He had, however, planned and was engaged upon works of a more serious import.

Royall Tyler and Miss Palmer were married in Framingham. He had secured and furnished a house in Guilford. Twice during the summer he had visited his wife and boy. The young husband at Guilford waited anxiously for the sleighing, then indispensable for the transportation of ladies, children and baggage.

The winter proved mild, nor was it till February that Master Hampden (Mrs. Tyler's brother, H. Palmer, a law student with Tyler) drove "Crock and Smut" once more into the farmyard at Framingham. All was now hurry and bustle to start for home, in horrible dread of a thaw,

which might postpone Vermont housekeeping for yet another year. All went well; with bright, cool weather and capital roads they drove the first day thirty miles; the third brought them home in the evening. They crossed the Connecticut on the ice near the site of old Fort Dummer, and stopped for supper at Squire Howe's at Vernon. His mother, known in story as "the fair captive," who married Amos Tute, was now once more a widow, and residing with her son, the Squire. She was, of course, one of the celebrities of the country, and the travelers enjoyed not only a good fire and a substantial supper, but an account from the heroine's own lips of the terrible sufferings of that march through the woods to Quebec. As they made their way over the Guilford hills, Mr. Tyler described to his wife the society to which he was about to introduce her. "Open, hospitable and friendly, they have no distinction among them," he said. "If they have a social party the whole neighborhood are invited. We have two merchants, the Messrs. Houghton, two physicians, Dr. Stevens and Dr. Hyde, one lawyer, your humble servant, all men of education, and their wives and families well-bred country people. There are several well-to-do mechanics who aim to treat company equally well. In fact, my dear, you will find it a truly primitive state of society and if you have any adequate idea of the heartlessness of the world in general, you will rejoice in the friendly simplicity of these people, among whom I have spent three or four of the happiest years of my life, and I rely upon you to continue and even to add to the high opinion they have formed of me."

Mrs. Tyler was received with open-hearted kindness by the neighbors around her first Vermont home, forming devoted friendships which continued unbroken till one by one they all passed away.

It will be noticed that in his comic grammar Mr. Tyler anticipated, by more than half a century, the comic histories and comic Blackstones with which the country was, at one time, surfeited. He says:

You are a thorough grammarian, but did you ever see an amusing, sportive, entertaining grammar? Did you ever laugh over a conjunction copulative, weep over a gerund, and have all your best passions called forth by an interjection? I must tell you about this business.

In the beau pursuits of early life, it was necessary that I should teach grammar to a young lady. But the pretty Miss had contracted an aversion to everything that savored of study and science. She did not lack intellect, and to amuse her into reading was the great object. I accordingly wrote a grammar in *usum puellæ,* and being forwarded in twelve letters, folded as billet doux, she condescended to read. To give you some idea of the work—the fundamental rules were illustrated by examples from the most approved and entertaining English authors, and sometimes by stories of my own. A lover at the feet of his mistress, gave a passionate

example of interjection; a lady crowned her favored lover's virtuous wishes in the passive voice, and dismissed an unsuccessful admirer in the imperative mood. Thus every rule of syntax was associated with some pleasing anecdote, brilliant quotation, or quaint observation, which familiarized the stubborn rule to a mind open only to the amusing and pleasing; or, in the style of Fontaine, "thus the thorn of science was decorated with the roses of fancy."

Doubtless this work would need much emendation, but I believe it practicable to edit a grammar which shall be read.

When Mr. Tyler's location in Guilford was made, it was the most populous town in the state; but already Brattleboro began to give some faint promise of becoming the business place of the county. The following letter describes the new home:

BRATTLEBOROUGH, March 18, 1801.

* * * * * *

Here we are in quiet and complete possession of our new farm[1] on the hill where was built the first meeting-house in this town, after a most fatiguing fortnight of moving, and to add to our fatigue, the baby and little Mary have both been very sick. The latter was so indisposed, when we removed, that it was thought to be accompanied by some *risque,* even by her physician; but the earnest wish of all the family, and the dread of the snow leaving us, overcame all apprehensions, and on the 3d inst. we came here bag and baggage. The children are now so far recovered as to allow us, for the first time, to hunt up our writing materials and address a line to you, who, next to ourselves, we apprehend will enter most fully into our enjoyments. If I had Sophia's tongue, or Mary's enthusiasm, I might give you a description of this farm in some measure equal to their ideas of it; but as the purchasing of a farm is entirely Mary's, and I have some fears of our success in yeomanry, I cannot write with the spirit, the subject, they suppose, merits; so you will look for the raptures and the beauties from them, while I detail you a little homespun fact. The farm we have purchased is in a retired spot, upon the brow of a large hill, about one mile, as the road goes, from the [West] Brattleborough meeting house; though we have a shorter cut through our own grounds, which reduces the distance half. The farm consists of about 150 acres, the greatest part of which—indeed, upward of an 100 acres is well fenced and under good improvement. We have wheat and rye now in the ground, springing up as the snow leaves it, and promising a sufficiency of those grains for our bread and pies. We have two large orchards, and two

[1] Doctor Henry Wells was the original owner.

smaller ones coming on, and expect to make some fifty or sixty barrels of cider; and, in a few years—as the orchards are young and thrifty—we may reasonably expect to make 100 barrels per year. We have plenty of good pasturing and expect to cut hay enough to winter thirty head of cattle. Our neighbor, Mr. Peck, takes the farm, at present, at halves, and, with his family, has removed to our farmhouse, about a quarter of a mile from us.

Mrs. Peck is an excellent dairywoman, and he is a regular farmer. He has a hired man with him, and I have hired a young man, active and stout, who in busy seasons will assist Mr. Peck, so that without reckoning boys and extra help, we shall always have three stout men for farming work. With the farm, we purchased farming tools, young cattle, hogs, poultry and twenty-three sheep, who have now increased the flock by eight lambs; and it would amuse you to see Sophia and the children surrounded with sheep, lambs, geese, turkeys and hens, feeding them from their hands.

The house is entirely secluded from a view of any neighbors; though on the crown of a hill it is yet in a hollow, but the necessary buildings around it give it the air of being a little neighborhood: a large barn and shed, corn-barn, chaise-house, smoke-house, ash-house, etc.

The house is somewhat similar to Judge Jones', in Hinsdale, which I think you observed, an upright part with a handsome portico, two handsome front rooms, well finished, papered and painted; and two handsome chambers over them; back, is a sitting-room and by the side of it a room for my office, which has a door into the sitting-room and another out of doors, so that ingress may be had independent of the house; back of the sitting-room a good kitchen, from whence you go into two bed-rooms, one for the boys, and the other for the maids, and overhead a meal granary; and over the sitting-room an apartment for our hired man and boy; back of the kitchen is a long wood-house, about twenty feet of which makes a summer wash-room, and here stands the water-trough, constantly supplied with plenty of excellent water. In front of the house is a fruit garden, peaches, plums, etc., but the former will not bear until next year.

On one side of the house is a kitchen garden, with a good asparagus bed and plenty of currants, red, white and black, and large English gooseberries, on the other side is a flower garden.

Next the house runs a small brook, on the other side of which is a grass plot set out with young fruit trees, chiefly plums. We have on the place a plenty of common cherry trees and four fine blackheart cherry trees near the front windows. We have also pear trees which bear, and quince bushes. On the place we may gather cartloads of chestnuts, no walnuts, but a sufficiency of butternuts. In a word, if one can love a retired farmer's life, here you may have it to perfection.

For all we live down, or rather up a lane, you will scarcely see three persons pass in as many days. We cannot see a single house, even from our chamber windows, not even our farm-house, but that is prettily situated; there you may see perhaps thirty houses, and if we climb our orchard we can see the country thirty miles around.

I think this place may be made comfortable and even pleasing, but the house can never be made to look handsome, that is, on the outside, within, to be sure, if we shut the windows, or look into the garden, it does tolerably, but the house is in a hollow, and a house in a hole cannot look well from abroad, but then it is a home and has a thousand pleasant things, fruitful fields, and delicious fruits about, thrown together higgledy, piggledy.

By this removal his ten years' residence in Guilford ended. They had now four children: Royall, about six years old; John S., four; Mary, two; and Edward, an infant.

Mrs. Tyler's brother, John Hampden Palmer, had been, until now, a member of the family, but was about this time admitted to the bar and settled at Woodstock. Her youngest sister, Sophia, aged fourteen, had been virtually adopted as a daughter. For a year or more, John Tyler, Mr. Tyler's nephew, had been a student in his office, but abandoned the law for what proved a very successful business in Boston. Mr. Tyler had also, though secretly, as a student, the Reverend Mr. Wollage, whose temper he had formerly ruffled by invading his pulpit. This gentleman was admitted to practice, and afterwards oscillated once or twice between the two professions, sacred and profane.

Three new judges were appointed for the Supreme Court, October, 1801, but they were not selected on account of their political opinions, but on account of their supposed qualifications for the office. Those thus elected by an adverse Legislature were Jonathan Robinson, Royall Tyler and Stephen Jacob—Robinson being the chief justice.

As district attorney for Windham County, Mr. Tyler had been obliged to attend the Legislature, and had thus extended his acquaintance through the state. His practice had also taken him to the courts of nearly every county. His legal reputation and the peculiar charm of his manners no doubt led to this result.

The same judges were reëlected in the fall of 1802. The constant intercourse of a year had already induced between them a remarkable degree of intimacy and personal regard. The chief justice retained his office until, in 1807, he was elected to the Senate of the United States. While he was in Washington he and Mr. Tyler corresponded constantly, and in one of his letters the Senator refers to their early prejudices against each

other, how soon they passed away, and related an incident of the religious discussions into which they fell during their early intimacy. One of the points of Hopkinsianism that had been much debated between them was the alleged necessity, as evidence of regeneration, that one should be willing to be lost eternally if it were for the glory of God.

Judge Tyler, detained from court on one occasion, wrote to Judge Jacob and requested him to inform the chief justice "that he really began to hope that he had made some little spiritual progress; for, although he could not honestly say that he was willing to be damned himself, even if it were needful for the glory of the Almighty, yet he believed that by great effort he had nearly or quite attained to a sincere willingness that in such an exigency Brother Robinson should be damned."

In Hall's History of Eastern Vermont we find the following:

He [R. Tyler] presided as side judge of the Supreme Court of Vermont, from 1801 to 1806, when he was chosen chief judge. This position he retained until the year 1812. Party strife and ill health combined were the causes which prevented him from being chosen to fill this office for a longer period. From the year 1815 to 1821 he was register of probate for Windham County, and this, it is believed, was the last public station he was called to occupy.

In 1815 the Tyler family moved to the frame house, then the most northerly in town, on the site of the Marsh building and lived there a year. They then moved to the house on Main Street north of the Centre Church, three years later to the Sikes house and thence to a permanent home near the Common.

An idea of the originality of Mr. Tyler's style and manner in arguing a case under circumstances calculated to produce embarrassments may be gained from the following anecdote:

At a court held in Newfane, he undertook his first case after he left the bench. He had not practiced for a long time and many of the lawyers at the bar had never heard him address a jury.

At the period referred to, the disease of which he died, a cancer on the left side of the nose, near the eye, caused him to wear a patch of black silk on his face, which did not tend to improve his appearance. The case was one of importance, involving the property of his client, a certain Mr. Richardson.

The opposing counsel in presenting their pleas, made frequent reflections upon the ex-chief justice, declaring that his faculties were failing, that he had a disease about him and that he had been turned from the bench for incapacity.

During the delivery of these sentiments Judge Tyler sat within the bar, taking no notes and apparently oblivious to what was passing around him. When the time came for him to address the jury, he rose in his place, and turning his back upon the twelve men whose minds he was desirous of influencing, called out to his client, "Richardson! come here!" Richardson started up in great astonishment, and made his way through the crowded court-room to the railing within which the lawyers sat. "Richardson," said Judge Tyler, turning to that individual, who was exceedingly surprised at the oddity of the proceedings, "go home! there is no use of your staying here! I thought you had a case, a good case!" He then went on, with his back to the jury and judge, to tell his client all the strong points of his case, making it very plain, or, at least, making it appear that Richardson had been basely abused by the lawyers on the other side.

"But," said he, in conclusion, "I was mistaken in supposing you had any rights that could be maintained. It appears you have no case because my faculties are failing, and what is worse, you have no case at all, because I have this patch on my nose. Go home! go home! I can't be expected to say a word to the jury under such circumstances." With these words Judge Tyler sat down.

The opposing counsel were dumbfounded at this mode of attack, but the jury were only out long enough to make up for Richardson a most satisfactory verdict.

In his lightest vein are verses written by Chief Justice Royall Tyler for a Fourth of July celebration in Windsor, Vermont.

### As It Used to Be.

Squeak the fife and beat the drum,
Independence day has come!
Let the roasting pig be bled,
Quick twist off the cockerel's head;
Quickly rub the pewter platter,
Heap the nutcake fried in batter;
Set the cups and beaker glass,
The pumpkin and the apple sass.

Send the keg to shop for brandy,
Maple sugar we have handy;
Independent, swaggering Dick,
A gogging mix of swiggering thick;
Sal, put on your russet skirt—
Jotham, get your boughten shirt,
Today we dance to tiddle diddle
Here comes Sambo with his fiddle.

Sambo, take a dram of whiskey
And play up "Yankee Doodle" frisky:
Moll, come leave your witched tricks
And let us have a reel of six.
Father and mother shall make two,
Sal, Moll and I stand all a-row:
Sambo play the dance with quality,
This is the day of blest equality.

Father and mother are but men,
And Sambo is a citizen.
Come, foot it, Sal—Moll, figure in,
And, mother, you dance up to him;
Now saw as fast as you can go
And, father, you cross o'er to Sambo.
Thus we dance, and thus we play,
On glorious Independence day.

Chief Justice Royall Tyler wrote the Valedictory Address for an exhibition at the close of Miss Rebecca Peck's Select School, in the East Village of Brattleboro, in 1823. His son, Reverend Thomas P. Tyler, D.D.,—then a lad of about eight years,—was the orator on this happy occasion. According to the best information obtainable, the Judge gave compliments well deserved, for the little misses of that school were generally remarkable for their personal beauty and good conduct. The delivery of the address took the school, as well as the audience, by surprise, and furnished a theme of pleasant allusion and reference for a long time in this village. The young orator was quite personal in the application of his theme, causing the whitest of roses to become blushing ones when he pointed his little magic finger toward them. Some of these roses, very well preserved, remained many years in this place, becoming grandmothers. The orator became a distinguished clergyman of the Episcopal Church, and officiated many years in western New York; but when over threescore years, retired from service, he returned to Brattleboro, his native place, to the scene of his first oratorical efforts.

The valedictory address in verse, with the names of the young misses whose charms were likened to the various flowers, is to be found in Burnham's "History of Brattleboro." In 1824 he wrote in verse "The Chestnut Tree," which was a forecasting of Brattleboro, East Village, and its people as they would pass under the shade of that tree in another hundred years.

The inscription on the monument of Royall Tyler in Prospect Hill Cemetery reads:

ROYALL TYLER
Reip v Mont Cur Sup Jurid
Princ.
Mortem Obiit
Die XVI. Aug. Anno Domini
MDCCCXXVI.
Etatis Suac
LXVIII.
Uqor et liberi
ejus
Hoc saxum ponendum
Curaverunt.

MRS. ROYALL TYLER

(From *The Vermont Phœnix* of July 13, 1866.)

Died, at her residence, in this village, on the seventh instant, Mrs. Royall Tyler, aged ninety-one years, four months and seven days. . . .

Born during the stirring events that led to the Revolution, her days have been extended to cover the entire period of our national life.

Her native place was Watertown, Massachusetts, and she was the daughter of Joseph Palmer and Elizabeth Hunt. In 1794 she married Royall Tyler, Esquire, who had served as an officer in the Revolutionary War, and who subsequently became distinguished in literature and jurisprudence. Soon after their marriage they removed to Guilford, Vermont, which was then the most flourishing town in the new state. There, while aiding greatly, through the benign influence of high natural endowments and all the graces of her sex, in sustaining and encouraging her husband in his progress to the Supreme Bench as chief justice of Vermont, she contributed much towards imparting a tone of elevation and refinement, and an ambition for literary pursuits, to the new and unformed circle around her. In those early times, when the bear still sulkily crossed the path of the horseman in the unopened forests, as we once heard her relate of her own experience, she was a light and center to society, giving warmth and enjoyment to all who came within her sphere. She was beloved and respected, a bond of union; a center of mingled love and authority to the early settlers, as she has ever been since, down to her latest day, to a large family of adoring children and descendants, amidst whose kindly administrations it was her happiness to expire.

Devoted to everything that was calculated to elevate, refine and adorn humanity, she ever took a deep interest in the welfare of the country.

Her infant eyes were opened, as we have already said, upon the dramatic scenes of the Revolution; and in the closing years of her life, she watched with the liveliest solicitude and concern every stage in the progress of the rebellion, until she saw the last rebel force defeated and disarmed. Up to within a short time of her death she was a constant reader of the newspapers, and during the war was thoroughly acquainted with the battles fought, with the character and merits of many of the generals, and the localities of military operations. Amidst all, she received home the corpse of a grandson, a young colonel who fell in the battle of the Wilderness, and saw his remains sent to the grave.

The deceased was a member, and an ornament, of the Episcopal church, upon which she was a constant attendant until the last two years of her life. Previous to the establishment of St. Michael's Church in this village, she used to attend service in Guilford, often walking there, a distance of three miles, even when seventy years of age.

Madame Tyler, as she was called by the people of the village, was the mother of a large family of children, several of whom still survive. Two of these were yet remaining under the paternal roof at the time of her decease, and two others, Judge Royall Tyler and the Reverend Doctor Tyler, were among her nearest neighbors. Four of her sons entered the ministry, two of the Congregational and two of the Episcopal church. Her first-born died while in college at Burlington, Vermont.

Her funeral took place at St. Michael's Church on the afternoon of the tenth instant, and was largely attended by the friends of the family. The services were performed by Reverend Doctor Fay, assisted by Reverend Doctor Pine of Washington.—*Com.*

Henry Burnham says:

"It was not the mission of this old and distinguished family to set in motion the wheels of industry, or directly, to any great extent, advance the material interests of this town. In that far off time in our history when this family settled here, they must have occupied as exceptional a position in Brattleborough, as does the book of Job in the Old Testament.

"Their first coming to that high hill overlooking the whole town, seems to us as the morning dawn of intellectual life in this region, or, the beginning of an Elizabethan age in Brattleborough."

Children of Judge Royall Tyler and Mrs. Tyler:

Royall Tyler, born in Framingham, Massachusetts, 1794; died in college.

General John S., born in Guilford, Vermont, September 29, 1796.

Mary Whitwell, born in Guilford June 23, 1798.

Reverend Edward R., born in Guilford August 3, 1800.

Major William Clark, born in Brattleboro August 28, 1802.
Reverend Joseph Dennie, born September 4, 1804.
Amelia Sophia, born June 29, 1807.
Reverend George Palmer, D.D., born December 10, 1809. (See p. 463.)
Judge Charles Royall, 2d, born April 19, 1812. (See p. 539.)
Reverend Thomas Pickman, D.D., born November 20, 1815.
Abiel Winship, born November 9, 1818; died September 19, 1832.

General John S. Tyler, the oldest son, may well be called the advance guard of the family. He left his home in Brattleboro in 1810, at the age of fourteen years, and passed the long period of over sixty years in Boston, Massachusetts, engaged in mercantile and marine affairs. He served some time as clerk in the dry goods business in Boston, and subsequently entered the counting-room of Abiel Winship, in the Northwest Coast and Canton trade, whose daughter, Mary, he married in 1820. Upon the death of Mr. Winship, Mr. Tyler became a clerk for Colonel Amos Binney, the navy agent of Boston, and afterwards partner with Amos Binney, Junior, in the commission business on Long Wharf. This business continued until the general disaster in 1829. Mr. Tyler then undertook the adjustment of insurance losses.

The city of his ancestry became the scene of his active life until the time of his death in 1876. It was there he maintained eminence in his avocations and social position. His magnanimity, as manifested in business relations, and noble generosity to his parents and other relatives proved his mind was as well worthy of his splendid proportions and such external personal attractions as are rarely, if ever, surpassed.

For a long period of years he was almost invariably selected as chief marshal on great occasions. The facility with which he discharged the duties of that office, combined with his fine personal presence and bearing, made him the observed of all observers. Many years ago a convent in Charlestown was destroyed by a mob, and there was every indication of mob violence in the destruction of buildings in Boston as a retaliatory measure. The authorities of the city requested General Tyler to call out the military under his command. He told the authorities he never should order his soldiers to fire blank cartridges at a mob. If they would consent that every one of his soldiers load his musket with ball cartridge, he would lead them wherever they might direct. The consent was given, and intelligence of the fact was quickly received by every person in the city. The mob disappeared and peace was restored without bloodshed.

In Boston papers, published at the time of his death, it was said:

"Early in the war of 1812, Mr. Tyler, though under the lawful age for military duty, joined the Boston Light Infantry, and went with the corps

to throw up fortifications on Dorchester Heights, Governor's and Noddle's Islands, and also participated in such other duties as were required of the militia. He was chosen captain of the Suffolk Light Infantry September 21, 1821, and was the first commander of the City Guards. He commanded the military escort when LaFayette visited Boston. He was adjutant of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1827, and was its commander four years—an honor not enjoyed by any other man. He was the senior member at the date of his death. He acted as chief marshal at the Railroad Jubilee, 1851, attended by the President of the United States, Lord Elgin, and numerous other distinguished guests. . . . He held many civil offices, was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1853; member of the Common Council in 1859-1862; alderman, 1863-1866; trustee of the Public Library two years, and member of the Legislature four years. He was president of the Granite Railway Company, engineer of the fire department of Boston, president of the Association of the Sons of Vermont and of the Burns Club; also, president of the Female Medical College. He received the honorary degree of A.M. from both Middlebury College and the university of his native state at Burlington."

In 1829 he engaged in the business of adjusting averages, which he continued the remainder of his life. In this branch he had no superior. Of his ability in this business, ex-Governor Holbrook said: "He brought to the discharge of this duty that clearness of perception, candor and fairness of judgment which made him sought for in the large commercial cities of our country." His industry was proverbial. He devoted much valuable time to the service of the public, and the midnight hour often found him at work. His business mind enabled him to state cases before committees, and as alderman and representative, with great clearness.

At the time he was elected alderman of the eighth ward, we find the following in a Boston paper: "He will make an excellent alderman, for he is honest and incorruptible—merits which are not always carried into the city hall by those who enter it covered with official *éclat*. The people have done well to elect him. He received the united support of the Democrats and Republicans."

In 1820-1821 he made a gift to his parents of the house on the Putney Road near the Common, where they died, and where his sister, Amelia, had her school.

General Tyler was for many years identified with the institution of masonry. He took his degree in St. John's Lodge, received the chapter degrees in St. Paul's Chapter and was an active member of the De Molay Commandery of Knights Templar. In politics, the General was an old

line Whig, but early in its history he identified himself with the Republican party.

Children:

Lucinda B., married George H. Cutler; married, second, —— Crane.

Children of Lucinda B. and George H. Cutler:

Mary Eliza, married Charles Lowell Pearson and had a son, Horace.

Emily Lyman, married Isaac Lowell Pratt. Children: Tyler; Stella; Emily, married Don Alonzo Clay. Mrs. Pratt died January, 1921.

There were two daughters, Mary Whitwell Tyler and Amelia Sophia Tyler. They both lived until past threescore and ten years. In their sphere of action, and in almost every characteristic, they were widely different, yet were both highly esteemed and beloved, because they were, each in her way, public benefactors.

Miss Mary was born in Guilford. She was, in her early years, a natural kindergartner. Her influence over a large portion of the children in this village was greater than that of their own parents. She was a member of the Episcopal Church, but at the time when there was no organization of her faith in this place, she gathered the children for the Sunday school and meeting in the old church on the Common. If clothing for destitute children were wanting, she contrived some way to get it for them. If any poor family were in want or suffering of any kind, she would interest some benevolent friend in their behalf, so that relief came. Her affection for the little ones, rich or poor, was unbounded. "Among our earliest, pleasantest recollections of infantile and juvenile days, is the kindly, happy face of 'Aunt Mary,' when she was telling a dozen or more of us interesting stories. She would always give a reply to the little eager questioners, in language adapted to their comprehension. We all knew she was our friend. She was our oracle and sure defense against 'bears and codgers.'"

Reverend Edward R. Tyler graduated at Yale College, with honor, in the class of 1825, pursued theological study at Andover, and for many years with ability and usefulness filled the office of Congregational pastor, first in Middletown and afterwards in Colebrook, Connecticut. He was for a few years editor of *The Congregational Observer,* a weekly religious journal published at Hartford, and from January, 1843, was editor and proprietor of *The New Englander,* which, in conjunction with other gentlemen, he originated and established. Mr. Tyler had a clear and discriminating mind, and excelled in the department of moral and theological science; though decidedly evangelical, he was remarkably liberal and catholic. As a true friend of his race, his mind, hand and heart were ever open to the claims of philanthropic principles and enterprise.

In the summer of 1837 he pleaded the cause of the slave.

From the journal of his mother, of date Tuesday, July 4, 1837, we learn the status of public sentiment in Brattleboro towards the abolition movement:

Great doings: Edward delivered a lecture on Abolition at the Chapel,— Cannon fired, and all manner of noises made to interrupt the services, no violence, however, offered. At five o'clock, another lecture, and increased noise of Cannon, etc., so much so as to frighten some ladies away from the house, nevertheless Edward proceeded undaunted; and the friends of the cause succeeded in organizing a Society Auxiliary to the A. A. F. F. and adopted a constitution, which was signed by about forty.

In his private relations Mr. Tyler was, in a rare degree, modest, unselfish and amiable.

Mr. Tyler married, May 7, 1828, Ann Murdoch, daughter of Professor Murdoch of Andover, who died June, 1830. He married, second, 1831, Sarah Ann, daughter of Deacon Joseph Boardman, who was born in Middletown, Connecticut, September 19, 1806, and died April 3, 1891. He died September 28, 1848.

His widow remained in New Haven, educating her children, until, having seen them all in the way of providing for themselves, she came to Brattleboro in 1867 to assist her sister-in-law, Miss Amelia S. Tyler, in the Tyler School. She remained in Brattleboro, an active and efficient member of the Congregational Church, until 1879, when she removed to Washington and took up her residence with her daughter Amelia and her son Edward, both unmarried.

Children:

Amelia, "Miss Minna" she was called, was born in October, 1832. She was brought up in a home atmosphere that developed her natural ability, and as a young woman the brilliancy of her mind was generally recognized.

She was for some years a teacher in the school of her relative, Miss Sarah Porter, in Farmington, Connecticut, but becoming keenly interested in the cause of the education of the negro, gave up her position, with its promise of congenial surroundings and financial return, to devote her services to the establishment of Hampton Institute, Virginia. She remained there as a teacher several years, and numbered among her pupils Booker T. Washington, who, in the course of a lecture delivered in Brattleboro in 1900, paid a noble tribute to her influence on his life.

After leaving Hampton, she taught several years in the West, and then occupied governmental positions in Washington. For some years she was connected with the Dead Letter Office, where her

powers as a linguist and her ability to read many foreign languages were of great value. For twenty-seven years she was in the Patent Office, where her work was largely in the Botanical Department.

She died May 22, 1908.

Elizabeth, born in Colebrook, Connecticut; her earlier years were spent in her own home and with near relatives in Hartford, Middletown and New Milford, Connecticut, and in Brattleboro; her education was mostly completed in the house of the grandmother whose simple presence was an inspiration to everything gentle and good. She united with the Congregational Church under the pastorate of her uncle, Reverend George P. Tyler; her early womanhood was passed in the family of another uncle, Doctor Thomas P. Tyler of Batavia, New York, where in 1862 she married Captain Cornelius C. Billings of the 151st Regiment, New York Volunteers. Her husband was killed in the battle of the Wilderness, at the same time that her cousin, Colonel John S. Tyler, was mortally wounded.

Three years later, in 1867, she came to Brattleboro to assist her aunt, Miss Amelia Tyler, in conducting a school for young boys, and was thus efficiently employed until disabled by a fatal illness.

In Batavia she became a communicant of the Episcopal Church. She had personal beauty and a lovely character. It was remarked by some of her contemporaries that in her "sweetness and light" were blended. She died September 20, 1878, aged forty-four, leaving one son:

Cornelius C. Billings, born in New Haven, Connecticut, December 2, 1864. In Brattleboro, at Miss Tyler's School, and at the High School, young Billings received his early education, supplemented by one year at the Brattleborough Academy and one year at the University of Nebraska, until in 1882 he was appointed by Honorable James M. Tyler (then member of Congress from the Second Congressional District of Vermont) naval cadet at Annapolis, where he graduated in 1886.

Two years afloat followed, including a trip around the world, when he spent nine months in Japan aboard the United States Steamship *Brooklyn,* Admiral Ralph Chandler, commanding the Asiatic Squadron. Upon a reorganization of the navy in 1888, which cut down every grade, the surplus, with one year's pay, was honorably discharged.

In August, 1888, Mr. Billings was appointed to a position in the hydrographic office, in connection with the navy department.

In May, 1889, as a result of civil service examination, he was appointed an assistant examiner in the United States Patent Office.

In 1895 he was graduated from the Columbia Law School, now the George Washington University, in Washington, D. C., and admitted to the bar of the courts of the District of Columbia.

In May, 1898, he offered his services to the Navy Department, and was commissioned ensign and served with the fleet off Santiago, in the Spanish War, until honorably discharged in January, 1899. He then received a reappointment to the patent office and soon after was reinstated in his former grade; in June, 1901, he was promoted to the position of law clerk in the Commissioner's Office, serving until November, 1905, when he was appointed examiner of interferences. About a year later he was appointed by President Roosevelt examiner-in-chief in the patent office and was promoted in 1907 to the important position of assistant commissioner of patents. He was promoted by President Taft in 1909 to the office of first assistant commissioner of patents. He is now a patent lawyer in New York. He married Mrs. Almena S. Dresel.

Edward Royall Tyler was "born in New Haven in May, 1842, where he lived until his graduation from Yale in 1865. He soon after entered the service of the government as clerk in the Treasury Department, studying law during his time out of office. After his admission to the bar he resigned his clerkship under circumstances peculiarly honorable: a reduction had been made in the force of the office but he had been retained; among those who had been discharged was a very worthy young man with a dependent family, and Mr. Tyler offered his resignation with the understanding that this other man should be appointed in his stead.

After some time spent in the practice of law, he reëntered the service of the government as a fourth assistant examiner in the patent office; his merit gave him promotion until he reached the grade of principal examiner, which he held at the time of his death, March 30, 1891, at the age of forty-nine years.

William.

Miss Amelia Sophia Tyler was the principal of a female school of a high order in Brattleboro sometime before 1827. (See p. 382.)

From *The Vermont Phœnix:*

A life so full as hers has been of every patient and loving sacrifice is rare indeed, but when coupled with the high intellectual qualities and Christian virtues which lent such a charm and dignity to Miss Tyler's character, it becomes, after it is ended, a subject over which one lingers with tender admiration. And to the young what a lesson of unselfish devotion it furnishes. Many of our middle-aged and other ladies remem-

ber, with grateful affection, the careful instruction they received at her hands, when her school for young ladies was in existence, while in more recent years, and up to the time of her death, the old Tyler homestead has been a school for boys, in the management and instruction of which Miss Tyler possessed rare skill and tact, combined with an unvarying motherly love.

She died February 28, 1878, aged seventy-one.

Reverend Joseph D. Tyler graduated from Yale College in 1829. He was a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, but never officiated in that office to any great extent for he early became interested in the instruction of the deaf and dumb, and was a teacher in the first institute for that purpose in this country, in Hartford, Connecticut. After several years' service in Hartford, he was in 1840 chosen principal of the Virginia Deaf and Dumb Asylum in Staunton, Virginia, where he died January 29, 1852, at the age of forty-eight.

From a Virginia paper of January, 1852:

He was beyond all question one of the rarest and ripest scholars of our country, and one of the most vigorous and polished writers of the present day. His essays in the leading reviews of the United States (though his shrinking modesty prevented him from accompanying them by his own name) have been pronounced among the most powerful and beautiful contributions to American literature. His official duties rarely permitted him to preach, except in the language of signs to his deaf-mute congregation; but such sermons as were heard from him were masterpieces, models, and unsurpassed in strength, purity of style and solid learning by anything out of the pages of old English divines.

This man, with powers which would have graced the most conspicuous arena of cultivated intellect in our whole country, was not only content, but joyful to pass his days in the comparatively obscure and humble position of teacher of the deaf and dumb, and to that field of usefulness all the energies of his intellect were devoted.

Mr. Tyler was a person whose substantial excellence of character was without cant or austerity. A correspondent of the Charleston *Literary Gazette* remarked, in a letter from Staunton, that he "had never seen a face so strikingly stamped with the impress of benevolence."

He married Miss Amanda Fuller.

Children:

Ellen, married —— Pearson.

Daniel Fuller.

Joseph and Clarence, were in the Confederate Army.

Reverend Thomas Pickman Tyler, D.D., graduated from Trinity College, Hartford; had charge of Brattleborough Academy for a time, and was engaged in ministerial service for some years in the state of New York.

December 9, 1841, he married, first, Mary A., daughter of Rufus Clark of Brattleboro, born January 18, 1818; died May 17, 1856. He married, second, Mrs. Diana, widow of Honorable Joshua Lawrence Brown of Batavia, New York. He died in Brattleboro January 15, 1892.

Children by the first marriage:

Colonel John Steele Tyler, born April 29, 1843; died May 23, 1864. (See p. 780.)

Rufus Clark, born 1847.

Hanson R., lieutenant in the United States Navy, came to Brattleboro with his parents when a child. He was graduated from Annapolis in the class of 1866 and immediately received an appointment to the United States Navy, serving until 1896, when he was retired on account of physical disability. He was recalled to active duty during the war with Spain, and served first as recorder of the Board of Labor Employment and later on the receiving ship *Independence* at Mare Island. He married Miss Mary Horton; died in Vallejo, California, May 11, 1900, leaving a son, John Steele Tyler.

## A Description of the Earliest Village of Brattleboro

(From the autobiography of Mrs. Royall Tyler.)

Directly at the foot of the hill now leading up High Street, making the corner, was Doctor Hall's house, and he had a beautiful garden, reaching up to the grove of trees now owned by Judge Kellogg [Charles R. Crosby's], which was terraced and elegantly cultivated, with flights of steps from one level to the other. Fruit trees of all kinds the country produced, currants, gooseberries, and strawberries in great abundance, and flowers of every variety; the handsomest tulips I ever saw anywhere.

Next to this garden was usually in the summer a fine field of grain or grass, and now occupied by Doctor Post, dentist. Then came Mr. J. W. Blake's, the handsomest house then in the village. Mrs. Blake was the daughter of Colonel Jones, who once owned the beautiful seat since owned and occupied by Doctor Marsh [Hinsdale road], on the banks of the Connecticut, where your father and I visited occasionally. Mrs. Blake's father was then dead, and her mother removed into a house she owned, about half a mile further; selling the homestead to Doctor Marsh. Mrs. Blake had one brother, known as Harvey Jones; he inherited the chief of his parents' property, and was called rich; but he was an eccentric

character; he built himself a singular looking house very nearly on the site of Mrs. Zelotes Dickinson's house [Herrick's]; it consisted of three stories of one room wide, with a kitchen back; it excited the risibles of all beholders, as it looked as if a gust of wind would blow it over; here he lived with one maid servant, keeping bachelor's hall; for some years doing no business, but amusing himself as he could.

After leaving Mr. Blake's house there was no dwelling that side of the road, till we came to Miss Nancy Hall's on the point, afterwards owned by Doctor Dickerman. That house was built by the first tailor ever settled in Brattleboro village; a Mr. Houghton, who married a Miss Freedom Clark, sister of Rufus Clark, Esquire. Her father owned and occupied the farm now belonging to Mr. Rufus Clark.

About the time we were first acquainted in this village, old Mr. Steen began building the house Mr. Joseph Steen now lives in and for many years it stood only boarded in, unfinished, only the basement story, where he lived with his family; this was the only dwelling on this road, till we came to Mr. Pettis's [Dorman B. Eaton's]; where we now live [Tyler place, on the Common] was a sandy pine plain, mostly denuded of its ancient trees, and the whole land between that house on the point and Pettis's belonged to Mr. Steen. Afterwards he sold all south and east of the road to Judge Whitney as I have understood. Doctor Hall's father and sisters occupied the Houghton house.

From Mr. Steen's house and orchard on the east side of the road, all the land was owned and cultivated by Judge Whitney. His house stood where it now [Dowley's] does, but was only one story high.

From Judge Whitney's house and office there were no buildings on that side of the road, till we came to Doctor Clark's druggist's store; afterwards he built a dwelling house. All the land was cultivated as gardens by Mr. Blake and Doctor Clark.

I now recollect that the building occupied by Doctor Hall as a druggist store was the one built by Mr. Jones.

At this time there was no Druggist, or any other building except this, till we came to Doctor Hall's store; the same afterwards occupied by his son Chandler, not then born. There were beautiful gardens all along. Then came a range of low buildings.

Over Doctor Hall's store was Townsend's Printing office.

The next decent dwelling was Mrs. Townsend's, who afterwards built the brick house since owned in succession by Deacon Holbrook, and John Blake [site of the Vermont National Bank]. And below all these, down around the bridge and over the brook, were a number of small buildings occupied by the blacksmiths, shoemakers, etc. On Flat Street was a Tannery, etc. Where the present Brattleboro House is [Brooks House,

Crosby Block] the only hotel in the village, was then kept by Mr. Samuel Dickinson, who married a sister of Judge Whitney, and lived there many years I believe. It was known as the Stage House.

Mr. Dickinson was a blacksmith by trade, but had at this time relinquished that business in favor of Winslow Whitney, brother of his wife. He had a boy apprentice by the name of Root [Samuel], who succeeded him after some years, and by industry and integrity amassed wealth and is now President of the Brattleborough Bank.

We have now mentioned all the dwelling houses of note. There were no buildings up into High Street at the time I first saw the village, but not many years after, and before we came to Brattleborough [1801] Mr. Chapin came from Orange and purchased of Mr. Dickinson land where he built his dwelling house and store. The only one after the rise of the hill going up to West Brattleborough, was the Hadley's, which old house I believe still stands.

At the time I now write about our village was famous for its rural beauty.

The hill now covered by the tombs of most of those who then lived here, was a dense forest both sides of the road leading to Guilford; which road was encumbered by stumps and stones, or rather rocks; for several years your father and I rode on horseback whenever we visited Brattleborough, and were never weary of lingering when we first came in sight of the village, admiring the lovely prospect. When the first inhabitants settled here, the only thought was to clear away the forest around Whetstone Brook, and erect their dwellings, and have fields to cultivate for food and shelter. So they left few trees for ornament, and when Lombardy poplars were introduced, and more refined minds succeeded the first settlers, they found the houses bereft of shade, and as those trees grow rapidly, and their spiral forms, so different from the native forest trees, had all the charm of novelty, every gentleman of taste had united in setting them out each side of the road, so that from Cemetery Hill the village looked beautifully with its little white cottages scattered sparsely among those towering trees, backed in the distance by the primeval forest.

This was long before we termed it Brattleborough.

In the meantime there was quite a rush of inhabitants who soon spoiled its first beauty by building, opening stores, etc.

Doctor Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College, in his book of Travels in New England, speaks of Brattleboro in 1803 as "a little collection of houses often styled the village, and sometimes the city, built on the southern limit of a plain immediately below the mouth of West River, which is one of the prettiest objects of the kind and size within my recol-

lection. If we did not mistake in counting them, there were now but ten in number. The inhabitants are all included in a single congregation, and amounted in 1790 to 1589, in 1800 to 1867."

## The Literary Society

As the author of the first comedy written by an American and played on an American stage, and as a gay and gallant wit, Royall Tyler had received the homage of the literary and fashionable world before emigrating to the wilderness of Vermont. Here he found time from professional duties and lectures to continue his literary ventures, his essays and verses appearing in the most important journals.

That Uncle Jonathan, the hero of "The Contrast," suggested a model for the typical, native-born American character "Uncle Sam" as we now know him, is one of the interesting features of "The Contrast" itself.

Mary Palmer, his wife, in her autobiography gives us some account of the social conditions which they found on their arrival in this village. She says that in 1800 "The Holbrooks, Fessendens, Halls and Blakes had recently settled on the west bank of the Connecticut. These, with the Chapins and the Reverend William Wells, formed a cultivated society."

"Devoted to everything that was calculated to elevate, refine and adorn, and withal giving warmth and enjoyment to all who came within her sphere," she also contributed much towards "an ambition for literary pursuits."

But Mrs. Tyler's influence in this new country was not limited to the amenities of life, however worthy they might be; the care and work of making cheese and butter, and the spinning wheels were attended by herself with the assistance of one and sometimes two girls. She spun all the thread she used, bleaching some and dyeing some, weaving it into sheets and table linen. She also made woolen sheeting. Her children's summer and winter garments for common use were made by her. Later in life, in the Tyler house on the Common, she spun sewing and embroidery silk from silkworms fed on mulberries of her own planting.[1]

The brilliant coterie of ladies and gentlemen who composed the literary society known by the name of "Colon and Spondee," meeting at Guilford and less often at Dummerston, under the inspiration of the Tylers, included, as members, Richard Whitney, James Elliot, whose poetical and miscellaneous works were published in four volumes, Miss Amelia Palmer, Miss Mary Tyler, Miss Elizabeth Peck and Miss Harriet (daughter of Micah Townsend), described as "a belle of well-founded pretensions in all respects." Every one of them contributed original poetry and prose

[1] A craze for silkworm culture swept through all this section from about 1835 to 1845.

to *The Farmers' Museum,* or *The New Hampshire and Vermont Journal,* a publication of high merit, edited by Royall Tyler's intimate friend, Joseph Dennie.

Samuel Shephardson, John H. Palmer, Henry Denison, Edward Palmer, Samuel Porter, Richard Vose, Abel Duncan, William Coleman and John Phelps were other members. The conversational powers of these uncommon people were as brilliant as their literary gifts, and, having also acquirements in elocution, they read their own productions excellently well.

There was a dinner after each feast of soul under the supervision of Edward Houghton, who was said to be "a veritable Mæcenas."

A few ladies, Miss Polly and Miss Sally Bigelow, the Misses Negus, "the Crosbys" and Miss Lydia Miller of Dummerston, were also admitted, not as poets or authors, but "some for their fortune, some for their beauty and some for other entertaining qualities."

"It may be remarked that the gentlemen of this society attained positions of importance in after life, and the ladies married suitably and happily."

### Honorable Oliver Chapin

Honorable Oliver Chapin, son of Daniel and Abigail Chapin, of the fourth generation from Deacon Samuel Chapin, who came to Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1642, was born October 1, 1759; married April 29, 1784, Miss Mary Jones of Milford, Massachusetts.

In 1775 he entered the Revolutionary Army as a private and became a member of General Washington's bodyguard, serving until December, 1779.

In 1789 he moved from Milford to Orange, Massachusetts. In 1799 and 1804 he represented the towns of Orange and Warwick in the General Court. In 1806 he moved from Orange to Brattleboro, and was engaged as a country merchant here as in Orange; was interested in turnpike building and in 1804 built the bridge across the Connecticut River, between Hinsdale, New Hampshire, and Brattleboro. At that time the island in the river was called Chapin's Island. In 1807 he was appointed second assistant judge of the Windham County Court and in 1809, first assistant judge.

He died June 26, 1811. Mrs. Chapin died August 27, 1849, aged eighty-four.

He was a man of uncommon ability and enterprise and became an influential factor in the development of the town. He built houses on the main street, which were destroyed by the fire of 1869, including his own residence on the south corner of Main and High Streets.

Children:

Cyrus Chapin, born in Milford June 10, 1785; graduated from Brown University; a merchant; unmarried; died in Brattleboro April 27, 1811.

Abigail, born in Orange July 2, 1789; married Thomas Harris of Charlestown, Massachusetts. She was left a widow with nine children, of whom Thomas and George became farmers in Hillsboro, Illinois. She died in Jaffrey, New Hampshire, August 3, 1870. Other children were:

Julia J., married April 22, 1851, Doctor F. A. Holman, a physician at the Vermont Asylum. They lived in California, where she died February 13, 1871, aged forty-five, leaving a daughter, Sophie.

Mary C., married April 22, 1856, Doctor Fred S. Ainsworth, born in Jaffrey, New Hampshire, April 17, 1820; graduated at Dartmouth in 1840 and Harvard Medical School, 1844; practiced his profession in Boston; was surgeon (major) of the 22d Massachusetts Infantry; brigadier-surgeon of United States Volunteers from 1862 to 1865; died in Jaffrey October 5, 1878.

Charles A., born July 10, 1803. (See p. 501.)

Captain Samuel Root,

son of Moses Root, was fourth in descent from Thomas Roote, who came to Hartford, Connecticut, about 1637 from Badby, England. He was born at Montague, Massachusetts, October 9, 1788, came to Brattleboro when he was about twenty years of age and worked for Samuel Dickinson, from whom he learned the trade of a blacksmith. After laboring for Dickinson a few years and completing his engagement, he bought of him his shop, tools and good will and commenced business for himself.

He married February 6, 1817, Catherine, daughter of Eli Sargent, who was born April 18, 1791, at the old Sargent homestead, West River, the second of nine children, and during her whole life a resident of Brattleboro; she died February 6, 1876.

Captain Root was a man of great industry, of an indomitable will and always exercised the most rigid economy. When New England and New York were chartering banks by the score, the prudent Captain invested his surplus gains and accumulations in bank shares, and his investments uniformly proved productive and added largely to his wealth. At the time of his death he owned a large amount of stock in some ten or fifteen banks in New England and New York.

His stern, unflinching honesty and practical good sense rendered him exceedingly popular with his neighbors and townsmen, and he was annually elected to responsible offices in town, the duties of which he discharged with great fidelity. He represented the town in the General

Assembly of the state; was oftentimes chosen one of the selectmen of the town, and was for many years trustee and keeper of the surplus money, a fund sequestered and set apart for the support and maintenance of common schools in town. The fund was large, and great care was required in obtaining ample security for loans that were made of portions of the same. He was for a long time a director in the old bank, and was elected president thereof after the death of Epaphroditus Seymour in 1854, and continued to hold the office until his own death in March, 1869.

During the last fifty years of his life he filled the most important municipal offices in town. As a citizen, he discharged all his duties faithfully and distinguished himself by the zeal and energy with which he entered into enterprises which were calculated to promote the growth and prosperity of the town, and his conduct was characterized by the utmost frankness and sincerity. He followed closely the policy adopted by his distinguished predecessor, Mr. Seymour, in the management of the bank.

He was captain of the Brattleborough Artillery.

He died March 15, 1869, sincerely mourned and regretted by a large circle of relatives and friends.

Of five children, only two survived the father:

Frances, born December 17, 1817; married August 12, 1839, George C. Lawrence; died February 23, 1871. (See p. 554.)

Catherine, born March 21, 1820; died in Chicago April 20, 1896; married January 4, 1843, Samuel H. Price of Virginia, born November 7, 1815, died in Chicago April 8, 1863. Children:

Edward R., born November 5, 1843, lost his health in the war; died August 5, 1900; married Miss Elizabeth Rowley; sons: S. Harrison, died August 30, 1918; and Robert C.

Frank, born in 1846; married Miss Hattie Gaskell, who died March 23, 1913. He died March 23, 1921, leaving a son, Harold Gaskell Price.

Samuel H. Price was born in Greenbriar County, Virginia. When a young man he came to New England, and received his collegiate education at Amherst, Massachusetts. In 1839 he was principal of the old Chesterfield Academy and was principal of the High School in Brattleboro in 1840. He studied and practiced law in this village with J. D. Bradley and was admitted to the bar in September, 1841. He then removed to Windsor in this state and continued the practice of his profession for several years; after spending a year or two in Manchester, New Hampshire, superintending the construction of a railroad, he went to the West and was employed by an insurance company and transacted business in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and went to Chicago, Illinois, in 1856. On the breaking out of the war he and his eldest son entered the service of the

United States. He was quartermaster of the Ninth Regiment of Illinois Cavalry under General Curtis and continued to perform the duties of that office till sickness compelled him to resign and return to his home in Chicago, where he lingered under the fatal effects of disease so common to our army in the swamps of the South.

Mr. Price was a man of great moral worth. Being imbued with a keen sense of justice and right, he was always strongly opposed to that "peculiar Institution" which proved the bane of his native state. Into all measures for human improvement and progress be entered with an intelligent zeal and manly independence. Loyal to the heart's core, he was ready to make any sacrifice which the good of his country demanded. In short, he was a man who could justly be called a Christian, a patriot and a gentleman.

### Ezra Clark

Ezra Clark, called "Doctor" because up to his time the sale of drugs was controlled by physicians, came here from Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1809, and during the time he resided here was the only druggist in Brattleboro, which profession he combined with hardware. His shop was in a small wooden building about on the site of the Episcopal Church, just north of Captain Lord's tavern. About 1820 he moved, with his family, to Hartford, Connecticut, where he was an extensive iron dealer. N. B. Williston, his former clerk and partner, became his successor and with E. Hunt purchased the entire stock of Doctor Clark. The building remained in possession of Doctor Clark over twenty years after his removal to Hartford, but the drug business therein was successfully continued by Messrs. Williston & Hunt for many years.

"Doctor Clark was remembered in Brattleboro for his excellent qualities of mind and heart and for his remarkable uprightness in business. He was vivacious, quick-witted, and was in demand for extemporaneous speeches which overflowed with wit and wisdom." His sons came back to Brattleboro after a few years. The eldest son, S. Morton Clark, became the proprietor of a manufactory of "mother-of-pearl" as early as 1833. This material was converted into articles of beauty, such as pearl slides, buttons, etc. He married Janette, daughter of G. R. Ellis, Esquire, and returned to Hartford, Connecticut. He died January 10, 1870, aged eighty-one.

Honorable Ezra Clark, Junior, was in early life employed as a clerk by Messrs. Williston & Hunt in this place. Several years after his return to Hartford he was elected representative to Congress from that city. He married Miss Laura Whitney, who died May 4, 1862.

He was president of the Vermont Savings Bank from 1847 to 1857, and was trustee of the Vermont Asylum.

### Nathan Birdseye Williston

Reverend Payson, son of Reverend Noah Williston of West Haven, Connecticut, was born in 1763; graduated from Yale, 1783; ordained at Easthampton August 13, 1789. He married Sarah Birdseye, daughter of Reverend Nathan Birdseye of Stratford.

His son, Nathan Birdseye Williston, was born at Easthampton August 11, 1798. He left his father's home at the age of twelve years, and from that time on was dependent on his own resources. He came to Brattleboro in 1810, as clerk in the store of Ezra Clark. Winning the confidence of Mr. Clark, he became a partner, and ultimately succeeded to the business in 1835. Later on he took into partnership his brother-in-law, Ferdinand Tyler (p. 414), and still later Charles F. Thompson (p. 678), in 1853. At the establishment of the Windham County Bank, in 1856, he became its president; and when that institution was merged into the First National Bank, in 1864, he continued in the same relationship to that organization till his retirement in 1879. During the war he was engaged in the manufacture of carriages.

Mr. Williston was twice married: to Miss Margaret Miller, who died October 5, 1841, aged thirty-five, leaving five children; and to Miss Caroline Brewster, who died August 19, 1872, aged sixty-five.

He died December 5, 1883.

Children:

Payson, died February 7, 1831, aged nineteen months.

Margaret M., died February 5, 1858, aged twenty-five.

Maria, born October 19, 1835; married September 16, 1858, Reverend George Leon Walker; died August 31, 1865. (See p. 733.)

Edmund H. Sawyer was, when a young man, a clerk in the employ of Williston & Tyler. He went from here in 1852 and entered into business relations with Samuel Williston of Easthampton.

Mr. Sawyer was widely known as the manager of the Nashawannock Manufacturing Company, and as an enterprising business man. He occupied many positions of trust and responsibility, and was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature.

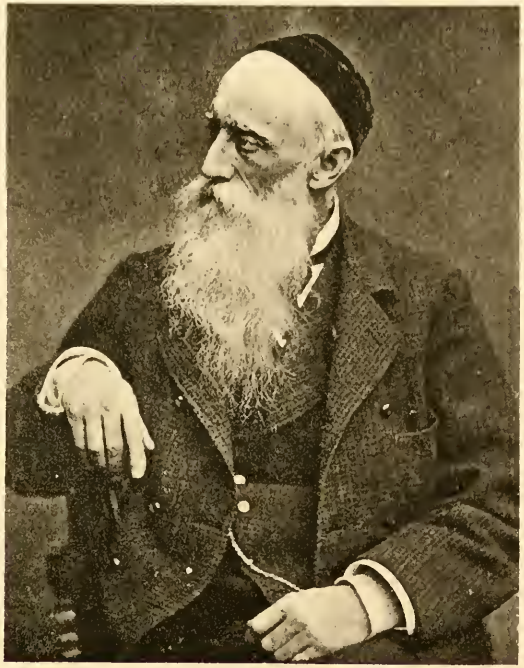
He married October 4, 1848, Mary A. Farnsworth, daughter of Eleazer Farnsworth, who died May 3, 1851, aged twenty-four.

He died in Easthampton November 26, 1879.

### Honorable Jonathan Hunt

Jonathan and Elisha Hunt, who cleared land in Vernon in 1758, were sons of Samuel Hunt, whose father, Jonathan, was son of the Jonathan who was first of the name in this country.

MRS. JONATHAN HUNT AND HER CHILDREN



WILLIAM MORRIS HUNT

COLONEL PAUL CHASE

GARDNER C. HALL

Samuel had other children:

Arad, who lived in Vernon, was general of militia, and member of the Westminster Convention of 1777, and donated five thousand acres of land in Albany, Vermont, to Middlebury College.

Another son, Jonathan, was lieutenant-governor of Vermont, major in 1780, sheriff of Windham County, June 15, 1781, high sheriff in 1782, judge of the County Court, October 24, 1783, and member of the Convention of 1791. He was born September 12, 1738; married July 15, 1779, Miss Lavinia Swan of Boston, born August 12, 1749; died June 29, 1834. He died in Vernon June 1, 1823. Children: Anne, who married Doctor Perley Marsh, left $10,000 to found an Asylum for the Insane in Brattleboro; Frances, married Gouverneur Morris; Arad, who was the father of Roswell, in business in Brattleboro with Colonel Arnold J. Hines and George Newman, a brilliant machinist and a fascinating man, and of Lavinia S., married Major John C. Tyler of Brattleboro. (See p. 414.) Jonathan and Lavinia Hunt were also the parents of:

Honorable Jonathan Hunt, who was born in the town of Vernon, Vermont, August 12, 1787; graduated at Dartmouth College in the class of 1807; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and soon after began practice in Brattleboro. He married Maria Jane, daughter of Colonel Thaddeus and Jemima (Loomis) Leavitt of Suffield, Connecticut.

He was captain of artillery in 1811, general later, and contributed largely from his fortune to the maintenance of the militia. He built a house on the main street, where many of the distinguished men of the country were guests. This was the first house built entirely of brick in Brattleboro and Windham County, and people came from miles distant to see the wonderful sight.

A little one-story building[1] (at the foot of High Street and corner of Main) was built on his grounds by him in 1820 for a law office. In 1830, when Hunt was a member of Congress, occurred the great Hayne controversy in which Daniel Webster immortalized himself, and which was said to have had its inception in the little office on High Street when the great orator was a guest of the Hunt family.

Jonathan Hunt represented the town in the Legislature in 1816, 1817 and 1824, was elected to the Twentieth, Twenty-first and

[1] Used as an insurance office by Doctor Charles A. Chapin, a law office by J. D. Bradley and others, an express office in the sixties, removed in April, 1872. From November 9, 1832, Gouverneur Morris as attorney and counselor-at-law occupied the law office of Honorable Jonathan Hunt.

Twenty-second Congress, serving from March 4, 1827, until his death in Washington May 15, 1832.

He was president of the First National Bank of Brattleboro from March 1, 1822, to the time of his death.

He was a man "of sound practical sense and stern integrity." Resolutions by the House of Representatives at the time of his death stated that "the character of Mr. Hunt for professional uprightness, political independence and unsullied integrity in his private affairs was not surpassed by that of any man in the community. Attended from early youth by all the allurements which wealth can furnish, few men have arrived at the meridian of life through a course of more uniform industry and perseverance." Mr. Everett of Vermont, in addressing the House, said, "I have known him long, I have known him well, and a purer spirit never inhabited mortality."

Children of Honorable Jonathan and Jane Leavitt Hunt were:

Jane, born September 12, 1821.

William Morris, born March 31, 1824. (See p. 723.)

Doctor Jonathan, died in Paris, 1855.

Richard Morris, born October, 1828. (See p. 726.)

Leavitt, born February 22, 1830. (See p. 728.)

After the death of her husband Mrs. Hunt took her family to Europe for a prolonged stay, that they might be educated in the direction of their natural endowments.

Mrs. Hunt died December 30, 1877.

Miss Jane Hunt left by will to the Brooks Library the painting, "The Prodigal Son," by her brother, William Morris Hunt.

### Asa Green

Asa Green came to Brattleboro previous to 1810, was a lawyer, and was postmaster from 1811 to 1841. Green Street, on land he owned, was named for him. He married Electa Willard, who was born at Westminster, Vermont, December 23, 1787; she was a daughter of Billy Willard, who was born at Fort Dummer. She died October 22, 1877.

Upon their marriage they removed to Brattleboro, joining the Centre Congregational Church together in 1817. For thirty or more years Mr. Green was one of the prime movers in the organization of the church, and was the first clerk. They lived in the house which he built, in 1834, on the top of the hill where Green Street bends down to High; this house was afterwards the residence of Doctor Francis J. Higginson. Henry Burnham speaks of his "pleasantness, peculiarities, virtues and eccen-

tricities." In 1843 he moved to Davenport, Iowa, where he died October 2, 1843.

His wife remained in Davenport until 1845, when she returned, and her death occurred in Brattleboro. She left a sister, Miss Betsey Willard, who died February 26, 1882, aged eighty-eight, and an adopted son, Theodore P. Greene, admiral of the United States Navy. (See p. 821.)

### Grindall R. Ellis

Grindall R. Ellis was admitted to the bar of Windham County in December, 1810. He moved from Newfane Hill to Brattleboro in 1812 and lived south of the Common.

He deeded the land now known as the village Common to the town on condition that the church should be built on it.

Mr. Ellis married Susan, daughter of Judge Lemuel Whitney, who died September 9, 1872, aged eighty-four.

He died September 10, 1830, aged forty-three.

Children:

Helen E., married November 1, 1830, John R. Blake.

Janette, married Ezra Clark of Hartford, Connecticut.

Frances L., educated at the Troy Female Seminary, 1835-1836; married October 31, 1837, D. P. Russell; died December 19, 1838, aged twenty-four.

### Reverend Alonzo Church, D.D.,

was born in West Brattleboro on the Dwight Goodenough farm, April 9, 1793. He was the son of Reuben Church, who, with his father, served in the Revolutionary War. His boyhood and youth were spent upon a small farm, and he was obliged to pay his way through Middlebury College by teaching in the winter. He graduated in the class of 1816 and soon after, on account of impaired health, emigrated to Georgia, where at Putnam in that state, he established in 1818 a classical school for both sexes. This school became famous, drawing pupils from all the adjoining counties.

Soon after his arrival in Georgia he was ordained a minister of the Presbyterian Church, but continued to teach, devoting himself to the ministry without salary, by supplying the pulpit of those poor churches whose members were unable to provide themselves with a pastor.

In the year 1819 he was elected professor of mathematics and astronomy in Franklin College, an institution which had been endowed by the state of Georgia as early as 1789, and upon the resignation of the president of the college in 1829 he succeeded to that position, which he filled for thirty years, until 1860.

He married one of his pupils, Anna D., who was born in 1836 and died in 1889. He lived for more than forty years in Athens, Georgia.

Among those who received instruction at his hands were many of Georgia's most distinguished sons. A. H. Stevens was his pupil, and during his collegiate career was an inmate of Doctor Church's family. Numbers of Georgia's best and oldest men acknowledged their indebtedness to the wise and good man who directed their education. He was the friend and associate of Crawford and Bowen, of Calhoun and Preston and McDuffie, and, although his pursuits were different, he was a peer among them.

He was a great educator, with a sense of justice that made him a power for good. To him more than to any other one man is due the intellectual development of the citizens of Georgia.

Doctor Church died May 18, 1862. T. Alonzo Church, his son, died at the age of fifty-six.

## Jimmie Barnes and Sukie, His Wife

The country in New England until a very recent period has bred, side by side with, and as a sort of humorous accompaniment to, its strong and balanced individualities, lesser and strangely eccentric persons, who have, like Shakespeare's clowns, relieved by their humor and exaggeration the more serious aspects of life. We are fortunate in having such a lively account of Jimmie Barnes and Sukie, his wife.

John W. Blake, Esquire, found employment for Jimmie Barnes on a farm owned by Mr. Blake in the West River district. At this time Jimmie had no family, and he was intensely devoted to the interests of his employer, for whom he had great veneration. He considered the "Esquire" the man, and the only man, fit for office. When asked the question whom he should vote for, for representative, governor or president, the answer was invariably, "Squar Blake." Jimmie remained a single man until he met Sukie at the store of John Holbrook, in the building afterwards known as the American House. This event must have been before 1810, for Mr. Holbrook ceased his mercantile operations in this place about that time.

However much "Barkis was willin'," there was a serious objection, in the shape of a husband, to be disposed of before Sukie could be honored by the name of Barnes. In all the stores and hotels of that time customers were furnished with a popular beverage called "flip." This was, we believe, a compound of some kind of ardent spirits, beer, water, nutmeg, sugar, and finished off by inserting into the mug containing the composition, a red-hot iron. As Esau sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, the husband of Sukie, for a mug of flip, gave up his marital rights to

Jimmie, and left him in undisturbed possession of "the charmer." The legality of this affair was never questioned before the courts, and for effectiveness, expedition and economy the transaction has never been surpassed, if equaled, in this town. Jimmie ever afterwards had a weakness for the beverage, and had as many blessings in store for the man who invented "flip," as Sancho had for the man who invented sleep.

A daughter, the eldest from this novel union, married one of the brave tars who served under Commodore Decatur in the War of 1812, and assisted in the capture of the British frigate *Macedonian*. It was the custom of that time to use complimentary words in marriage notices, therefore appeared in the village paper: "Mr. J. Freeman, to the amiable and accomplished daughter of James Barnes, Esquire, of England."

Our earliest recollections of Jimmie date to the time he was bent with age and went about with a bag upon his back, to carry off—we were told—naughty, disobedient children, and especially those boys who neglected to attend school and religious exercises.

But more dreadful than with a bag was Jimmie with a spade—that implement of his vocation in the village cemetery—when he covered from our sight, forever, our schoolmates in the long ago. The pent-up grief, led slowly up Cemetery Hill by Deacon Wood, often found utterance, when fell upon the ear a hopeless, heart-rending rattle upon the coffin, of gravel from the glittering spade of Jimmie.

Though

It was a childish ignorance,

there was pleasure in wishing anything but good for the old wretch who dug the first graves on that hill and made so many people cry.

By the death of Mr. Blake, in 1818, Jimmie lost his most highly valued patron. From that time, or a short time before the death of Mr. Blake, Jimmie took up his abode on the east side of the river. The small dilapidated cottage, where he lived with Sukie and an idiotic child named Olive, was, in 1825, standing near the base of Chesterfield Mountain and about opposite the Congregational parsonage. He cultivated some over an acre of ground about his cottage, but the principal source of his income was this place, where he passed most of his time in varied employments, such as working in gardens, doing chores, moving grain on his back up or down stairs for merchants, and telling big stories.

"The honey bees in England," he said, "are big as the sheep in this country, but the hives are about the same size as used here." "When at work with my axe on the mountain," said he, "I was attacked by a big snake that measured, after I had killed and straightened him out, just sixteen axe-helves long." It was as impossible to get an abatement of one axe-helve from the measure of that snake, as to get from Farmer

W—— a reduction of one bug from the "eight bushels of squash bugs, potato measure," found by him, as he declared, when tearing away an old barn.

Jimmie claimed to be a native of old England, and he evidently felt superior to the natives here who were laborers like himself. In hair-breadth escapes and thrilling experiences, he rivaled old Sindbad of Eastern romance. There was an air of earnestness and seriousness in his manner, when relating the events of his life, that would doubtless have generated more faith in the minds of those who listened to his narratives if he had regarded the old admonition,

> Lest men suspect your tale untrue,
> Keep probabilities in view.

The history of his advent here is given, as well as we can remember, in his own words:

When some weeks on the voyage from England to this country, our ship was leaking so badly we could not save her, and to save myself I got into a large hogshead. The cooper headed me in and the waves cast me ashore. The bung of the cask loosened by sunshine and I pushed out and grabbed the tail of an ox. The frightened animal dragged me over a ledge, the cask broke open and up jumped Jimmie.

His wife, Sukie, made mops and husk doormats, and told ladies' fortunes to order; but she was a poor financier. Her price for reading the book of fate was a small package of green tea. When the summer was in prime many small packages, wafted by white dresses and enclosed by jeweled fingers, passed over Chapin's Island to the shrine of Sukie. To the Brattleboro fair of doubtful age, feeding on blue clay and the illusions of hope, there was an unaccountable charm in the ugly, pock-marked, tripelike face of their oracle. A company of plain-looking girls never appeared so attractive as when standing beside old Sukie. We will allow them credit for sagacity transcending their aspirations of receiving light from Sukie's yellow teacup. The cunning creatures understood the value of comparison; willingly did they accompany eligible and desirable young beaux to this little cot on the mountain, who would "look on this picture and then on that."

In 1833 some people then living in this place caused the erection of a new building for Jimmie and Sukie. Colonel Paul Chase, and Mr. McKean, the first high school teacher, especially interested themselves in this matter, and Mr. McKean went over the river with his nail-hammer, to help shingle the house. A few years after this event the house was destroyed by fire, and from injuries thereby received, Olive, their idiotic

CHASE STREET SCHOOL

STEEN HOUSE

RESIDENCE OF
CAPTAIN SAMUEL ROOT

WEST RIVER BRIDGE

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

HUNT HOUSE

STAIRCASE IN HUNT HOUSE

HUNT HOUSE WITH PORCH ADDED

child, died. At this time age and infirmity had nearly finished their work upon the aged couple; but Colonel Chase did not desert them in this extremity. With his own carriage he brought them to this side of the river, where his personal superintendence was given to their wants, and every needful provision made for their comfort up to the last moment of their lives.

# THIRD PERIOD
# FURTHER INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT—
# INSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED
## 1811-1844

## CHAPTER XXIV

## THE GENERAL MERCHANDISE STORE

The General Merchandise Store—Cargo of river boat—River navigation—Francis Goodhue—John R. Blake.

The second half century of Brattleboro opened with a promise which was fulfilled by men who were attracted in increasing numbers to its industrial possibilities. Distinctions between those who were in the professions and those who were in trade had given leadership in public affairs to the clergy and lawyers, whose minds were enlightened and disciplined by a more thorough education; they had also the obvious advantage of being able to present causes with some degree of oratorical effect. The duty of the citizen was recognized by them as a compelling influence when office was given rather than sought.

After the Revolution, however, a more democratic spirit permeated the ideals and feelings of the people; especially in New England a man was judged for his personal qualifications rather than by his occupation.

In Brattleboro the Tory leaders and lawyers, Samuel Wells, Samuel Knight and Micah Townsend, had passed away. John W. Blake, James Elliot and Chief Justice Royall Tyler died before 1830. Honorable Jonathan Hunt died in 1832. The positions of influence and control assigned to eighteen lawyers and two merchants in their time, were now to be divided among twenty-one merchants and seven lawyers. A grasp of the economic basis and general needs of the community and of the ways by which they could be met, was fortunately characteristic of such men in trade as the Fessenden brothers, John Holbrook, Francis Goodhue, John R. Blake, Gardner C. Hall, Samuel Clark, John Wheeler and others.

By this time impetus had been given to the expansion of highways for travel and merchandise. Canals were being made to connect the waterways, turnpikes were spreading out from the cities, steamboat companies were forming, mills and factories increased. Banks were started. (In 1784 there was no national treasury and no banks. The people of New England for one hundred and fifty years kept their accounts in English pounds, shillings, pence and farthings. The value of the pound varied in different states. Six shillings made the value of a Spanish dollar.

The pistareen, worth about thirty cents, was also in circulation. Old stockings were the depositories of the people's savings.)

The general merchandise store marks the beginning of trade in growing towns. Here the farmer's produce was brought and bartered for articles to make life more comfortable, which came up from Boston at first in the saddlebags of the country merchant or in the stages run for traffic as for travel. Little money being in circulation, nearly all trade was carried on by barter. Subscriptions to newspapers were made in rags, grain, butter, cheese, wood, etc.

As the more remote towns and villages were stirred by the larger movement, stores of general merchandise were enlarged in important centers, supplied by means of river boats, bringing products of lands beyond the seas, and by six-horse teams connecting them with resources in other parts of New England.

The demands of the people kept pace with the development of the country. Iron, nails, steel, lead, salt, spices, molasses, sugar, tin, codfish, powder and rum were brought into the interior, to be exchanged for pitch, tar, turpentine, pearlash, flaxseed, tallow.

The West Indies needed grain, pork and other food products from the states, with lumber, and in return the tropics gave of their abundance to the wants of towns lying along the waterways of the eastern states. Rum was a great factor in the trade with the West Indies until New England undertook her own distilling, which became a business in high repute, some of the most intelligent and virtuous engaging in it. Not to offer a visitor "something to drink" was a breach of hospitality. Rum was present on all public occasions and at private feasts, weddings and funerals. "Casks of black-strap, a mixture of rum and molasses, stood in every country store, and a salted, dried codfish alongside. The codfish was stripped off, and eaten, being free of cost, by the patrons of the store whose thirst stimulated the purchase of more black-strap." In 1830 efforts of temperance societies so far discredited the custom of the people as to diminish the quantity of rum used and this proved fatal to the profit of the manufacturer.

In combination with manufacturing, trading and the learned professions, the soil remained the real source of subsistence and the main industry.

As we have seen, the first general merchandise store on any considerable scale was started in West Brattleboro about 1800 by John Noyes. He was one of the country merchants who made two trips a year to Boston by stage, or on horseback, spending three or four days on the road, and carrying a change of clothes, money for his purchases and perhaps a pistol for his defense, in a pair of ample saddlebags. In 1813 he and General

Mann were conducting a big business there, and up to 1820 Noyes, Mann & Hayes and Noyes & Hayes had branch stores in Dummerston, Wilmington and Whitingham.

In England a man was forbidden by law to carry on two trades at the same time, but in the new world there were no restrictions and no monopoly. Every man was free where trade was concerned.

We have here an advertisement from William Fessenden's *Reporter* of August 22, 1803, of the

ARRIVAL OF A RIVER BOAT.

The Packet
Arrived on Thursday evening last,
with
34 Tierces Turks I. Salt,
8 Do. of Rock,
1 Box Smoking Tobacco,
1 Tierce Hard Biscuit,
6 Connecticut Plows,
1 Cask of Nails,
1 Hhd. of good Old Spirits,

Such as must please connoisseurs in grog drinking, and must command a great price.

*N. B. The best of Turks*

I. SALT at 7s6—any quantity may be had at that price under 800 bushels.

For sale by

HOLBROOK & HOSFORD.

Another advertisement is as follows:

NEW GOODS.

George W. Hall received a new supply of cheap, elegant goods, consistant of elegant calicoes, yellow nankins, Chinese crepes, ginghams, Irish linens, also hardware, crockery and glassware, also W. I. & N. E. rum, real cognac brandy, Lisborn port, genuine cider brandy, American gin and plug tobacco, Maccoboy snuff, mould and dipp candles, brimstone, sulphur, etc.

Wanted freighted, first sleighing, loading teams to and from Albany, Sacket's Harbor, New Haven and Boston.

GEORGE W. HALL.

This is descriptive of the contents of a general merchandise store in 1820:

GOODHUE & BLAKE.

Have just received and have on hand for sale,

BROAD CLOTHS & KERSIMERES.

Devonshire Kersey, Sattinetts, Flannels, Rose Blankets, Calicoes, Bombazetts, Black and White Cambric, Figured and plain Muslins, Ladies' Silk, Kid, and Beaver Gloves, Gentlemen's do. Black Synchaws, do. Sarsnett, Br'n and other coloured Silks, Black Tabbt Velvet, Drab do. Silk Velvet, British Shirtings, Steam Loom Ditto, Carlisle and American Ginghams and Checks, Cotton Shirtings and Sheetings, Cotton Factory Yarn at wholesale or retail, Morocco Shoes, Muffs, Tippets, Flag, Bandanna and checked Silk Hdkfs. Madrass do. Figured and plain Muslin do. Velvet Bindings, Ribbons &c. &c.

Also—A general assortment of

W. I. GOODS and GROCERIES.

Such as W. I. & N. E. Rum, Cogniac Brandy, Holland and American Gin, Lisbon and Malaga Wines, Molasses, Loaf and Brown Sugar, Hyson, Young Hyson, Hyson Skin, Souchong and Bohea Teas, Coffee, Chocolate, Pimento Pepper, Ginger, Nutmegs, Cloves, Raisins, Tobacco, Spanish and American Cigars, Sal Niter, Sulphur, &c. &c.

Also—A general assortment of

Hard Ware
GOODS,

Brass Kettles, Trace and Halter Chains, Nails all sizes do. Brads, English and Russia Sheet Iron, Eng. and American Blistered Steel, Russia and Swedes Iron, Lamp Oil, Linseed do.

Also—a large assortment of Iron Hollow Ware.

Likewise—An extensive assortment of Crockery and Glass Ware, consisting of Blue printed Edged, and C. C. Plates, Blue printed Tea Sets, Blue printed and Enml'd Cups and Saucers qt. and pt. Ring neck and plain Decanters, Tumblers, Wine Glasses, &c. &c. All which are offered cheap for Cash, most kinds of Country produce, or on a liberal credit.

The subscribers are still wishing to purchase from 15 to 20 tons of good Hay, also five hundred Bushels Oats for which they will pay Cash.

### River Navigation

Captain Nelson Richardson, captain of the line of freight boats which plied between Hartford and Bellows Falls previous to 1847, lived in boyhood at the foot of "swift water" nearly opposite the Whithed place,

where Ira Ide and Milton Cutting kept the "Old Tavern," Richardson being engaged on the ferry connecting the Vermont and New Hampshire shores. They had no wires in those days with which to guide the ferry, "so it was necessary to pull up stream," says Richardson, "and then pull like Sam Hill for t'uther shore." He had a skiff, and foot passengers were rowed across for three cents a head. He afterwards moved up to "Cooper's Hill," where he worked around for a year for 12½ cents a day, except in haying, when the governing price was 75 cents, and, as a boy, he could do as much work as a man.

He moved, with his parents, to the Bartlett farm, where he lived six years, and it was there that he was first employed as a "swift waterman," being one of a crew of about fifteen polemen who lived on either side of the river in Hinsdale and Vernon. These men had a regular organization, and the best of their number were always in readiness to go on duty whenever the boats required an extra force to pole them through the swift water, which began at the Hinsdale landing, the head being about three miles above Brattleboro. Often this crew was reinforced by one or two pair of oxen, which were hitched to a towline of some four hundred feet in length, and pulled the boats past "little meadow," about a mile below the old toll bridge here, and up to the foot of "the tunnel," just below the bridge, where a powerful windlass was brought into requisition. This device was fastened to a large buttonwood tree still standing near the toll bridge, a strong perpendicular post with four arms at the top, where the "swift watermen" were wont to exert their strength on the windlass.

The rapids at "Leavitt's rock," just above the suspension bridge, a mile and a half north of the village, was another difficult place to navigate; when once over this, the men were discharged, and it was clear sailing to Bellows Falls. Richardson, with others, would meet the boats at the ferry, and armed with poles sixteen to twenty-three feet long, tipped at one end with a pike a foot long, would post themselves on either side of the boat, and each of the crew in turn would walk from the bow to the mast-board, usually about one-third the length of the boat, with the pike planted on the bottom, the other end of the pole pressed against his shoulder. The craft was able in this way, with favoring wind, to make a trip to Hartford and return from Bellows Falls in ten or twelve days. The boats used were small, carrying something like eight tons; though some of them, after the canals and locks were completed, carried nearly twenty tons, the largest boat being owned by Capron & Alexander of Winchester. These were sixty-eight feet in length, fourteen feet beam, and drew about eight inches of water, the draft being increased three feet under load. Each was supplied with a thirty-three-foot mast and

a sliding topmast, the two sails carrying about two hundred square yards of canvas.

The boats were run in the daytime only, being moored to some landing or anchored in the stream at night. The freight charges averaged about $7.50 a ton from Brattleboro and a trifle higher from Bellows Falls. They usually carried wool and soapstone down the river, bringing back a cargo of general merchandise. The crew consisted of captains, cook and two or three bow hands. Some days the "swift watermen" would go over the route twice a day for four or five days in succession, all depending on the season and the high water. In the fall of the year they were driven all the harder. These men were paid two dollars a trip to Brattleboro, and fifty cents additional to "Leavitt's rock."

Two boats were run regularly by Hall & Townsley, and one by John R. Blake and Francis Goodhue, an extra boat being run in the fall of the year. Two regular boats ran from Bellows Falls, being owned by Wentworth, Bingham & Company, the company being Samuel Granger of Fairlee. There were two boats from Wells River run by Samuel Nutt, who was also the captain. The Legislature of New Hampshire incorporated the Connecticut Steamboat Company in 1829, the incorporators being Jonathan H. Hubbard, Frederick Pettes, George Dutton, Isaac Hubbard, Edward R. Campbell and others, many of whom were merchants. This charter, however, was amended a year later to the Connecticut River Valley Steamboat Company, and the right given to purchase, own and convey real estate to the value of $20,000. Canals and locks were built where there were rapids or falls, so it was possible to navigate the Connecticut from Hartford to the fifteen-mile fall at Dalton in Coos County. A canal and lock were built at Bellows Falls, one at Sumner's Falls, another at Allcott's Falls, and steamers were used between these points, the passengers and freight being transferred to flatboats and rafts through the canals. Captain Nutt's little steamer was designed to run through the canals and locks, but it was not a success.

Three steamboats from below have, at different times, visited this village, namely: *Barnet, John Ledyard* and *William Holmes.* The *Barnet,* seventy-five by fourteen and a half feet, was the first. It was built by Thomas Blanchard, who invented a lathe for turning eccentric shapes and first set it in successful operation at the United States Armory in shaping gunstocks. In 1827 when the little *Barnet* went, for the first time, screaming and puffing up the river, Captain Blanchard, the presiding genius, already known to fame for his achievements in mechanics, proudly walked the deck of his steamer, inspiring increased confidence that a new era was about to dawn upon this fertile valley. His advent here was greeted with bonfires, bell-ringing, illumination and intoxication. But these demon-

strations were made before our hero had gotten into port; he was struggling against the rapids below the bridge. When about halfway up the rapids, the boat came to a standstill. Notwithstanding the fire was so great that the blaze poured from the smokestack, and Captain Blanchard, with the energy of despair, was punching against the bed of the river with a spiked pole, no further progress could be made. While making vain efforts to successfully reinforce steam with this ancient method of navigation, Captain Blanchard fell from the boat into the rapids and came near being drawn under the boat, but was fortunately rescued by strong hands, which seized him by the collar at the right moment to save him from the threatened calamity. Sorrow and disappointment were apparent as swift water now obtained the victory, floating the *Barnet* and Blanchard down the stream, where a sturdy pair of oxen were used to tow her into port near the foot of old Mill Street. The next trial to ascend proved successful, by applying the old stationary windlass that had long been used for drawing flatboats over these rapids.

Now safely moored in the desired haven, as the sun went down, the asthmatic breathing and noise of contending elements in the bosom of the *Barnet* ceased, but the public mind was under a high pressure all that night. The survivors of this brilliant engagement for the evening, aroused the following day by the cannon, bell and hissing steam of the *Barnet,* bravely stepped on the hot, quivering deck of the monster and away they went north, at the enormous speed of four miles an hour, and arrived finally at Bellows Falls. These heroic deeds were embalmed in verse by the poetical genius of the time and place.

Two years after, Mr. Blanchard built two boats, called the *Blanchard* and the *Vermont,* which made a few trips between Bellows Falls and Barnet. The stroke of their pistons was horizontal, and their engines were one hundred and twenty horsepower. The *William Holmes,* her captains being Theodore Griswold and John Davenport with several others, was built at Bellows Falls especially for towing purposes. This, too, ran about three or four years, when it was abandoned because of the many turns in the river, which made it impracticable; but not, however, until one of the Brattleboro boats was destroyed by running upon "Cooper's rock."

Mr. Richardson let himself to Whithed & Company in the spring of 1853 and began running regular trips as bow hand and finally succeeded to the captaincy of the *Peacock,* which he commanded about two years, when he went to work for Capron, Alexander & Company, whose boats ran between the Hinsdale ferry and Hartford. Captain Richardson ran, with his brother Timothy, the *Dispatch,* of which he was later the captain. From the *Dispatch* he went to the *Royal Tar* as captain. "I had her

repainted and christened myself," said Richardson. "Folks said I picked out pretty bully names, but it was the luckiest boat I ever had. I attended a menagerie at Hartford, in which was a panorama representing a ship on fire and a lot of animals jumping overboard. The scene impressed me, as well as the name on the picture boat, and I adopted this for my own boat. I ran the *Royal Tar* for two or three years, when I took the *Mary Ann,* one of the Brattleborough boats. It was most too large to run to Brattleborough, as it carried thirty-six tons. This, too, I named in honor of my sister and the sister of my bow hand, William Smith."

Leander Thomas of Brattleboro was the cook, both on the *Royal Tar* and *Mary Ann.* Captain Richardson made his last trip on the latter in the fall of 1847, the Brattleboro boats having been taken off one year before, though the Greenfield boats continued to run after he had left the service. He occasionally had a jolly party on board his boats from the different towns along the route, who simply went down the river for the fun of the thing. The boats were open, with tents to cover the dry goods. "Gosh!" said the good-natured captain, "I have often been up to Bellows Falls with eight hogsheads of rum. Then there was nothing on the present Brattleboro depot grounds save the notorious 'Thunderbolt's' home. On leaving the river I went to work in the factory of Ripley, Hale & Todd at Hinsdale, and in 1850 I bought a farm and have farmed it ever since. I am pretty sure that there is no other Connecticut River steamboat captain living who ran boats as far north as Bellows Falls."

### The Canal Company Formed in December, 1828

In 1828 a prospect was under consideration for a horse railroad from Boston to Brattleboro at a cost of $1,000,000 or $9000 a mile.

In the office of the secretary of state of New Hampshire is to be seen an act of incorporation for a dam and canal near Brattleboro, evidently intended to avoid the rapid water just below the bridge, which were never constructed. This is the substance of the charter:

An Act to Incorporate the Connecticut River Canal Company. Approved December 30, 1828.

Incorporators: Richard Kimball, Elias Lyman, Amos A. Brewster, Francis Goodhue, Henry Hubbard, Allan Wardner.

The company was authorized to construct a canal from some point in the town of Hinsdale to the mouth of Israel's River, with the right to cross Connecticut River and locate a part of said canal within the limits of the state of Vermont. The canal was to be not less than thirty-four feet wide at the surface of the water, twenty feet wide at the bottom, and four feet deep, and the locks of such length, not less than eighty feet in the clear, and of such width, not less than twelve feet, that boats which

RESIDENCE OF DEACON JOHN HOLBROOK

RESIDENCE OF JOSEPH GOODHUE

COCKAYNE BOSTON

BUILT BY DEACON JOHN HOLBROOK FOR HIS SON
THE REV JOHN C. HOLBROOK

SAME

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

could conveniently navigate Connecticut River might float and pass through the same. The authorized rates of toll were based on each mile's transportation on said canal.

### Francis Goodhue, Esquire

Francis Goodhue was descendant from William Goodhue, who came from England to America in 1635-1636, settling in Ipswich, Massachusetts. He married Hannah, daughter of Reverend Francis Dane of Andover, and it is from him that the name Francis has been brought down through five generations to the present time. Francis Goodhue removed from Ipswich to Winchendon, Massachusetts, to Swanzey Center, New Hampshire, then to Weathersfield, Vermont, in 1804. His son Francis was born in Winchendon October 26, 1768; married in 1788, Polly Brown, daughter of Reverend Joseph Brown. In Weathersfield, he came into possession of the famous "Bow Farm" of about one thousand acres, being of the most fertile and desirable meadowlands of the Connecticut River Valley. In 1810 he sold this valuable farm to Honorable William Jarvis, afterwards known as "Consul Jarvis," soon after the latter resigned his office as United States consul.[1] After selling this farm, Mr. Goodhue was said to have brought to town $30,000 in gold when he settled in Brattleboro—in 1811—and this place was his home the remainder of his life.

The then small settlement in the part of the town known as the East Village, having extensive meadows north and south of it, attracted the attention of Mr. Goodhue, and he made purchase of lands north and south, containing in some localities buildings thereon. Much of the real estate had been previously owned by the Honorable John W. Blake.

About the same time Deacon John Holbrook sold to Mr. Goodhue the water power and buildings east of the south bridge on Main Street, containing a saw- and gristmill and some machinery for other purposes. Mr. Goodhue owned all of the west side of Main Street from the Town Hall to the Common, the north side of High Street, Mechanic's Square, the Retreat farm and the island.

With Mr. Goodhue every moment was improved in advancing the growth and general prosperity of this settlement on the western bank of the Connecticut River. Though diligent and attentive to the many small and needful details of life and business, he was ever awake to greater occasions. About fourteen years had passed after his coming here, when an enterprise of great importance aroused the public attention. The Erie Canal, so often called in derision, while in process of construction, "Clinton's Ditch," was universally allowed to be a grand success. A canal was made from New Haven, Connecticut, to Northampton,

[1] Father of Mrs. Hampden Cutts of Brattleboro.

Massachusetts, and it was proposed to extend the same to Brattleboro. Gardner C. Hall, Mr. Goodhue and other business men became interested in the enterprise. Surveyors and civil engineers were put on the route, and while performing their duties in this vicinity they were accompanied by Mr. Goodhue, whom many of the old people remembered, holding one end of the chain, measuring through the forest. While the public mind was discussing and deliberating upon this matter, a little noisy steamboat came screaming up the Connecticut to tell the people that they had a natural canal leading southward, and all that was needed to make Brattleboro a seaport was to put on the steam. The canal project was laid upon the table, and Mr. Goodhue and others here, gave their attention and money to allow the experiment of steam navigation a fair trial. Mr. Goodhue lived to see this enterprise a failure, and not until about eleven years after his death was the success of transportation accomplished by railroad, his son, Colonel Joseph Goodhue, and his grandson, Francis Goodhue, Esquire, acting from the first on the board of directors of the Vermont & Massachusetts Railroad.

This intensely practical man seemed to receive a new inspiration in this his last home, for he became everything this village needed at that time. He paid no regard to the old adage, "Don't have too many irons in the fire." He threw in hammer and tongs, shovel and poker all at once. He carried on wool carding, cloth dressing, saw- and grainmill, cotton spinning, distilling, and a large store of such goods as were sold from country stores at that time. He was also erecting a building of some kind every year, and largely at the same time engaged in farming, yet his note was never worth less than one hundred cents on the dollar.

No man of property has settled here who manifested more real confidence in the future of Brattleboro than did Mr. Goodhue. He completely identified himself with its private and public interests, and his hopefulness and cheerfulness were a constant inspiration to everyone with whom he came in contact. He was generally successful, and he was always gratified to learn that others were so; and was a young man unfortunate in business, Mr. Goodhue had not only the hopeful word to say, but could generally find some employment for him until he could do better. His public liberality was apparent in several instances. He gave valuable locations upon his lands on Main Street for the old Brattleborough Bank, chartered in 1821, and the Unitarian and Congregational church buildings. Mr. Goodhue died March 16, 1839, aged seventy-one.

When Francis Goodhue came to Brattleboro he brought with him his wife, his children, Joseph, Lucy and Wells, his own mother, born Lucy Wells, and his wife's mother, Mrs. Joseph Brown. For this large family he built a house on Main Street where the Brooks Library now stands.

JOHN R BLAKE

GEORGE BATY BLAKE

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

GEORGE NEWMAN

COLONEL ARNOLD J HINES

SAMUEL CLARK

LAFAYETTE CLARK

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

The memory of Mrs. Francis Goodhue, who by some years survived her husband, has been cherished by later generations. Those who in their youth rendered service to Mr. Goodhue, living in his family, spoke in high praise of the kind treatment they invariably received at the hands of Mrs. Goodhue. The ladies of the village, who gathered on certain occasions around her table, considered her a model housekeeper, and the cordial welcome with which all were received was especially commended. Her visits to the homes of the afflicted were not simply visits of condolence; she was ever seeking a way whereby some real benefit, some tangible good, might be effected, and if there was any apparent possibility of human aid to the suffering, her efforts in this direction were never lacking. Her hired help were often summoned to her assistance, with needed supplies, on errands of mercy to the sick and destitute, and she often passed the whole night in her ministrations, performing the humblest offices in the abodes of poverty, by the bedside of the sick and dying.

She died July 4, 1849, aged seventy-one.

Her only daughter, Lucy, born in 1798, was remarkable for her external beauty and universally admired for her many virtues. She became the first wife of John R. Blake, Esquire.

To his son, Colonel Joseph Goodhue, soon after his marriage, Mr. Goodhue gave the large meadow farm, occupied in early times by John Arms.

In 1834, however, he persuaded his son Joseph to move to the village, giving up to him his home, when he and his family moved across the way to the house north of the Centre Congregational Church where he and his wife died.

### Honorable John Rice Blake

Honorable John Rice Blake, son of John Welland and Abigail Jones Blake, was born February 3, 1793. His father, at the closing period of his life, became reduced in circumstances and the son, John Rice, was taken from school and compelled to go into business and commence the battle with the world as a poor boy at a very early age. His first experience as a trader was with the Indians at Onondaga, New York, now Syracuse, which was then considered far west, being taken from school at Deerfield, Massachusetts, and sent there to begin life.

Returning to Vermont, he soon entered upon an extensive business as merchant, in company with Francis Goodhue, as Blake & Company, Brattleboro, and with Cune (Charles H.) & Company (Wells Goodhue), Newfane, Algiers and Dummerston. George C. Lawrence was a partner in J. R. Blake & Company, and when his brother Charles succeeded to the business the firm became George C. & C. G. Lawrence. He married, first,

Lucy, daughter of Francis Goodhue: "May 7, 1816, by the Reverend Wm. Wells, Mr. John R. Blake, merchant, to the amiable Miss Lucy Goodhue, all of this town." She died September 29, 1829, aged thirty-one. He married, second, November 1, 1830, Helen E., daughter of Grindall R. Ellis; she died December 11, 1833, aged twenty-one. He also married Sarah, daughter of Reverend Aaron Bancroft, D.D., of Worcester; she died December 26, 1834, aged thirty-two. October 17, 1844, he married Miss Lucy Dumaresq of Boston.

He carried on an extensive trade with Hartford, Connecticut, shipping horses, cattle and other produce by the river, receiving back West Indian and other goods, and sent from fifteen to twenty teams to Boston. He possessed a great fondness for fine stock, for horses and cattle. A picture of one of his favorite horses, made by Fisher, the New England painter, is still in possession of his family. In the days of staging he took an interest in stage lines, and especially in seeing them supplied with fine horses; and he exercised a leading influence in promoting the construction of the Vermont & Massachusetts Railroad, which connected the village with Boston by steam. He also took an active interest in establishing the old Brattleborough Bank, of which he was for a long time one of the directors. His financial abilities were solid and comprehensive.

During the times when the militia was maintained on a respectable footing, he served as aid-de-camp to General Mann; and in subsequent years he sat for several terms in the Legislature, both as representative of his town, 1844, 1847 and 1849, and as senator, 1851-1852. His career as legislator was marked by his usual businesslike practical ability, and may be said to have been distinguished by his frank and decided opposition to the Maine law, so-called, which he believed impolitic, and for an eulogy pronounced on the death of Daniel Webster. He removed to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1853 and became a partner in the banking house, Blake Brothers & Company.

He died in Boston June 6, 1873, aged eighty. Funeral services were held in the church by the Reverend Rufus Ellis, June 8; and on the day following the body was brought to Brattleboro by the only son of the deceased, Doctor John Ellis Blake of New York, and deposited in the village cemetery, with those of his first wives.

The following letter was received by Reverend William L. Jenkins, pastor of the Unitarian Society in this place, from the pastor of the First Church in Boston, with which Mr. Blake was associated:

106 Marlborough Street, June 14, 1873.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:—I performed the funeral service in my church on Sunday morning last over the remains of a most worthy gentleman, the

Honorable John R. Blake; and as the burial was to be in Brattleborough, there may have been a burial service there also. I hope that there was, for Mr. Blake was born in the town, and long and honorably identified with it; and it was exceedingly pleasant to think last Monday of the beautiful graveyard under the clear afternoon sky, and that they were making his grave in that hill country which was so familiar and so dear to him from boyhood. I have seen much of Mr. Blake, and especially of late, during a long and painful illness. He was a very true and a very thoughtful man, with far more in his heart than ever found expression in word; a Christian of a broad and practical type, with a good leaven of the old Puritanism, to which this country owes so much; a man downright, upright, and forthright, not untouched by the questionings of the day, and yet holding fast the essentials of faith and all "the weightier matters of the law." He was much respected in Boston as a man of his word; but the larger part of his life was passed in Brattleborough, and so I am moved to send you these few words concerning one whom we greatly miss, although we ought to be thankful that days which had become labor and sorrow are no more. I love to think of him as gathered to his fathers in your beautiful town, where, if anywhere, the body may rest in peace, whilst the spirit is refreshed with the light of the Divine Face.

Faithfully yours,

RUFUS ELLIS.

Children by his second wife were:

John Ellis, born October 20, 1831; graduated at Harvard College, 1849, Harvard Medical School, 1855; married January, 1858, Elizabeth Stone, daughter of Samuel C. Gray of Boston, who died September 27, 1880, aged forty-eight. Children: Henry Sargent, born March 10, 1860; Louisa Dumaresq, born April 8, 1862; John Rice, born February 22, 1869.

By his third wife:

Henry Cabot and Sarah, both died young.

## CHAPTER XXV

## THE PAPER MILL

The Paper Mill, 1811. Proprietors: Joseph Clark, Samuel Dickinson, Francis Goodhue, William Fessenden, Joseph Fessenden, Caleb Leland. Location—Capacity of mill. Holbrook & Fessenden: Paper mill, printing office and book binding; succeeded by Elihu Thomas and William G. Cutting, Nathan Woodcock and Timothy Vinton. Wool carding and cloth dressing by Joseph Clark—Built house kept as tavern by Rufus Clark, 1815-1837, sold to Captain Adolphus Stebbins—John H. Stebbins.

The first paper mill was built in 1811, by Joseph Clark, Samuel Dickinson, Francis Goodhue, William Fessenden, Joseph Fessenden and Caleb Leland, Junior, of Athol. In 1813 Joseph Clark, Samuel Dickinson and Francis Goodhue sold their interest to William Fessenden. The mill stood on the north side of Canal Street, directly opposite where South Main Street leads up (Cemetery) Prospect Hill on the bank of Whetstone Brook. The capacity of the mill was from one hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds of paper per day. In December, 1815, the mill was destroyed by fire. John Holbrook, who had removed to Warehouse Point, Connecticut, returned to Brattleboro to look after the estate of his son-in-law, William Fessenden. He found the mill in such a prosperous condition, in spite of the fire, that he resolved to rebuild, and enlarge the plant. Under the firm name of Holbrook & Fessenden it was continued until the year 1836.

The process of rebuilding the mill and supplying machinery was carried on under great difficulties. There were no iron foundries, no machine shops, no tools to speak of in the vicinity, and only the most primitive modes of transportation to the town. The iron castings for the mill were brought from Rhode Island by wagons. In spite of these handicaps, the manufacture of paper was carried on on a larger scale than ever before.

All of the product of the mill was made by hand until 1833, when Thomas & Woodcock improved paper making machinery to such an extent that the old hand processes were done away with. This improvement was largely due to the mechanical genius of a Samuel G. Foster of this village, who invented "the pulp dresser" which is now used in all paper mills. The paper was superior in quality, excelling any paper made elsewhere

in pure whiteness. This was said to be due to the purity of spring water for which the town is noted. A special brand, "imperial post," was used in the manufacture of legal documents and blank books. Letter paper as well as the company's own supply of printing paper was turned out.

Not only was the paper making part of the plant enlarged, but the printing establishment was materially increased. Over $30,000 was expended by Deacon Holbrook on the publication of a comprehensive commentary on the Bible in six royal octavo volumes and of the Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge which followed it. The copperplate engravings were made by a Mr. Chorley who was brought from England for that purpose. Professor Benjamin Silliman said that "the mechanical execution of these works was an honor to the country."

Webster's Spelling Book, the New England Primer and the school books then in use, cheaply bound in boards, were sold among the farmers by traveling salesmen. Among the most popular publications were Samuel Johnson's "Rasselas," "Paul and Virginia," the novels of Jane Porter and other novels and poetry of English origin, with here and there the product of a native author.

In the year 1836 at Holbrook & Fessenden's paper mill, power-press printing office and book bindery, the estimated amount of business done by all branches was $500,000,—which gives an idea of the growth and development of the plant and of its influence on the community from its origin in 1811 or in 1804, when William Fessenden, a pioneer in printing and manufacture, first started his paper, *The Reporter,* and began the printing of books and pamphlets. It was, in fact, largely through this industry that the East Village was developed during the early years of the nineteenth century.

In the year 1838 a combination was formed under the name of the Typographic Company, with Reverend John C. Holbrook as president and Edwin Hollister as superintendent and manager. Holbrook's lack of business acumen and judgment involved not only the immediate affairs of the company but also the fortune of his father, who signed notes for the son until they both failed. The making of paper and printing, however, was continued by this company until 1844, when they sold the property to Elihu H. Thomas[1] and William G. Cutting, who carried on the business of paper making until 1847. Nathan Woodcock and Timothy Vinton then took the mill on a lease for five years and afterwards bought of N. B. Williston, into whose hands the property had come on a mortgage. In September, 1857, the mill was again burned, but immediately rebuilt and occupied by Woodcock & Vinton, continuing thus until the death of Mr. Woodcock, when Mr. Vinton bought out the heirs and carried on the

[1] See p. 407.

business until his death in 1890; at this time five hundred pounds were manufactured a day, and finally as much as three thousand pounds.

The elaborate printing establishment of The Brattleborough Typographic Company employed in their several departments not less than one hundred hands.

Joseph Steen served as an apprentice with William Fessenden nine years and, after securing the plates from the Holbrook firm, published eleven thousand royal octavo Bibles, one thousand five hundred pages each, two thousand school books and one thousand pocket Testaments.

It may well be that familiarity with books in their marketable aspect awakened a curiosity and taste for reading. A library society was formed January 22, 1811, the whole stock of the society to be considered as consisting of as many shares as there were members, held in common, all the members to have equal rights and privileges.

A circulating library of about three hundred volumes was established at the Peck's bookstore in 1821—the terms for regular subscribers, three dollars and fifty cents a year. They were allowed one week for the reading of duodecimo or smaller volumes, and two weeks for an octavo. From that date Brattleboro has never been without some kind of public library.

### Wool Carding and Cloth Dressing. Rufus Clark's Hotel

A house south of Whetstone Brook was built in 1812 by Joseph Clark, the early settler, the master workman being James Steen, father of Joseph. There was no road past the house, and no Canal Street. Travel from Brattleboro to Guilford was up Cemetery Hill and over to the road on the right past the present Richardson farm, now known as the "old Guilford Road."

Here Joseph Clark established the business of wool carding and cloth dressing, the shop and machinery being where now is the machine shop built by Thomas & Woodcock for the manufacture of paper machinery and where, afterwards, was a brick shop used by Hines, Newman & Company. Rufus Clark, son of Joseph, kept tavern here from 1815 to 1832, when it was sold to Captain Adolphus Stebbins; later it was owned and occupied by his son, John H. Stebbins.[1] The upper story of the ell in the rear, where there was a hall for dancing, was removed by Captain Stebbins.

[1] John H. Stebbins, married February 16, 1862, D. Elmira Field of Leverett, Massachusetts. Their daughter Ella is owner of the old house.

## CHAPTER XXVI

## THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

The Medical Profession: Doctor Willard Arms—Doctor Russell Fitch—Doctor Jonathan A. Allen—Doctor Artemas Robbins—Doctor Daniel Gilbert.

Medical education was, generally, such as could be obtained by study with some established practitioner, and the performance of various services as his assistant when the profession combined that of the doctor and the apothecary.

The shelves of the village store furnished only the simplest drugs, which had come by the way of Boston from England, all compoundings, tinctures and infusions being prepared by the physician, who put up his own prescriptions.

The doctor's knowledge was derived from personal experience rather than books, and was in direct proportion to his keenness of perception, human sympathy and gift for the healing art. His position in the community was second only to that of the minister. Wherever his calling led, he entered the lives of families as an intimate friend and counselor and became possessed of their inmost secrets, was present at every birth and death, and with the lawyer put his name to many a last testament.

Captain John Arms, the son of Major John Arms, had sons, Josiah, John, Alfred and William.

Willard Arms, M.D., was the son of Josiah; he studied with Doctor William S. Williams of Deerfield, Massachusetts. On February 8, 1803, he married Miss Susan Arms of Deerfield, born September 3, 1778, and went immediately to Stukely, Canada. About a year after he was called back to settle the estate of his father, who died in possession of the meadow farm which had belonged to the Major, his grandfather.

Doctor Arms remained in practice in his profession in this place about fourteen years. He built the house later owned and occupied by Nathan B. Williston, Esquire. In 1818 he sold his house and practice to Doctor Artemas Robbins, on condition that he should not practice in this town for ten years, and the most of this time he followed his profession in Northfield, Massachusetts. In 1833 he returned and settled in the West

Village, where he remained thirty years, and died September 25, 1863, almost eighty-three years of age. Mrs. Arms died February 25, 1865.

He practiced sixty years, forty-four in this town, where he was considered the leading authority in obstetrics, smallpox and other branches of his profession. When he emphasized his orders by pounding the floor with the stub of his crutch, every child knew there was no release from the dose of castor oil, calomel, senna and Dover's powder. As late as 1818 an annual duty of one dollar was paid by him "for and upon a four-wheel carriage and the harness used therefor"; the same upon a "two-wheel carriage called a chaise."

Children:

Willard, born in 1806, a man of fine education and public spirit; married, first, Miss Gracia Liscom of Hinsdale, New Hampshire; married, second, Mrs. L. D. (Diantha) Cobleigh, who died April 26, 1862, aged sixty-two. He died January 20, 1892. By his first wife there were a daughter, Mrs. Mills, and a son George of Ansonia, Connecticut.

Susan E. Arms, having graduated from the Brattleborough Academy, married July 11, 1843, Reverend Edward Wright, a graduate of Yale, and from 1843 to 1852 pastor of a church in West Haven, Connecticut. Here they soon established Oak Hill Ladies' Seminary, of which Mrs. Wright became principal at the death of her husband in 1852. After some twenty-five years of successful teaching, during which time she married Reverend Mr. Atwater, she withdrew from the institution to give herself to mission work in the South.

Other physicians of this period were:

Doctor Artemas Robbins (son of Nathaniel and Mary Coolidge Robbins) bought the practice and house of Doctor Willard Arms. In 1826-1827 he removed to Bellows Falls, where he established a drug store and practiced his profession until his death, May 16, 1857. He was a skillful practitioner, and a great worker for the cause of temperance, although a man stern and proud.

Doctor Russell Fitch, born July 18, 1775; practiced in West Brattleboro before 1816; married, 1799, Miss Polly Tinker, born July 13, 1776. Children:

Laura, died July 23, 1832, aged thirty-two years.

Russell, Junior, born July 3, 1802; married March 21, 1831, Alvira, daughter of Captain Nathaniel Bliss; married, second, 1832, Rosetta Roosevelt. A son, James Russell Fitch, was father of Florence, who married Telfair Stockton of Jacksonville, Florida.

Mary, born April 27, 1807; married April 16, 1828, Lafayette Clark; died August 1, 1866.

Jonathan A. Allen, M.D., and his family were living, in 1816, in a dwelling on Main Street afterwards converted into Lord's tavern. He was an able physician, a gentleman. His lectures, particularly those on chemistry in which he was especially proficient, were considered of great value to other physicians and medical students. He left here in 1822-1824, and became professor of chemistry in Middlebury College.

His son, Charles I. Allen, born January 31, 1820, graduated at Middlebury in 1842 and the Castleton Medical School in 1846. He was a professor in Middlebury College and the University of Vermont, brigade surgeon in the Civil War two years and the founder of the State Board of Health; he died July 2, 1890.

Doctor Daniel Gilbert practiced here from 1828-1829 to 1841, when he removed to Boston and was officiate in the Massachusetts General Hospital. He had studied surgery with Doctor Twitchell of Keene and was a good surgeon, and progressive and courageous in his profession. He died in Boston August 5, 1849, aged fifty-four.

Charles A. Chapin, M.D., from 1831. (See p. 501.)
William H. Rockwell, M.D., 1836-1873. (See p. 428.)

While so many educational opportunities were in existence and an able corps of physicians already established, Doctor J. Moore's "Essence of Life" was recommended by all the clergy, General Stephen Rowe Bradley and other men of distinction, as the elixir for which the world had been ever seeking.

## CHAPTER XXVII

## SOCIAL LIFE

Social Life—Style of John W. Blake's hospitality—Honorable and Mrs. Oliver Chapin—Mrs. Patty Fessenden—George Baty Blake's Reminiscences of Mrs. Francis Goodhue—John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Daniel Webster, guests of Honorable Jonathan Hunt—Mrs. Hunt—Mrs. Freme's "Mansion," destruction by fire—Remarkable Cookbook—Flower gardens—Mrs. Boott—Mrs. Joseph Fessenden.

There was an open hospitality by the firesides of Brattleboro in the old days and, with a few families, style and elegance according to the standard of the times. John W. Blake, who combined tradition, education and wealth, made of the mansion erected by Jonathan Townsend,[1] where the Vermont National Bank now stands, a center of social life in the grand manner. This house was set back from the street amid tall trees and enclosed by a very high, stately fence. An elm of unusually graceful proportions, planted near the house in 1825 by Mr. Blake, suffered in the fire of 1869 when the house was burned, and was cut down the next year. This elm inspired a "Farewell address to the people of Brattleborough by the late Venerable Elm," in *The Phœnix* of October 28, 1870, an address of regret over an untimely death, "and of real sorrow that it could not longer be permitted to stand in the midst of the active life of its friends, the citizens of Brattleborough,"—a true expression of the sentiment of those who had passed this old tree in the course of their daily round for forty-five years.

Honorable Oliver Chapin was a member of General Washington's bodyguard during the Revolution. He brought wealth and influence, and he and Madame Chapin kept open house to friends at their residence, where the Brooks House stands, corner of Main and High Streets. They loved young people and entertained constantly for them.

Perhaps no woman has come down to us with more appeal to the imagination than Mrs. Patty (Holbrook) Fessenden, whose beauty, charm and character, in combination with the practical wisdom, integrity and benevolence of her husband, William Fessenden, won all hearts, giving them a place of pronounced leadership in their social relations.

[1] Jonathan Townsend came here from Tyringham, Massachusetts, in 1808 with his wife, Lois Scripture, whom he married May 18, 1791, and eight children.

George Baty Blake speaks, in his reminiscences, of the housekeeping of Mrs. Francis Goodhue and the scale and spirit of her hospitality. He also describes the appearance of her guests: "In summertime each one of them wore a green silk calash, covering a lace cap, white as the new fallen snow. When they entered the house of Mrs. Goodhue, the calash was removed, but the cap remained, giving a uniformity and neatness to their appearance. There was a stateliness and dignity in their manners, not surpassed by the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. Never have I felt a more weighty responsibility devolving upon me than when, under the direction of Mrs. Goodhue, I assisted her in the entertainment of the ladies of this society, and no food I have since partaken has had such a relish, or given me so complete satisfaction as, in the long ago, came from the table of my dear old friend in Brattleborough."

The Honorable Jonathan Hunt came to Brattleboro with a rich inheritance of ability, character and the best things of the time in which he lived. As the first congressman from this district, he was deservedly conspicuous in the town and county.

Mrs. Hunt was a gifted woman, with unusual personal attractions, as may be seen in the portrait of her painted by William Morris Hunt. It was from Mrs. Hunt the three sons, William, Richard and Leavitt, inherited their artistic bent, and her ambition that they should be famous in the world of art was the moving power in their careers.

The Hunt house received as guests the truly great men who came to this region: John Adams, who had been the guest of Mr. Hunt's father in Vernon, Daniel Webster and Thomas Jefferson, just after his appointment as minister to France and before embarking for that country.

Parson Wells and his family kept to the social customs of their native land as becomes the English, but adapted them with so much grace to the country of their adoption that their goodness and refinement were as a light to the people around them. Miss Hannah Wells carried her work for the Sunday school as far as Vernon, making gifts of books in every district of that town.

These families were not without their difficult or eccentric members. For some years a spite fence, very high and built of plain boards close together, stood between the admirable houses of two sisters living side by side on the Main Street to ensure the keeping of peace.

Mrs. Martha Freme, the daughter of Reverend William Wells, after the death of her husband, John R. Freme, came to this village in 1834 to make her home in the house which had been her father's for more than fifty years. This house she refitted and embellished with rich and rare furnishings, and paintings by old masters. A portrait of her father, which she had commissioned Gilbert Stuart to paint, was brought by her, and hung where

it could be seen by the parishioners of the old Parson, who included the larger number of the townspeople. Violets still bloom from her planting by the roadside just north of Linden Lodge.

Her social position in England afforded a remarkable opportunity for acquaintance with men of national importance, who were quick to recognize the strength of her mind and her brilliant conversational powers. She kept a retinue of servants here, and lived in "princely style," according to the estimate of the time. The citizens of Brattleboro felt honored by her presence among them, not more for the interest and beauty with which her life was surrounded than for her noble character. She gave the communion service to the Unitarian Church, keeping it always in her own house and under her protection.

About midnight on the twentieth of May, 1849, she perished in a fire that consumed her residence and all her possessions. "The night was dark and birds hovered over the fire, the reflection of which on the plumage gave them a bright and unusual appearance." Reverend Mr. Motte, who preached the funeral discourse, alluded to "these birds as winged messengers escorting her spirit to heaven."

It was the lot of widows, unmarried women and orphans without money to assist in the domestic drudgery of their more fortunate sisters, and gain a home thereby. One of these dependents was the author of a cookbook, which makes known the cookery of model housekeepers.

It was printed by hand, hand cut and published by William Fessenden in 1814. The title-page and preface follow:

AMERICAN COOKERY:

OR, THE ART OF DRESSING

VIANDS, FISH, POULTRY, AND VEGETABLES.

AND THE BEST MODE OF MAKING

PUFF-PASTES, PIES, TARTS, PUDDINGS, CUSTARDS, AND PRESERVES.

AND ALL KINDS OF

CAKES,

FROM THE IMPERIAL PLUMB, TO PLAIN CAKE.

ADAPTED TO THIS COUNTRY AND ALL GRADES OF LIFE.

---

BY AN AMERICAN ORPHAN.

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BRATTLEBOROUGH, VT.
PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM FESSENDEN.
1814.

## PREFACE.

AS this treatise is calculated for the improvement of the rising generation of FEMALES in America, the Lady of fashion and fortune will not be displeased, if many hints are suggested for the more general and universal knowledge of those females in this country, who by the loss of their parents, or other unfortunate circumstances, are reduced to the necessity of going into families in the line of domestics, or taking refuge with their friends or relations, and doing those things which are really essential to the perfecting them as good wives, and useful members to society. The orphan, though left to the care of virtuous guardians, will find it essentially necessary to have an opinion and determination of her own. The world, and the fashion thereof, is so variable, that old people cannot accommodate themselves to the various changes and fashions which daily occur: *they* will adhere to the fashion of *their* day, and will not surrender their attachments to the *good old way*—while the young and the gay, bend and conform readily to the taste of the times, and fancy of the hour. By having an opinion and determination, I would not be understood to mean an obstinate perseverance in trifles, which border on obstinacy—by no means, but only an adherance to those rules and maxims which have stood the test of ages, and will forever establish the FEMALE CHARACTER, a virtuous character—although they conform to the ruling taste of the age in cookery, dress, language, manners, etc.

It must ever remain a check upon the poor solitary orphan, that while those females that have parents, or brothers, or riches to defend their indiscretions, that the orphan must depend solely upon character. How immensely important, therefore, that every action, every word, every thought, be regulated by the strictest purity, and that every movement meet the approbation of the good and wise.

The candor of the American Ladies is solicitously entreated by the Authoress, as she is circumscribed in her knowledge, this being an original work in this country.—Should any future editions appear, she hopes to render it more valuable.

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In contrast with the modern cookbooks is the amount of liquor which was used in making cakes, etc. Very few cakes were considered proper if they did not contain a quart or more of brandy. It should be said, however, that they made things in large quantities in those days. Independence Day cake called for twenty pounds of flour, four dozen eggs, one quart of wine and one quart of brandy. Election cake calls for thirty quarts of flour and twelve pounds of raisins. Other things which enter into the recipes and cause wonder and amusement to the modern

cook are musk and amber gum and rose-water, intended to produce aroma of various kinds. The spelling in the old book is quaint, "receipts," "sallad," "alamode," "chouder," "stake" and "plumb" being samples. There are some quaint expressions, too. Eggs are whipped "into a raging foam" and one dish is recommended as "furnishing a sweet repast at any time of day."

Gardening was a taste cultivated with imagination and feeling by the several members of Mrs. Tyler's "cultivated society," and by many others of equal taste who followed.

Spaces between houses and shops along the village street were given to orchards and gardens. Fruit, vegetables and flowers grew side by side. Their abundance reminds us that there were days when dwellers in villages, as well as in the farming country, lived on the products of their own soil. A large peach orchard flourished for many years on the land directly south of the Common.

The first flower garden of which we have any knowledge was the formal garden, reaching from the house of Doctor George Holmes Hall, up by terraces to the Grove, with "flights of steps from one level to another,"—where fruit trees, berry bushes, shrubs and flowers grew in ordered and lavish beauty.

The twenty acres adjoining Deacon Holbrook's colonial house, facing what was afterwards the Common, was laid out by him in 1825 in a large orchard, bearing a variety of fruits, a vegetable garden and a bordered garden of flowers. The fragrance of those old-fashioned flowers seems to be wafted down the years to us, with their quaint and suggestive names: eglantine, sweet violet, honeysuckle, London pride, love-lies-bleeding, heart's-ease, gillyflower, polyanthus, sweet-william, wallflower, honesty, spicy pinks, foxgloves, flower-de-luce, hollyhocks.

Mrs. Boott, "an opulent English lady," lived in "the mansion,"—according to the language of the day,—which stood in a setting of many acres on the site of the original Marsh building, now the Retreat estate. It was noted for its gayety and hospitality. From Mrs. Boott this valuable property passed into the possession of Joseph Fessenden, whose wife, Sybil Holbrook, seems to have inherited from her father, Deacon John, a love of beauty and an instinct for nature. Her flower garden was the pride of the town. She introduced plants, trees and flowers never before seen in this part of the country, and related them with so much art to the natural landscape that her plans were accepted and developed in the permanent laying out of the Retreat grounds. The winding walks, summerhouses and nooks were a favorite resort of the village people and of strangers, drawn there as much by the gracious and generous spirit of the owners as by the charm of the place itself.

A path at the rear of Woodlands, as the mansion was called in the Fessendens' time, led to a veritable botanical garden of wild flowers carpeting a partly wooded hillside. Such a variety was unknown elsewhere. Mossy rocks were there too, and higher up the trees were mostly slender pines with arches and vistas between, leading across bridges made of fallen stumps and trees covered with lichen and creepers, and on to an open rising ground from which a view of the West River Valley obtained. It was a magic wood, and one of seemingly endless possibilities for the nature lover.

Later, when another house on the Main Street built by Deacon Holbrook was occupied by Wells Goodhue, there was a garden of flowering shrubs and graceful walks on the south side as far as the house above the church. In particular, the roses of varying shades of pink and yellow that festooned the arbors and climbed the gray walls of the house made a picture of unsurpassed loveliness.

Fences of good design, and hemlock or cedar hedges, gave the architectural note that made for dignity and seclusion to houses and gardens. How much the village owes to the background of the mountain and wooded hills opposite is as apparent now as in the time of beautiful gardens.

When Thoreau came to Brattleboro in 1856 to look up an aster which did not grow in Concord, he said of the mountain: "It is the most remarkable feature here. The village is peculiar from the nearness of the primitive wood and this everlasting mountain forever lowering over the village —shortening the day and wearing a misty cap each morning. Its top is covered with wood."

Into the late sixties cows, pigs and chickens were kept in barns in the rear of many of the finest houses,—the cows driven to pasture through the Main Street in the morning and home again at dusk. In that time great elms, overshadowing the streets, encroached on the graveled sidewalk so as to make it necessary to walk around their massive trunks.

No telephone poles marred the roadways. It was a rural setting.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

## THE MILITIA (CONTINUED)

Militia—Officers of companies—General muster—Regimental commanders—Reorganization of militia—Roll and return of Brattleboro company—Chapin's muster. War of 1812, recruiting rendezvous Brattleboro—Anti-War Society—Soldiers of 1812.

Records of the militia companies are few and give only partial lists of officers.

Captains of the Floodwood Company were Samuel Warriner; Jerry Frost; D. Mixer; Henry Clark; Benajah Dudley; Nathaniel Bliss; Lafayette Clark; Charles C. Frost, 1825; John Leavitt, 1829; Leonard Knapp, 1831; Frederick Holbrook, 183–; Perry Smith, 1837; George H. Salisbury, 1848. When Frederick Holbrook was captain of the Floodwood the company mustered, besides officers, one hundred and thirty-two men, who appeared in all sorts of dress, some in caps, some in stovepipes, some in black coats, some in shirt sleeves, some in linen dusters, and some barefooted. There was the customary half barrel of punch, and practicing on Main Street and around the Common.

Of the Light Infantry there were Captain Ebenezer Wells, 1804, and Captain Howard Wells, 1810, both sons of Reverend William Wells; Captain Ebenezer Sabin; Captain Daniel Bliss; Captain Samuel Brenton Whitney, son of Honorable Lemuel Whitney, 1816 to 1821; Captain Nathaniel Chandler, 1822; Captain Eli Sargent, grandson to Colonel John Sargent, 1823-1824; Captain Adolphus Stebbins, 1824; Captain Willard Frost, 1825-1826; Captain Chester Sargent, 1827-1829; Captain William Brooks, son of Captain William S. Brooks, 1830; Captain John King, 1831-1832. In 1823 to 1825 the Brattleborough Light Infantry under Captains Eli Sargent and Samuel Brenton Whitney was called the best-disciplined company in the state. This company maintained full musters, excellent discipline and uniforms of the best style and quality until 1830.

Among the causes which contributed to give a consequence to the citizen-soldiery of 1820 and 1826, was a sprinkling in their ranks of veterans who had seen service in the last war with Britain. National gratitude to these old soldiers increased in a marked degree about 1826, or soon after the last visit of Lafayette to this country. Previous to that

time, pensions were paid only to the poor, dependent soldiers, but after 1832 no discrimination was made as to pecuniary circumstances, and the widow of a soldier received the same pension as was paid her husband.

Of the soldiers of 1812 there were J. Wilson Landers and J. Freeman, who had stood on the deck with Commodore Decatur when he captured the proud *Macedonian*. In the Brattleborough Infantry were John Burnham and John Fowler from Connecticut, both soldiers in the war of 1812, and also Ebenezer Howe, grandson of Caleb Howe of Fort Bridgman; in the artillery was Captain Lewis Henry, who, in the same war had served in a company commanded by Captain James Elliot.

The Brattleborough Light Infantry dined at Hayes Hotel the day the mail coach, decked with flags, brought the tidings of peace after the War of 1812.

Sham fights during the annual June training came off in front of the old Academy. Roofs of canvas were fastened against the walls of the buildings, making booths for the sale of refreshments, gingerbread, cider, etc. In addition, small wares such as jackknives, pencils, etc., were on sale in a tent pitched near by. Tubs and pails of whiskey were inevitable. Someone has remembered that after the first temperance agitation, the "Sons of Cold Water" were organized here. Captain Brooks, drawing up his men in line one muster day, with the pails of whiskey ready, ordered, "All cold water men three paces to the front!" Not a man moved.

Artillery officers were Captain Atherton from 1812 to 1815; Captain Samuel Root; Captain Simpson Goodenough; Captain Osearl Stoddard; Captain Lewis Henry, 1827; Captain William Cobleigh; Captain Roswell Goodenough; Captain Albert Bennett; Captain Argillas Streeter; Captain Arnold J. Hines, afterwards colonel of the regiment; Captain Franklin Cobleigh; Captain Jonathan Davis, 1836-1837. The artillery was in glorious prominence for Fourth of July celebrations when the guns, stored with the hearse under the North Meeting-House on the Common, were brought forth with pride.

"Tradition is not expected to be exact about dates, but either in 1824 or 1825," as an old resident remembered, "there was a fourth of July celebration with a novel band of musicians. It was the first and last time I ever saw a procession march through the public streets to the music of bass viols and violins. The bass viols were fastened to the performers in some way so that they could be played while marching."

Colonel Nathan Willis did much in his time to sustain the military reputation of this section, and probably was one of the most efficient officers for active service. During Captain Sargent's command there was

held the greatest general muster ever seen in town. A resident from 1815 to 1853 said of this muster: "Colonel Henry Jones Blake was in command, and he well understood his duty. When marching through Main Street the bands of the several companies united. I know not how many wind instruments were in operation, but I counted fifty drums, and ten of them were large brass drums. The noise made exceeded anything of the kind I have heard since; but the most pleasing impression left upon my mind was the address, action and elegant appearance of Colonel Blake." He was a son of the Honorable John Welland Blake.

Other regimental commanders were General Jonas Mann; General Jonathan Hunt, 1811; Colonel Paul Chase; Colonel Joseph Goodhue; General Jonathan Smith; Colonel Lewis Henry; Brigadier-General Franklin H. Fessenden, 1834; Colonel Nathan Miller; Colonel Albert Bennett, 1836-1837; Colonel Arnold J. Hines.

Military orders were of the following character:

Whereas I, Abraham Marshall, private in Lieutenant Joseph Wilder's Company of Militia, have received from said officer the following military order, to wit:

"Abraham Marshall: You are hereby ordered to notify and warn all persons to your knowledge south side of the brook in this village, to appear at Phineas Stewart's Inn in Brattleborough on Saturday the 16th of April, at one o'clock P. M. to make choice of a Captain and fill all vacancies.—In like manner appear yourself.

Hereof fail not, but make a return of your doings on or before the 7th of April inst.

Jos. Wilder, Lieut."

Now, therefore, in obedience to said order, all persons, whether black or white, bond or free, men, women or children, in the southern and middle states of North America, and the rest of the world, including that portion of New England lying south of Whetstone Brook in Brattleborough,—greeting.

You are hereby warned to appear at Phineas Stewart's Inn in Brattleborough on Saturday the 16th of April inst. at one o'clock P. M. to make choice of a Captain and fill all vacancies which may occur.

The subscriber takes this method of obeying orders, not having sufficient time to visit you personally. Hereof fail not at your peril.

By order of the commanding officer, or at any rate one who commands.

Abraham Marshall.

Brattleborough, April 6th, 1836.

In 1837 Francis E. Phelps, Green Blackmer and E. B. Chase, the board of officers "to organize the militia of the state into divisions, brigades, regiments, battalions and companies," defined the limits of the artillery company of the 27th Regiment as comprising the whole town of Brattleboro. Solomon Standclift of Halifax was the colonel of the regiment and Captain Jonathan Davis was appointed to command the new company. On the eleventh day of August, 1838, the members of the company assembled at George W. Emerson's tavern, which stood on the spot now occupied by the Town Hall, and elected Alvin Flint second lieutenant, Elijah Jacquith third lieutenant, Jonas Putnam second sergeant, Thomas G. Crosby third sergeant and George Bennett fourth sergeant. Samuel Bullock and Edwin Putnam were chosen corporals. The company had no uniforms at that time, save a cap and sword with yellow mountings and black sword belt. The following summer there were forty-eight men in the company, Lewis Putnam being the first lieutenant. The musicians were Stephen Burnett, George B. Sargent, Franklin Fowler and Ezra Gleason.

June, 1840, the company was warned to meet for inspection and drill at the North Meeting-House. A year later the company met at T. C. Lord's tavern, formerly Emerson's, and elected Landlord Lord to the captaincy, and then and there voted to uniform themselves during the year. E. S. Rice of Wilmington was at that time adjutant of the regiment, he being succeeded by E. S. Riddle one year later. T. S. Taft of Green River succeeded Solomon Standclift as colonel of the regiment, and Horace Hastings of Wilmington was the colonel commanding the Third Regiment. The uniform adopted by Captain Lord's company consisted of a blue coat, trimmed with gold lace, the red-faced skirts turned up, a high cap with white plume, tipped with red, while the pantaloons were white, with a wide strap of the same material buttoned under the boot, with crossbelts and white gloves. The officers before the reorganization of Captain Lord's company, August 23, 1845, and when the name of the company was changed to Lafayette Light Infantry, were distinguished by their yellow epaulets, red sashes and buff gloves. The regiment often mustered near Captain Ira Adams's West Marlboro inn, and several times on the large plain adjoining the Clark farm on Ames Hill. Captain Lord's company was subsequently attached to the Third Regiment.

Many of the prominent men of the town were members of this company, Silas Waite serving as clerk for several years. Perrin Simonds later succeeded to the command of the company.

"The roll and return" of the company appears in its record book, which is still preserved, and the names are as follows: Captain, Jonathan Davis; first lieutenant, Lewis Putnam; second lieutenant, Alvin Flint; third lieu-

tenant, Elijah Jacquith; sergeants, Edwin Putnam, Jonas Putnam, Samuel Bullock, Warren Hall; corporals, George R. Snow, Charles A. Pullen, Asa Sherwin, George E. Fuller; musicians, Rual Fraisure, Stephen Burnett, Samuel French, Thomas O. Amsden, George B. Sargent; privates, Alexander Capin, Silas Atwood, George H. Butterfield, Luther Bardwell, Emery Miller, Emery Stearns, Ebenezer Bardwell, John Bruce, Asa G. Pratt, Smith Starkey, George H. Wilcutt, William Robertson, Leroy Stoddard, William Ellis, Palmer Carpenter, Benjamin Pierce, Merrick Newton, George W. Brown, George Ellis, Henry Miller, Roswell Loveman, Isaiah Stearns, James Streeter, Nelson D. Evings, Rufus Cooke, Alphonso Hildreth, Roswell Parker, William S. White, Nathaniel Bangs, James Estey, Richard Billings, Umphia Harris, Samuel Pike, Manassah Dutton, Proctor Amsden, George Bills, Jacob Marsh, Harris Stockwell, Cromwell Carpenter, Marvin Hall, Austin Holden.

There must have been a good deal of politics in the company, for the next year we find an overthrow of the officers, T. C. Lord being captain; Jonathan Davis, first lieutenant; Nelson D. Evans, second lieutenant, and Lewis Putnam, third lieutenant. Captain Lord continued at the head of the company as long as it existed, but in 1843 Lewis Putnam was elected first lieutenant; William S. Chase, second lieutenant, and Edwin Putnam, third, while Davis had become the orderly sergeant. Later the lieutenants included Chester G. Herrick, Riley Burdette and Francis Goodhue. In 1845 S. M. Waite—"S. M. Wait," as he then signed the name—became clerk of the company and from that time the records are all in his handwriting.

The militia meetings were mostly held at the old Wantastiquet Hall.

The following notice was posted in the village May 20, 1850:

NOTICE.
Ho! for Cuba!
The members of
The Lafayette
Light Infantry
Are hereby ordered to meet at
T. C. Lord's
On Tuesday, June 4,
1850 at 8 o'clock A. M.
Armed and equipped
as the law directs
And there wait for further
orders.
Per order
S. M. Waite, *clerk.*

The last muster in the place by legal authority occurred in 1857, and was considered by all a feeble affair. It was on grounds afterwards known as Forest Square, leading north from Western Avenue. A volunteer muster came off in a short time thereafter, attended by invited companies from New Hampshire—the Ashuelot Guards from Hinsdale, the Chesterfield Rifles from Chesterfield—and the Vernon troops. This military gathering was called Chapin's muster, as Doctor Charles Chapin was the highest officer on parade. He was very active in the movement and much interested in this military revival, as was evidenced from the address he delivered to the assembled troops near the close of the day. He was sorry to see a decline in the military spirit of our people for the following reasons: "The rapid increase of our population from people unfitted for the duties of freemen. Our institutions and privileges for self-government having been obtained by the bayonet, by the bayonet must be maintained."

## The Anti-War Society of 1812

Political opposition to the policy of the government in the War of 1812 gained considerable ground in this part of the country, owing to a general financial depression, the result of burdensome taxes, nonimportation laws and accumulating debts. The banks were embarrassed, and there were many failures among business men. Organizations of protest and reform were started.

There was an Anti-War Society of 1812 in Northfield, Warwick and Royalston, Massachusetts; in Winchester, New Hampshire; in Brattleboro and probably in Putney. The following letter from the Brattleboro Society to the Northfield Society is all we have to indicate the extent of this Society's activity:

Elnathan Allen
President of the
W. B. Society in Brattleborough, Vt.
Sam'l Elliot,
Vice President.

Brattleborough, Vt. Jan'y 11, 1814.

Brethren:

Tho' separated by State lines and members of different state Governments; yet we belong to the same political family, claiming the same political father and guide, and enjoying like civil & republican privileges. We are quite interested in the Policy & welfare of our common Country —and we mourn together at that perverse and ill-fated system of Policy,

which seems hastening the once happy land of WASHINGTON to misery & ruin!

Permit us to enquire whether there are any bounds to our grievances & burdens? Whether the cup of our calamity is nearly full? Whether the enormous Taxes now collecting—the renewal of the Embargo—the extravagance of our Cabinets—the folly & Cruelty of the War, and the worst conducted of all wars—the sacrifice of our blood, treasure, commerce & Peace, will ever, again open the eyes of the American people? They seem lulled into fatal ease & security, ready to believe every tale of comfort or possible relief and almost to excuse the whole burden of their oppressions. Will not the blood wantonly spilt cry from the ground! Will not the awful & distressing progress of this War, rouse up their slumbering senses, & make its author tremble!

Our state, by great exertions, has been righted up to proper ground, but much remains to be done, or she will keel over again. To be sure the last wretched campaign & the late "glorious exploits" of the allies will aid the advocates of Peace but nothing will convince the main War Party—They bear their late defeat with resentment & will do their best to regain their lost power.

Our projected alteration of our Constitution, making more independent our Judiciary, and more stable our Government, will be opposed with all the rancor & all the power of Democracy.

Br. Samuel Elliot having borrowed your standard last July, we inclose a little payment of 2$ for the use of it, and would cheerfully do more but our fund & means are much embarrassed.

We shall celebrate the 23d of Feby. at Putney, & should be happy to have such of you as could make it convenient to join us.

Our Society would receive with pleasure any communications from yours, which might tend to brighten our friendship, comfort us under political affliction, or extend the happy influence generally of our charitable brotherhood.

We are cordially yours &c

SAMUEL ELLIOT, *President of the W. B. Society of Brattleborough—& one of the corresponding committee.*

But the voice of the Federalist majority is heard in this notification from an issue of *The Reporter* of 1814.

## ATTENTION.

124 dollars bounty, 160 acres of land and eight dollars per month are now offered to every able bodied man, from the age of 18 to 45, who shall voluntarily enlist as a soldier of the U. S. of America for the period of

CONNECTICUT RIVER BRIDGE

LOOKING NORTH FROM ISLAND

ROAD ACROSS ISLAND

VIEW SOUTH FROM RESIDENCE

JUDGE C. ROYALL TYLER

RIVER ABOVE WEST RIVER BRIDGE

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

THE RIVER BELOW THE VILLAGE

ABOVE THE VILLAGE

FARTHER NORTH

five years or during the war. The bounty to be paid $50 on enlistment, $50 on being mustered into some military corps, and $24 together with the land on being discharged.

A recruiting rendezvous is now opened in Brattleborough village opposite Clark & Hunt's store, where all those who being actuated by the love of liberty and wishing to engage in their country's cause are invited to call. Our country loudly calls on her brave and gallant sons to avenge her wrongs, her violated rights and national independence; therefore let not Honor be rocked asleep by Affection or Delusion.

Eight dollars premium will also be given to any non-commissioned officer, musician, private or citizen for each man they may procure to enlist, answering the above description.

J. Greenleaf, *Lieut.*,
31st Regt. of U. S. Inft.

## CHAPTER XXIX

### THE MASONS—COLUMBIAN LODGE, NUMBER 36

A petition bearing date March 27, 1812, by nineteen Master Masons, residents of Brattleboro and Guilford, namely: Lemuel Whitney, Abram Kingsbury, Almerin Tinker, Elisha Chase, Elihu Field, Junior, Samuel Elliot, Samuel Clark, John W. Blake, Nahum Cutler, Rodney Burt, Quartus Smead, Nathaniel Bliss, Aaron Barney, Samuel Dickinson, Richard Phillips, Porter Johnson, Joseph Boyden, Josiah Brown and Asa Green, speaking in behalf of themselves and about twenty other Master Masons of this vicinity, was presented to John Chipman, grand master, praying that a dispensation be granted, empowering them to assemble as a regular lodge on the last Tuesday preceding the full moon of the month in every month, alternately in the towns of Guilford and Brattleboro, for the discharge of the duties pertaining to a Masonic lodge in a regular and constitutional manner until such time as a charter could be granted by the grand lodge, or the authority to meet and act be revoked. In their petition, as is the custom and rule, they nominated Lemuel Whitney to be worshipful master, Abram Kingsbury to be senior warden and Almerin Tinker to be junior warden, and that said lodge be named Columbian Lodge. Grand master having considered the petition, granted his warrant of dispensation under the date of May 5, 1812, as prayed for by the petitioners. The dispensation did not require the lodge meeting to be held alternately in Guilford and Brattleboro, but empowered them to "convene and open an Apprentices, Crafts and Masters Lodge of Brattleborough or Guilford in the state aforesaid by the name of Columbian lodge and to do all business appertaining to those degrees until the Monday preceding the second of October, next," and from an examination of the records of the lodge somewhat imperfectly kept, it seems that the meetings were held in Guilford until December 20, 1814; at Brattleboro commencing with the meeting of December 24, 1814, until November 30, 1819, a period of five years; next under a vote of the lodge they were held at the East Parish in Guilford, better known as East Guilford or Algiers, for five years, which included the meeting of November 24, 1824; commencing with November 30, 1824, the meetings were again held in Brattleboro until the time the records close, December 8, 1829.

The first recorded meeting held under the dispensation was August 18, 1812, at which twenty-six members were present, and three visiting brethren, of whom District Deputy Grand Master Martin Field of Blazing Star Lodge of Newfane was one. (Here two pages were removed from the record book.) Whether any meetings were held after that of December 8, 1829, which was the annual meeting of the lodge, and officers duly elected and installed, is more or less doubtful. The proceedings of the grand lodge show that at the annual convocation in 1830 Columbian Lodge, Number 34, was represented by Samuel Root as proxy for John Hodson, W.M., Moses Ware, S.W., and Nathan Wood, J.W.; that in 1831 it was represented by Lemuel Whitney as proxy for the three officers just mentioned; that in 1832 it was unrepresented, but in 1833 it was represented by Samuel Elliot as proxy for Nathan Wood, J.W.

Whatever became of the charter of old Columbian Lodge, Number 34, no one knows. By vote of the grand lodge in 1833 all lodges desiring to do so were given opportunity to surrender their charters. Grand secretary, Brother Roess, does not think Columbian Lodge, Number 34, ever surrendered its charter, but that in 1849, after lodges had been given the opportunity to resume work, if they so desired, Columbian Lodge was declared extinct, January 10 of that year.

The lodge meetings were held in the afternoon, with a good attendance, as a general thing, from the first recorded meeting to the last. It was invariably opened upon the first degree, where nearly all of the business was transferred, except balloting for and passing F.C. and raising M.M., where the lodge would be opened upon each of those degrees for that purpose. The dues were 12½ cents, to be paid by each member in attendance, including E.A. and F.C., and also by each visiting brother after the first visit. During the seventeen years of its active life it made a large number of Masons and elected a number who had received their degrees in other lodges, and its membership of that early period was composed of the best and most prominent men in business and professional life.

During the lodge's existence it had nine worshipful masters, Lemuel Whitney, Samuel Clark, Elihu Field, Artemas Robbins, Aaron Barney, Emerson Burnham, Dana Hyde, Junior, Ariel Root, John Hodson. Of them all, Lemuel Whitney, whose portrait hung in one of the rooms of the Town Hall, was the great central figure, and became the most prominent in Masonic and public affairs. He was grand junior warden of the grand lodge in 1812-1813; grand senior warden in 1815, 1816, 1817; deputy grand master in 1814, and grand master in 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821. He was grand secretary of the grand chapter in 1817; grand king in 1819, 1820, 1821, and grand high priest in 1822, 1823, 1824.

Upon the petition of Charles Cummings, Louis Frust, Edward J. Car-

penter, A. Pope Wilder, W. C. Bryant, James H. Capen, H. R. Godfrey, Horace Hastings, Ashbel Dickinson, Henry Smith, Samuel Knight and Ranslure Clarke, Grand Master Philip C. Tucker issued to them, under date of January 4, 1855, his warrant of dispensation empowering them to meet under the name of Columbian Lodge and to do and transact all business pertaining to a lodge of Masons until the annual meeting of the grand lodge in 1856, unless sooner revoked, and appointed E. J. Carpenter to be its worshipful master, Charles Cummings its senior, and Louis Frust its junior, warden. Their first meeting was held June 10, 1855.

At the July meeting R. W. Henry H. Barton, D.D.G.M. of Rockingham was present, also many visiting brethren from Golden Rule Lodge of Putney, Blazing Star Lodge of Newfane and Republican Lodge of Greenfield, Massachusetts. District Deputy Barton delivered an address, the several candidates proposed at a former meeting were all duly elected, and William E. Nichols and Sidney A. Miller received the degrees of E.A. and F.C. After three hours of intermission for refreshments the lodge was called to labor and William E. Nichols and John J. Crandall, who had received the first two degrees in Republican Lodge, Greenfield, were raised to the sublime degree of Master Mason.

The lodge was granted its first charter by the grand lodge in January, 1856, received its number, 36, and at the stated meeting for that month elected its officers for the ensuing year, namely: E. J. Carpenter, W.M.; Charles Cummings, S.W.; Louis Frust, J.W.; Horace Hastings, treasurer, and Sidney A. Miller, secretary.

A large amount of work was done during the years of the Civil War, both on account of residents of this jurisdiction and of soldiers in camp upon whom degrees were conferred by request of the lodges that had elected them.

March 23 the lodge authorized the making of a contract for the leasing of the hall in Granite Block of D. S. and O. J. Pratt for the term of ten years at a rental of $400 per annum.

During fifty-seven years of the life of Columbian Lodge, Number 36, and previous to its removal, Columbian Lodge, Number 36, has had four homes—the first in Williston's stone block on Main Street, second in what is known as Retting's building on High Street, then in Pratt's granite block on Main Street and fourth in Market Block on Elliot Street. The hall in Pratt's block was dedicated to Masonry December 27, 1869, Brother Charles A. Miles acting as grand master. An able address was delivered by Reverend Brother H. W. Nye of Springfield, Massachusetts, and a collation was served in the banquet hall to the brethren and their ladies. This was occupied until December, 1887, when the new hall in Market Block was dedicated to Masonry by the officers of the grand lodge, M. W.

Alfred A. Hall, grand master. All of the Masonic bodies then moved to their new home and continued to occupy the same until they moved April 1 to the temple, which was dedicated May 31, 1911. June 6, 1876, the date for holding their stated meetings was changed from the Tuesday on or preceding the full moon to the second Tuesday of each month and has remained so ever since.

In the summer of 1880 various members of the lodge, feeling that the interest of Masonry would be best conserved by the establishment of another lodge in town, took their demits from the lodge and subsequently petitioned Grand Master Lavant M. Read for a dispensation to hold meetings and do Masonic work under the name of Brattleboro Lodge, with Brother William H. Vinton, W.M. September 14, 1880, Columbian Lodge, by vote, gave its consent for the establishment of the new lodge. A dispensation was granted the petitioners by the grand master, and December 14, 1880, Columbian Lodge, on request of Brother Vinton, voted to give the use of its aprons, working tools, furniture and other paraphernalia to Brattleboro Lodge until they should obtain such for themselves. June 16, 1881, Brattleboro Lodge, Number 102, received its charter.

The records of Columbian Lodge, Number 36, demonstrate that its members were never afraid to cast a black cube, and during the fifty-seven years of Masonic life its membership as a whole has been selected from the best citizenship within its jurisdiction. Twenty-three of its members have served the lodge as its worshipful masters, namely: Edward J. Carpenter, Ranslure W. Clarke, William E. Nichols, George H. Newman, William H. Vinton, Nathan S. Howe, Charles A. Miles, Lyman H. Dearborn, Edwin H. Putnam, Albert J. Simonds, Daniel L. Herrick, Chauncey B. Dickinson, Kittredge Haskins, Isaac D. Bailey, Henry A. Chapin, Albert W. Crouch, Charles H. Grant, James B. Randoll, Anthony F. Schwenk, Walter E. Hubbard, Christie B. Crowell, James A. Hoadley and Sanford A. Daniels. The longest periods of service as W.M. have been that of Brother Carpenter, four years; Brother Nichols, four years; Brother Haskins, eight years; Brother Bailey, four years. The lodge has had a steady, healthy growth, and notwithstanding it lost some of its best and highly esteemed members when Brattleboro Lodge was established, it has always pursued a conservative and careful course, constantly keeping in mind and observing the ancient landmarks of the order. At the present time it numbers 166 members.

That Columbian Lodge has received its due share of recognition by the several Masonic grand bodies of Vermont, the following will show: Brother Clarke was grand senior warden of the grand lodge in 1862, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867; Brother Vinton was grand junior warden in 1870 and

grand senior warden in 1871-1872; Brother Miles was grand high priest of the grand chapter in 1867, 1868, 1869; Brother Haskins was grand high priest in 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886; grand junior warden of the grand lodge in 1889-1890; grand senior warden in 1891-1892; deputy grand master in 1893-1894; grand master in 1895-1896; was grand captain general of the grand commandery in 1888; grand generalissimo in 1889; deputy grand commander in 1890 and grand commander in 1891-1892; Brother Bailey was grand junior deacon of the grand lodge in 1904; grand captain of the guard of the grand commandery in 1904; grand warden in 1895; grand sword bearer in 1896; venerable chief of the Masonic Veterans' Association in 1907; most illustrious grand master of the grand council in 1910 and grand senior warden of the Knights of the Red Cross of Constantine in 1911; Brother Crowell was made master of the first veil of the grand chapter in 1911; our treasurer, Brother Frank B. Putnam, was grand captain of the guard of the grand commandery in 1908, grand sword bearer in 1909, grand standard bearer in 1910 and grand junior warden in 1911.

## CHAPTER XXX

## THE CHURCH ON THE COMMON

The Church on the Common—Association Covenant—Subscribers—Parish record—Meeting-House regulations—Location—Plan of church—Reverend Jonathan McGee—Letter from Mrs. Sally Holbrook—Reverend Charles Walker—Plan of pews—Deacon John Holbrook—First Sunday School—Deacons—Clerks of the Society—Superintendents of the Sunday School—Female Friendly Association—Members—Social meetings—Governor Holbrook's Address at the Congregationalists' Jubilee—Reminiscences continued—Temperance—Antislavery in 1837—Church unity—Ladies' meeting in behalf of the Greeks.

The North Meeting-House, now known as the "Church on the Common," was building in the years 1814-1816. The boys and girls watched the frame go up from the hill on the west of the Common, with a view unobstructed by the present abundant growth of trees. There were a large number of people on the ground, partly because of the necessities of the work of raising such a frame, partly because of the dream of Reverend Caleb Burge, who dreamed that two men were to be slain in the effort, and for whom, after all went well and safely, the crowd lustily and ironically cheered; and partly because the event itself was so signal in the history of the town as to call out the residents. It came to be in this way: The Reverend William Wells, who came to Brattleboro in 1794 for the twofold noble purpose of preaching the gospel and with his own hands supplying his necessities, and who had been for twenty years the heartily chosen stated supply of the one town-church at West Brattleboro—this father in the gospel had not limited his work to the regular services, but held Bible meetings "on Lord's-day evening, generally as often as twice and sometimes three times a month," in the schoolhouse at the northwest end of what is now the Common, also in private residences and sometimes in Uriel Sikes's hotel.

This he could do more easily, as he lived on the West River road, just beyond the present Retreat. Population grew in the East Village. The schoolhouse meetings became a permanency, and as the town would not vote two church buildings and one parish, a separate society became a necessity.

### Association Covenant

The first mention of a religious society in the East Village is contained in the Association Covenant:

We the Subscribers, inhabitants of Brattleborough (in the eastern part of said town) do hereby voluntarily associate and agree to form a Society by the name of the Brattleborough East Society in Brattleborough Village (so-called) for the purpose of settling and supporting a minister and other necessary Society concerns according to the first section of an Act entitled "an act for the support of the Gospel," passed October 26, 1797. It being understood, that no subscriber shall be compelled by a majority to pay any money for the purposes aforesaid, but by his voluntary consent.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto severally set our hands.

Dated at Brattleborough this 27th day of August in the year of our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred & eighteen.

### NAMES OF SUBSCRIBERS AND ASSOCIATES.

John Holbrook.
Samuel Elliot.
Asa Green.
Artemas Robbins.
Grindal R. Ellis.
Ezra Clark.
Boaz M. Atherton.
Jonathan Hunt.
Francis Goodhue.
Isaac Thompson.
Eli Sargeant.
David Wood.
Elihue Sergeant.
John Hudson.
Geo. F. A. Atherton.
Geo. W. Hall.
Jona. A. Allen.
Geo. W. Nichols.
Jonathan Davis.
John S. Barrett.
Elisha Briggs.
Asa French.
Philip Wood.
Leml. Shattuck.
Nathl. Chandler.
John Thomas.
Mason Kingsley.
Levi Sargeant.
Leonard Scott.
Jesse French.
John Wood.
Joseph Goodhue.
Joseph Fessenden.
Luther Howard.
John L. Dickerman.
John Burnham.
Calvin Sargeant.
Romeo Bowen.
Philip Potter.
Saml. Wellington.
Richard Gill.
Alexander Sargeant.
Allin Joy.
Saml. Frost.
Alpheus Thayer.
Ebn. Wells.
Gardner C. Hall.
John Birge.
John R. Blake.
John W. Prouty.

George Sargeant.
Thos. H. Wood.
Geo. Lord.
John P. Fessenden.
George Thompson.
Theodore James.
Asa G. Smith.
Rodolphus Bennett.
John C. Holbrook.
John P. Leavitt.
A. M. Bliss.
James Gumbell.
Lewis M. Amsden.
James Steen.
Jesse Frost.
Nathl. Barber.
Alba Kimball.
Geo. W. Knowlton.
John Charley.
Willard Pomroy.
Anson Barber.
John K. Caldwell.
Joseph Steen.
Jona. Wood.
Henry Ballard.
Joseph Tyler.
Jonathan Glennington.
Alexander C. Putnam.
James Elliot.
Silvanus Sartwell.
Uriel Sikes.
Henry C. Blake.
Rufus Clark.
Henry Frost.
Wm. Frost.
Solomon Wilder.
Noah Fisher.
Allen Fuel.
Pliny Kingsley.
Roswell Holton.
Henry Kimball.
Geo. T. Mixer.
Lewis Holton.
Henry Smith.
Theodore Phelps.
Aaron C. Hammon.
Angalous Streeter.
Elisha H. Allen.
Danl. B. Thompson.
Henry Kemp.
Philip Hall.
George Draper.
Wm. Fred Hall.
Enos C. Crosby.
Reuben G. Hildreth.
Argos Nash.
Wm. R. Hayes.
Nathan Woodcock.
Frederick Van Doorn.
Charles C. Frost.
Willm. A. Conant.
Anthony Van Doorn.
Willard Frost.
Saml. Root.
Amandarin Clark.
Wells Goodhue.
E. H. Thomas.
Guy M. Fessenden.
Saml. S. Leonard.
John H. Hastings.
Moses Ware.
Geo. H. Peck.
Nathl. Williston.
Horace Wilcox.

In 1832 there were added:

Asahel Clapp.
Samuel H. Elliot.
Lewis Newman.
Wm. P. Cune.
Uriel Sikes.
Levi Sargeant.

David Allen.
John Fowler.
Daniel Gilbert.
Chester French.
Asa French, Jr.

In 1833:

George Sargeant.
F. H. Fessenden.
Rufus Clark.
Ozearl Stoddard.
Fred Holbrook.
James M. Reed.
Alonzo Blodgett.
Chester Pomeroy.
Leveritt Smith.
Henry Pratt.
Wm. Briggs.
Warnham Burnham.
Pomroy Knowlton.
Israel H. Pilgrim.
Henry S. Knox.
J. P. Fessenden.
Alexander Brown.
Adolphus Stebbins.
Chas. H. Cune.
Hezekiah Salisbury.
Johnet Keith.
Albert G. Pratt.
Joseph G. Root.
James Minott.
John H. King.
I. R. Miltimore.
Alexander Capen.

In 1834:

Winslow V. Coles.
Ransom Covey.
David Marshall.
Lewis E. Sikes.
William Gould.
Saml. Bailey.
Geo. W. Woods.
James Elliot.
Alvin Flint.
Moses Ware.
Samuel Dutton.
W. L. Dickerman.
I. H. Hills.
Asa Keyes.
Edmund Shattuck.
Wm. F. Rockwell.
John Burnham, Jr.
Isaac Hines.
George Sargeant.
Wm. W. Fessenden.
Alexander Stone.
Shipman Swain.
Jacob Marsh.
Addington Daniels.

The society was, however, incorporated under the laws of the state August 27, 1818, but it was not until March 26, 1832, that, in a code of by-laws adopted at a meeting of that date, the society declared its boundaries as follows:

The limits and boundaries of this East Society in its general views; to wit, It shall be three miles north, three miles south, one and a half miles east and one and a half miles west of the said parish Meeting-house, the Common or spot of ground on which it stands. Any person, then, now

living, or coming within these boundaries and wishing to associate in Christian worship with this Society and conforming to its articles and by-laws, is cordially invited to unite with them.

The intention at first was not to divide the original parish, but only to have such a portion of the public services as their members and their ministerial tax might entitle them to, but objections were made by the people in the middle and western parts of the town, who would have nothing to do with a new meeting-house.

When the society was formed, Reverend Mr. Wells, who at the age of seventy had given up his larger charge in March, 1814, was invited to be the minister, and began regular services in the schoolhouse on the first Sunday in April, 1814.

On the twentieth of April of the same year the narrative of the parish record begins. "A number of inhabitants of Brattleborough, having assembled at the public house of Salem Sumner for the purpose of making arrangements for the erection of a House of Public Worship," organized for the business by appointing Peleg Kingsley moderator and Ezra Clark clerk, and voted (1st) "That the persons who compose this meeting, and others who may become associated, form ourselves into a society by the name of the Brattleborough Village Meeting-house Society, for the purpose of purchasing land and erecting thereon a house of public worship for the convenience of the inhabitants of said Brattleborough and the adjacent towns;" voted (2d) "to choose a committee to purchase land of Grindal R. Ellis situate at the north end of the village, on the plain" lying between the roads to Newfane and Putney; also to contract for building the church, to raise the money and sell the pews. The following is a record of sale by the committee: "Know all men, That the Committee for the Brattleborough Village Meeting-House Society have received of Ebenezer Wells the sum of Eighty-seven Dollars, being the purchase money of a Pew or Slip, No. 45, on the floor of said Meeting-House; which said Pew or Slip was sold by said Committee, at public vendue, to the said Ebenezer Wells for the sum aforesaid; Therefore, the said Committee do hereby grant and convey unto him the said Ebenezer Wells his heirs and assigns, said Pew or Slip, etc." July 10, 1815, Grindall R. Ellis deeded to the society's committee "for the consideration of $300, approximately 4 acres of land between the road to Putney and the road to Newfane, bordering on each," on condition that the new church should be built on it. In 1842 the church society lost claim to the land by removing the house, and neglecting to fence the grounds. This first committee consisted of Francis Goodhue, Lemuel Whitney and Eli Sargent. The subscription paper starts off with the names of Peleg Kingsley, Francis

Goodhue and William Fessenden for $400 each, and contains forty-two names, standing for three subscriptions of $400, two of $200, one of $150, one of $140, seven of $100, and none less than $10—one of $10, one of $15, and the rest $25, $40, $50, $75. The movement thus started with a rush lingered somewhat in execution. The records mark successive meetings for painting pews and steeple, scouring pulpit and common furniture, and so on; the expense of building and finishing amounted to between $4000 and $5000, "which sum was raised with utmost cheerfulness"; and it resulted that the edifice, which was completed in the main in 1815, was not actually dedicated until August 22, 1816, when fourteen members withdrew from the mother church and set apart Mr. John Holbrook as deacon. (The members who withdrew were: John Holbrook, Mrs. John Holbrook, who was Sarah Knowlton; Mrs. William Fessenden, who was Patty Holbrook; Mrs. Uriel Sikes, who was Elizabeth Edwards; Sarah Barber; Susanna Dickinson; Mrs. Julia (Edwards) Phillips; Mrs. Laura (Whitney) Clark; Jane Wells; Ebenezer Wells; Mrs. Ebenezer Wells, who was Mary Chester; Mary Ann Wells; Hannah Wells and Anna Gill.) The Lord's Supper was first celebrated in the house on the seventh of July *before* the organization of the church or the dedication of the edifice, in the characteristically independent and vigorous spirit which proceeded to its privileges on no man's authority, but under the grace of God.

We find in the records of the society meeting of September 21, 1816, that "the thanks of the society, through their clerk, be made to Mr. John Holbrook and to General Arad Hunt for the liberal donation of a bell to this society" (this is the bell that broke when the society was divided in 1831); and voted "that the thanks of the society be made, through their clerk, to Mr. Ebenezer Hunt, Jr., of Northampton, for the donation of a clock to the society." The communion plate, baptismal bowl and pulpit furnishings were a present from the ladies; the Bible with the Psalms and hymn book for the pulpit were given by the young men of the society.

Before we look more closely at the aspect and the annals of the old church, let us regard for a moment the cherished ministry which virtually closed with the opening of the new house thus provided. The Reverend Mr. Wells did not close his labors till one year and eight months later, at which time he went to England; but his active history belongs chiefly to the formative times, when his earnest and charitable faith and genial piety were laying foundations in men's hearts and overcoming the rough and wild spirit that was, in early days, proverbially too much the character of this town. Personally and spiritually we see a kindly and noble figure in this large-hearted man. He was a man who would belong very sympathetically to the earnest school of men, who, mediators and broad churchmen in theology, touch very deeply the common heart of men, "that

human heart by which we live"—men like Erskine, Maurice, Kingsley, Robertson. Still, the times demanded clear and deep convictions, and into his views I'll not go, except to refer to the beautiful covenant beginning thus: "Admiring the infinite condescension and grace of God in opening a door of life and salvation to perishing sinners through the death and mediation of Jesus Christ." This was the covenant which he used and introduced into the new church; on which, in very simple, unquestioning trust in the atonement of Jesus Christ, he rested his personal hope, as, when on his deathbed, he told Deacon Holbrook. This is the covenant which continued in cordial use on the part of nearly a generation after he had ended his labors in 1818, and by which he, being dead, yet speaketh. Mr. Wells was above all things a social man, welcome in all homes, where the hospitable cup of tea and long pipe always awaited him, and where he would be full of stories of Old England. He not only was loved by the old; rather even more sympathetically by the children. He loved *them*. Once, when hearing how a certain little boy had cried for him, he said, "That is the highest compliment you could pay me." He loved young men, and the letter he wrote to some of them, pupils at the seminary in West Brattleboro, marks in its simple, direct and manly appeal to the highest and best in them, that he both loved and *knew* them. He had a prayer meeting in his house for them. His character was in his face; his experience was there, in kindly benevolence. He died beloved, and left the record of a man of charity, and for the sermon of his life such a message as this: "Be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you."

It was during the absence of Reverend Mr. Wells in England that the society called the Reverend Jonathan McGee to the pastorate—not "reverend" then, for he came to be ordained. Mr. Wells went to England in April, and Mr. McGee was called in October, 1818, and ordained January 13, 1819. The clerk's record states that "the ordination day was very pleasant and although the middle of January it was as warm and as mild as October, there being no snow on the ground. About thirty ministers were present and many hundreds of people to witness the ordination, this being the first ordination that ever was performed in the town of Brattleborough, though there had been stated preaching in it for fifty years. All things were conducted with the greatest decency and order." On August 27, 1818, four years after the Brattleborough Village Meeting-House Society was organized, James Elliot, Esquire, expressed the belief that the society had never been legally associated for the purpose of hiring or settling a minister, and, the members accepting that view, the meeting was dissolved and immediately it was voted to associate themselves under the name of the Brattleborough East Society, for the support of the gospel,

as provided by a legislative act of October 26, 1798. In a few days by-laws were adopted and legality given to the proceeding. The church edifice was ready for Mr. McGee. It had been dedicated August 22, 1816, with a sermon by Reverend Samuel Willard of Deerfield on Habakkuk 2:20, "The LORD is in his holy temple: let all the earth keep silence before him."

There were Meeting-House Regulations as follows:

This Meeting-house was dedicated to the Most High; in which the Divine service or the religious worship of the East Society of Brattleboro, is to be performed. It is under their control, and is for their use only, by whom and for whom it was built. It is proper that the Minister of the Parish, should have the charge and regulations of the pulpit, agreeable to the proper custom of our fathers, of the Congregational order, and other denominations, since the first settlement of our country.—For the peace, comfort and happiness of this Society therefore it is declared by them, that No irregular or unchristian Preachers shall be admitted into the pulpit. No exhibitions, tragedies, plays or farces shall disgrace the Temple. No military bands or training companies of men with their firearms and train of dirt and dust, tarnishing the pews, disorganizing the cushions, and Books, shall be permitted to enter this House. But, on great, or public days, if orations are necessary to be delivered here; leave must first be had of the board of trustees of the society; under whose care and superintendence it shall be at all times.—

The Society, and individuals are owners of the slips or pews,—and of course are the owners of the Temple or House and whatever repairs or painting may be necessary—they must be done by the owners. Every owner of a pew belonging to the society (and no others without leave) shall have the right to take the key and enter the house at any proper time for the purpose of regulating the inside of his pew, agreeable to his convenience and fancy; but shall not do anything, to alter its external appearance, to the annoyance or injury of others, nor meddle with nor move, any other thing in the house.— It is also understood, that funerals may be held here, for the benefit of the members of the society, and others; or extraordinary Providential occasions; when the minister and Trustees of the Parish, may deem it more proper or necessary, than at a private House.

The above notice to be adopted and recorded.

The meeting-house stood near the center of our present Common, facing south, at or to the west of the soldiers' monument; was painted white; had no spire, but rather the more solidly built steeple common in our hill

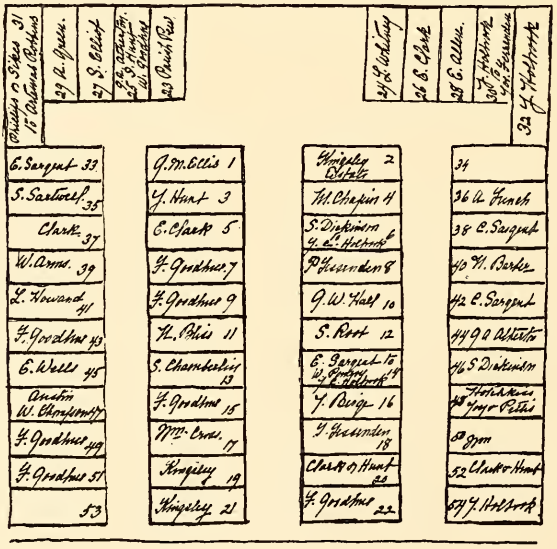
towns, constructed of a cubical base, surmounted by an octagon and crowned with a round-topped tower. This steeple had a clock, bearing but one face, and the bell before mentioned, which swung in plain sight and later was enclosed by blinds. The church rejoiced in a very generous supply of windows, in number just double that which the same frame now holds; likewise the same weather-vane, with the letters that now crown our spire. Beneath was a cellar, not always in perfect order, as in the warrant of March 14, 1825, we find a special article and vote to clean it out. Here were kept two old cannon, said to have been captured from Burgoyne, the village hearse and, for a while, Judge Tyler's sulky. Such a collection drew the children to the door, through which they would curiously and fearfully look, without venturing to enter.

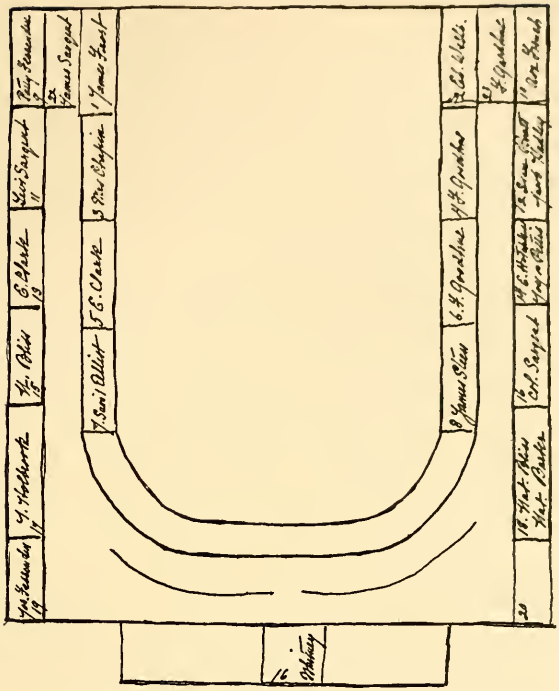
The pews were not the old-fashioned square pews, but straight, though shorter and wider than now, and with a door at each end except for the wall pews. There were three aisles, and, while there were wall pews, yet the number of pews was not as great as at present. Each line of pews had an aisle to itself. The center aisle ran to the space before the pulpit, while the side aisles branched to right and left respectively, affording access to the corner pews, five on each side, and including long ones against the walls, which were at right angles to the main body. The gallery had on the sides two rows of pews, with a long aisle between, running all the way down, and circular pews, three deep, at the south end, where the singers sat. The church was painted plain white all through, with dark top trimmings for the pews, except behind the pulpit, where were frescoed in red colors, from ceiling to floor, the gorgeous curtains, draped appropriately back for the timid emergence of the sacred desk, which met and oppressed the eyes (that is, the curtains, not the desk, of course,) of the Sunday company. The pulpit was half the height of the church, after the common manner, and was supported upon and over four pillars, beneath which was a recess, and in this the minister sat at the communion, while before him stood the table. On either side of this recess was a door, one leading to the pulpit stairs, and the other into a closet, where were kept the furniture and the elements for the sacrament. The pew furnishings, as to cushions, carpets and colors, were the work and the monuments of the very diversified individual tastes of their occupants, while in the aisle there was nothing.

The light was *intense*—white light, for the windows were many and the blinds were not; the curtains were poor, inadequate paper affairs, often rent, which allowed the penetrating beams to strike the face and enter the eye without mercy, and cause the hands and hats to go up in self-protection, "the immense Navarino bonnets, nearly as large as an umbrella," here finding a reason for being. In the cold season the house

came to be heated, or better, smoked, by stoves, though the age of foot stoves had not yet passed away; and these two innovating stoves, that stood at the south end on each side, did double duty. The pipes ran along under the gallery as far as the side aisles went, and then turned suddenly at an angle and went out of the nearest window, through a tin-lined aperture; and the smoke sometimes took revenge for such unceremonious ejection by making another eccentric turn back again, so that we find other special articles in warrants dealing with this burning question of "smoke in the meeting-house."

The people came in numbers and in all weather; and the winter weather was severe indeed. The Common had once been a pine plain; was bare of trees, and even of grass, though pennyroyal grew on the east side. It had been the playground of the boys and the training ground of the militia. The snow had no hindrance from Retreat buildings or trees as now. It drifted tremendously. The minister's head would disappear in the path as he went from house to church; the sleighs, which were many, and had the large old-style bells we find now sometimes, could pass only one way, up one side and down the other on the branches of Main Street, and stood in a long line reaching back from the church by the approach, when the service ended.





In the first plan of the old church, we find John Holbrook in the northeast long corner pew against the wall, and meeting his pew at a sharp right angle the minister's pew. In the corner pews, in front of Deacon Holbrook, came J. Fessenden, E. Allen, E. Clark and Lemuel Whitney. Facing them in the northwest corner slips are G. G. Atherton, Samuel Elliot, Asa Green, Artemas Robbins. Across the front, after the minister's pew, are Peleg Kingsley, G. R. Ellis and E. Sargent. Behind Mr. Ellis was the pew of Jonathan Hunt, in which Daniel Webster sat when he came here, erect, interested, with his eye steadily and continuously fixed on the minister. The congregation came from a distance, some of them. The members living over West River sat mainly on the east side of the church. In the end gallery pews, looking right down on the pulpit, are the names of James Frost and Eben Wells. As some men owned several pews, it cannot be seen where they sat. The occupants of the end circular pews were the choir. They had the instruments and the voices to "make a joyful noise unto the Lord." Two violins, a double

bass, a violoncello and two flutes, on the one hand, and as many voices as personal inclination suggested, on the other, united in praise. They were wont to be trained three months in singing school, and to be left for the other nine to their own discretion, until the new period began, with the leadership of a brother. There were Uriel Sikes with his bass viol, played by him for thirty years, William Fessenden with his flute, "Uncle John" Fessenden and old Mr. Robbins, whose wrestlings of face, as he wrestled with his instrument, made the boys laugh, but of whom, when he peered over to discover their doings on the back seat in knife trades and other practices, they were in wholesome awe.

Reverend Jonathan McGee, trained at Williams College and Andover Seminary, labored here from January 12, 1819, to September 10, 1834. To begin with first impressions, he was every inch a gentleman, even to the last inch on the heel of his boot. His face was fresh and young-looking, with light hair and eyes, his figure erect and dignified, his manners polished, his address comely, his personal appearance always immaculate; and this signal care extended to all things, including the bells on the harness of his horse. Beneath this precise exterior was a scholarly and care-taking mind, fine culture and a warm heart; above all, a faculty of keen common sense, so invariably in use that it could be said of him that in all his pastorate he never made an injudicious remark. He came at a hard time for him; succeeding Mr. Wells, and representing a trend of thought and feeling (for the presence of which in the parish that earnest and devoted man, Deacon David Wood, was largely instrumental—to his influence, also, the Sunday school owed more than to any other one man) somewhat different from that of his predecessor. In spite of this disadvantage, he held and edified a united and prosperous people for over twelve years. As a preacher, those who recall him have given various estimates. It has been said that he lacked originality, was more student than thinker; and yet the encomium of such a man as Doctor Spring (who heard him here, and who once crept by stealth into the singers' seats and was discovered during the service) and the personal memories of those now living, mark him as a man of power. Once he was speaking of the omnipresence of God. "God is here!" he said; "God is there!" (at that moment someone, to disturb the service, rapped on the window) "and God is *there!*" he cried, suddenly pointing toward that window. The effect was a shock and an impulse to the conscience of the man outside, leading to his conversion. His prayers were very scriptural and sincere, yet marked by unique inflections and sometimes tremblings of the voice, and were not free from stereotyped phrases, such as the generally repeated "We are all cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water." He gave his notices with peculiar emphasis, sending home, for instance, a notice

of a "meeting at the schoolhouse at half-past six," with a quick, positive and invariable nod of the head.

As a pastor he was faithful, but more in a formal, official way than in the social way of Mr. Wells. He had perhaps more to do. He had classes at the school of Miss Peck. He had pupils in his family. He may have been more occupied with reading and study. He excelled as a teacher in grammar, rhetoric and mathematics. He appeared at the schools and corrected mispronunciations of the pupils. "Not Morlboro, but *Marl*-boro," he would say. It has been said that he hardly possessed the closeness of sympathy with the young which marked his predecessor, so that, during a season of religious interest, in 1827, the young girl who served in the house preferred to see, when spending a night in agony of mind, the visiting evangelist rather than her pastor. And yet, the young found him very affectionate, inviting confidence, developing faith and becoming the means of leading many into the church, no less than two hundred and twenty-nine, by profession, during his ministry. He must have been a strong man, for he was the friend of the strongest, and ranked as their equal; a wise man, for he most judiciously guarded a strong and growing society during trying years; a tender man, for those now old and then young, loved him; and a skillful soul winner, for he won souls.

He was a noble, Christian gentleman, prudent in business, authoritative in scholarship, Christian in spirit and easily master of a difficult situation. He introduced into his pulpit earnest men from the vicinage, such as the strong old-school preacher, Doctor Tufts of Wardsboro; Reverend D. H. Newton of Marlboro, one of the ablest ministers the county has ever known; Reverend Messrs. Andrews and Foster of Putney; and Reverend Doctor Taggart of Colerain, the latter a peculiarly picturesque and striking figure. Doctor Taggart was *long* as well as eloquent. He would hold the people for two hours, and when he had said "16th-ly," and the boys began to grow cheerful, would come out with "Ah—but furthermore," and then "Ah—but again," until the end came by and by. He would search out the causes of sounds; he would follow passing vehicles; at family prayer at Deacon Holbrook's house, he would bend down while standing, and watch the progress of a dog trying to crawl under a secretary too low for him, going on, all the while, most fervently with his prayer.

During the pastorate of Mr. McGee the annals of the society meetings show nothing of marked interest until the latter end. Records of expenses showing the cost of keeping up services (ringing bell, $16.25; repairing clock, $4.75; 1½ cords of wood, $2.25; cutting and fixing wood, 75 cents, etc.), of casual interest in a comparison with cost today. It is interesting to see the various styles and hands of the clerks, of whom there have been nine, all told, including Ezra Clark, Samuel Elliot, John C. Holbrook,

George Draper, Wells Goodhue, Frederick Holbrook, W. W. Fessenden, thus far carrying the records down to the removal of the church building, the end of the period we are considering. One of the most important matters attended to, as the ministers all hold, was the procuring of the parsonage in 1823. It had been in the agreement with Mr. McGee, four years before, to provide such parsonage when he should want it. He came to want it; now—to secure it. It was another case of "the ladies to the rescue." While the society were deliberating, they received a letter from Mrs. Sally Holbrook, wife of Deacon Holbrook. This letter is an admirable document, in discreet suggestion, and in the leadership—without any assumption, and even with a studied disclaimer of superiority, to the gentlemen whose province it is "to attend to and manage the weightier and more important affairs and concerns of life"—in the leadership of a large-brained and warm-hearted woman, able and minded to do a wise and generous thing in a simple and direct way. She discloses the existence of a Female Fund Society, which has collected $400 "in industry, savings, and gathering of mites," to which she herself adds the gift of land suitable for a parsonage, to be distant not more than one hundred and sixty rods from the meeting-house. Her offer, and that of the ladies, was, it is needless to say, immediately accepted—the subscription was started and the parsonage was built.

But here is a copy of the letter itself:

Wednesday eve, Jan'y 22d 1823.

Gentlemen and Parishioners—

At an early day, your female friends of this locality, anticipating the time, when from our engagements, we must of course be called on for a House for our Clergyman—formed themselves into a little Society, called the *Female Fund Society,* for the purpose and with the intent of turning the minds of the Parish towards procuring a permanent Parsonage. Believing as we do, that if so desirable an object could be effected, that there would be at least, one more link, in connecting and holding this hitherto united Society, still the more strongly together. Also knowing, that while it is the peculiar province of gentlemen, to attend to, and manage the weightier, and more important affairs and concerns of life—it is also the duty and privilege of the other sex, to attend to the smaller things—and in this way discharge their duties and fill their stations in life with usefulness to their Fathers, Husbands brothers and friends.

With this view, and with a view of assisting in obtaining the object before the Society, they have with extra-exertions in industry and savings and gathering by mites, in the small space of three years time, a sum not less than 400 Dollars, which is now before you.

Who feels the poorer? and what member of the Society is there, who

does not feel the richer, to effect the object before us? Such we see, is the effect of small causes, in producing large events, under the opperations of union, perservance and a little time.— But more to the point.—

The time has now come, when the Parish expects every one to do his duty—this time has been received by your female friends, with no inconsiderable degree of anxiety.—Believing as they have done, and still do, that we are now about placing the Kee-Stone, for the basis of our fabrick —if it is well fitted, and strongly laid, in the cement of unanimity and friendship—it will be lasting, otherwise it may give way and your Parish go down with it.— It would however ill become a humble female to dictate to this enlightened Society. She would disclaim every idea of the kind—but as a member of your Parish, may she be permitted to ask, if it would not be the safest, and surest way in the end, to transfer all our donations at once, to the Society; for the perpetuity of the support of the Gospel among us? Surely no one can fear to trust the Society for his own good, and for the good of the whole unitedly. If the Society should think this the better way; may I be permitted to offer, in aid of such an object, the following as a free Donation—which I do cheerfully in the name, and in behalf of the *Female Fund Society,* viz. *a plat of ground* of not less than one acre, (if it be obtained within 160 rods of the meeting house, at a fair price.) for the purpose of placing the buildings thereon.

I have the approbation and assistance of my husband to assist in procuring the Deed. If this shall be accepted, it will be on the condition that it is for the purpose of a Parsonage for the East-Society of Brattleboro' forever. Provided nevertheless, it shall never be diverted in use, from the support of the free independent Congregational order, in manner and form as the Parish is now organized and which may be considered as the true *Apostolical order,* of Churches and congregations; and which is that freedom of worship, which our fathers suffered for, and bled in establishing from the first foundations of New England.— Presuming, gentlemen, that in all your deliberations, you will aim at that course, which promises most for unanimity and peace—and whether you accept or reject this offer—you have my best wishes for success.

SALLY HOLBROOK.

It was at first only a small house (of one story), the total cost being $1530. In the same meeting Deacon Holbrook offered $400, on condition that the society would raise an equal amount; the whole to accumulate in trust for three years, after which the interest on the whole should be given toward the support of the gospel.

Powerful revivals and large accessions marked Mr. McGee's ministry. Miss Susan B. Salisbury joined in 1827; Mr. and Mrs. William Conant joined September 9, 1831; sixty-six came in at the great accession Sep-

tember 11, 1831. Other large gains were nineteen in March, 1827; fifty-nine in January, 1833; twenty-one, May 12, 1833. The nearest approach from that time to the large figures above given was in May, 1875, when thirty-three joined together. Mr. McGee was earnest in revivals, and yet not so zealous and fiery in expression that he could keep pace with some of his colaborers; and the work and words of Reverend Mr. Boyle in 1833, whose after history was marked by eccentricity, to say the least, are said to have been the means of rendering Mr. McGee's moderate methods less influential than they had been before.

The unusual work in 1831 was one of those movings among people which begin in their own midst. The prayer meeting must be remembered, in its touching solemnity, with which that revival began; when Mr. Joseph Steen rose and expressed his desire for forgiveness from any who had been wronged by him, and Mrs. Sally Holbrook simply and fervently said amen; and at that brief prayer the heart of the company was humbled before God. In those days and until 1835, when the chapel on Elliot Street[1] was built, the prayer meetings were in the schoolhouse west of the church, where Reverend Mr. Wells had been wont to expound the Scriptures.

One of the greatest influences for good in the church through these years was the ladies' prayer meeting—for long the only weekly religious meeting. This meeting was started by a suggestion of Reverend Mr. Andrews of Putney, was faithfully held and conducted on Wednesday afternoons through many years, and was regarded by Reverend Mr. McGee as the main spiritual prop of his ministry. It was a remarkable circle of women who met together, remarkable in culture as well as piety. The culture was of the deep and fine quality which we are in danger of losing in our scrappy and hand-to-mouth reading habits now. And the piety was that of the saints in light. To that meeting, in the dress appropriate for the most important and sacred of duties, went Mrs. Sally Holbrook, Mrs. Joseph and Mrs. Patty Fessenden, Mrs. Eben Wells, Miss Mary Ann and Miss Hannah Wells (the latter a missionary spirit for the whole region), Mrs. David Wood, Mrs. Samuel Elliot and others. Mr. George Baty Blake of Boston has recalled vivid reminiscences of these noble ladies, to whom none in the world were to his mind superior. He remembered their progress in white caps, calashes and ribbons, and all the stately dress and bearing of the times, to the place of meeting. It was a lasting power here of the highest and best and most refining Christianizing influences.

[1] This chapel was on the south side of Elliot Street where Emerson & Son's furniture store now stands. It was moved to the rear of the Wesselhoeft Water-Cure building in 1913 and is used for a tenement.

Reverend Mr. McGee departed September 10, 1834, and in 1834, October 24, Reverend Charles Walker, who had been pastor of a church in Rutland, was called, being then in his prime—forty-four years of age. He was a man of great resolution and of spiritual and pulpit power; and moreover of far-sighted wisdom. He early saw that the church must be moved from the Common. The growth of the population, the one-sided position of the edifice as related to most of the residences, the inconvenience caused by stormy weather, the larger practical advantages of a nearer site, as shown by the chapel on Elliot Street, for reaching the people, and the coming in of other churches, were all considerations which he urged; and urged at first with small success. The people were taken by surprise. The matter was not feasible. In the meeting of the society in March, 1836, only a year and two months after Mr. Walker's settlement, there had already been such a stirring up of the subject that it was necessary to dismiss the fifth article in the warrant, thus to negative the project of enlarging or moving the meeting-house. The work must wait. Meanwhile the ministry went on. Earnest religious feeling there was, especially in 1838, when nineteen came into the church in May and fifteen in July. The campaign of 1840 and the death of President Harrison touched the church closely; for in the excitement and cannonading over the presence of Daniel Webster during the campaign, the casting of a slow match into Joseph Steen's barn by a zealous and careless boy, started a fire which came near burning the church down; and some now living recall the draping of the church for the dead President, and the strong and impressive address that was presented by Doctor William H. Rockwell. At last the time was ripe, however. The continual pressure of the pastor prevailed, and the society resolved upon the move that had become a necessity. February 23, 1841, was the date of that important meeting, when by a ballot of thirty-one to five it was voted "that the members of the society are in favor of building a new house." The meeting of March 8 of the same year saw a committee appointed to raise the funds.

By February 23, 1842, one year later, the plans had so changed that the society voted to move the present meeting-house, and appointed a building committee to accomplish the same by taking the old structure down and setting it up again on the site known as "the orchard," where it now stands. The committee thus appointed were Colonel Joseph Goodhue, Ferdinand Tyler, Esquire, Lovell Farr, Esquire, George Sargent, Colonel Calvin Townsley. This committee carried out the work, and after all that they had done had been scrutinized by an examining committee, they secured the verdict that it had been well done. The examining committee consisted of Doctor Rockwell, Asahel Clapp and Samuel Dutton. And so, at the meeting held January 12, 1843, it was voted "that the thanks

of this society are now presented to their building committee for their faithful and judicious performance of the duties imposed upon them in the erection and completion of this house."

December 28, 1845, Reverend Charles Walker preached a temperance sermon so searching that it could not be gainsaid,—the text, "But judge this rather, that no man put a stumblingblock or an occasion to fall in his brother's way,"—in which he attacked the system of licenses as a scheme for private gain rather than a conservator of public morals. His argument was that a license to do a wrong thing cannot make it right, and that if men must and would drink intoxicating liquors, let it be done against the law, rather than by its sanction. To rent a house to a licensed proprietor was to share the responsibility of the law and the traffic.

The disturbance caused by a sermon so pointed and fearless inevitably led to his final withdrawal from the pastorate of the church.

For nearly a quarter of a century after the Centre Church was organized the person dominant in its affairs was Deacon John Holbrook. His death took place on Fast Day, April 6, 1838, during Reverend Mr. Walker's pastorate. In the church record it is written of him: "The Lord has seen best in His holy will and pleasure, this day to remove a valuable disciple from His church on earth to His immediate presence in heaven. John Holbrook, who had sustained the office of deacon in this church from the time of its organization in 1816 to the present day and had watched over its interests with parental care, had witnessed its increase from a little company of 14 to 300 members, has gone to receive the rewards promised to those who have been faithful in their Master's service. The hope that had sustained him in life was his support in death. When near the border of the grave, a friend to comfort him recounted the many good deeds he had done. He immediately replied: 'Did I not put my trust in the atonement made by Christ I should have no hope.' Thus departed this servant of Christ, rejoicing, as he had long lived, in the Lord."

The following have served as deacons of the Centre Church: John Holbrook, 1816; David Wood, 1833; Anson Barber, 1838; John C. Holbrook, 1838; Aaron E. Dwinell, 1841; Frank H. Fessenden, 1860; Daniel B. Thompson, 1865; Charles L. Mead, 1865; Riley Burdett, 1865; Charles F. Thompson, 1865; Doctor Charles P. Frost, 1868; Charles B. Rice, 1868; Alfred H. Wright, 1871; William A. Dutton, 1876; Henry E. Bond, 1879; Barna A. Clark, 1882.

The clerks of the society have been: Ezra Clark, 1814; Wells Goodhue, 1846; F. Holbrook, 1847-1861; Charles L. Mead, 1861-1867; Malcolm Moody, 1868-1889; L. D. Green, 1890-1895.

### The First Sunday School

For a short time previous to 1815, Miss Hannah Wells, daughter of Reverend William Wells, had brought together a Bible class of young ladies, who met from time to time to study the Scriptures under her instruction, in the old and only district schoolhouse and only during the summer months. The work growing upon her hands, so that she was unable to do justice to so large a class, on the first Sabbath in May, 1815, at her request, four assistants were chosen from among the members of the ladies' praying circle connected with the church, this being the first organized Sunday school work in town. On the first Sabbath in May, 1822, the school assumed its present organization, under the auspices of the church. Deacon David Wood was the first superintendent chosen, and he continued to serve until 1828.

One of the books used at that time had for a frontispiece a picture representing Christ, youth and the devil, the latter being painted in black except enormous white eyes. A pair of horns adorned the head while a brace of serpents coiled about it to complete the effect. A little farther on was a picture of Cain armed with a huge club with which he was beating his brother Abel. "The devil and Cain were pretty well used up before many moons," said one of the early possessors in describing one of these little books, "for every Sunday I thought it my Christian duty to stab them with a pin."

Miss Wells also started the first Sunday school in Vernon.

The following persons have served as superintendents of the Sunday school: David Wood, elected in 1822; John C. Holbrook, 1828; John L. Dickerman, 1838; Joseph Steen, 1841; Edward Kirkland, 1844; Joseph Steen, 1848; Joel M. Haven, 1853; Edward Kirkland, 1855; Charles F. Thompson, 1856; Charles L. Mead, 1859; Alfred H. Wright, 1863; Charles B. Rice, 1866; Charles F. Thompson, 1877; George H. Clapp, 1878; Eugene H. Adams, 1885; Charles O. Day, 1887; Henry H. Thompson, 1894.

A "constitution of the Female Friendly Association for Religious and Charitable Purposes. East Village, Brattleborough, Vermont," was adopted November, 1816.

Article 1. It shall be the object of this association, to make improvement in christian knowledge; to promote our personal religion; to increase our christian acquaintance, friendship and love; to pray for the revival of religion and the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom; to cultivate a spirit of sympathy for the afflicted, and to establish habits of economy and liberality—for the noble purpose of doing good according to our ability and opportunity.

Art. 2. The Society shall consist of Church Members, and those who are expecting soon to become such.

Art. 3. Each meeting of the Society shall be opened with prayer; after which a portion of Scripture shall be read, and a Psalm or Hymn sung.

Art. 4. As we are all inexperienced, and liable to be intimidated in our attempts to pray, it shall be our endeavour to exercise towards each other that christian candor, and to repose in each other that christian confidence, which shall be calculated to remove our embarrassment: And sensible how much our timidity may arise from pride of heart, and how liable we are to be elated with pride should we be enabled to pray with freedom, it shall be our earnest endeavour to seek help of God in our own and each others' behalf; imploring Him to grant us such a sense of His Majesty, Glory and all-surrounding presence, as shall raise us above the fear of creatures, and lay us low at his footstool.

Art. 5. That we may be better able to exercise charity, and extend relief to the afflicted, it shall be our endeavour, through each week, to gain by extra labour, or by some special saving, a small pittance at least, that we may at each meeting, if possible, cast our mite into the Treasury of the Lord.

Art. 6. There shall be an annual meeting of the Society, on the —— Wednesday of November; when two Committees, a Secretary and Treasurer shall be chosen, by nomination.

Art. 7. It shall be the duty of the first Committee, when applications are made by any one who wish to become members of this Society, to consult with each other, and to admit such only, as they shall think qualified according to the intention of the Society.

Art. 8. It shall be the duty of the second Committee, to enquire into the circumstances of the afflicted, and recommend proper objects of charity to the association.

Art. 9. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to record the doings of the Society, and make an annual report of the same.

Art. 10. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to receive all contributions, and make an annual report to the Society.

Art. 11. Each meeting shall be closed with prayer.

Art. 12. A collection shall be made at the close of each meeting.

Committee to admit members.
Committee to discover proper objects of charity.
Secretary.
Treasurer.

Names of Members:

Jane Wells (Deceased).
Nancy Wood.
Hannah Steen.
Sally Holbrook.
Linda Elliot.
Sally Barber (Deceased).
Louisa Potter.
Abigail Atherton.
Sophia Knowlton.
Mary Goodhue.
Huldah Bennett.
Ruth Bartlett.
Susanna Dickinson.
Sukey Arms.
Betsey Allen.
Mary Wells.
Elizabeth Sikes.
Julia Phillips.
Dorcas Goff.
Laura Clark.
Sophia Whitney.
Sibbel Fessenden.
Patty Fessenden.
Electa W. Green.
Eunice Metcalf.
Maria Metcalf (Deceased).
Clarissa Stanford.
Elizabeth Wood.
Sally Wood.
Abigail Ballard.
Dolly Bennett.
Sophia Holbrook.
Sarah Holbrook.
Almy M. Crafts.
Lucinda Holbrook.
Beulah Barber.
Mary Platts.
Emma R. Thomas.
Sarah Goodhue.
Hannah Coller.
Hannah Wells.
Ann Nichols.
Sophia Amsden.
Azubah Amsden.
Lydia Wood.
Huldah Bennet.
Rebecca Peck.
Mary Chapin.
Eunice Dickinson.
Naomi Smith.
Louisa Potter.
Marian Wells.
Lucy Bliss.
Lucy Briggs.
Fanny Scott.
Mary Sartwell.
Rachel Thomas.
Betsey Hastings.
Agnes Willard.
Abigail Lewis.
Betsey Willard.

### From Governor Holbrook's Address at the Congregationalists' Jubilee

The old fugue music was sung at the dedication of the new meeting-house. A large congregation, assembled from all the country around, crowded the edifice, and many remained outside. The choir, composed of thirty or forty members, occupied the whole south end gallery, which was circularly formed, and its rendering of the fugue music was with unction.

A large assemblage of able-bodied men, with willing hands gathered to

assist at raising the frame of the meeting-house. The timbers were large and heavy, and the appliances for lifting them into place were few as compared to modern facilities, the sides being constructed on the ground and then raised into position by means of pike-poles and fastened with wooden pins; but strong men, of daring as well as strength, accomplished the work. The old-time "Raisings," especially of meeting-houses, were the occasions for the assembling of large crowds of men with stalwart arms and willing hands to accomplish the work by main strength.

The bell for many of the earliest years of the parish was rung each evening at nine o'clock, thus regulating the time of the household clocks of the village. The bell was also tolled at funerals, during the movement of the procession to the cemetery. It was also tolled on the occurrence of deaths in the village—the age of the deceased being tolled off at the close, so that each listener, counting the strokes, might pretty generally infer whose death had occurred and was being thus heralded.

For many years after the formation of the Brattleboro East Society and Church, and the building of this meeting-house, the population of the part of the town embraced in the then East Parish was small and scattered. All the people in the eastern section who ever went to church at all, attended this meeting-house on the "Common," so-called. All the denominations here (with the exception of the Catholic) were then represented in the congregation there assembled. As the village grew and these other denominations became sufficient in numbers and strength to build for themselves, a nucleus was found in the old parish to help form each new parish.

The Reverend Doctor William Wells was the first minister of the East Parish. He was a highly educated Englishman, a gentleman of the old school, most interesting and charming in personality, kindly and sympathetic, and greatly esteemed by all. All the boys in town took off their hats with respectful bows, and each of the girls dropped a pretty curtsey to him as he passed by, either riding or walking, and he took special pains to return their civilities. Like most Englishmen, he was fond of a cup of tea an afternoon or evening, when calling in a social way upon his parishioners. Many households also kept a long-stemmed clay pipe and the best of smoking tobacco in readiness for him.

The congregation quite generally joined in singing the old fugue tunes in their pews to the hymns announced; nearly every one held up a hymn book in one hand and quite plainly beat the time with the other hand, for each singer in those days beat the time also, which was usually a sort of measured, stately movement, like a stately march of even trend.

For many years meetings were held on the coldest and most blustering days of winter in this house, situated in a very bleak and exposed location,

with just twice the number of windows now in the house, and with no means of warming save the warmth communicated by the audience, and the little foot stoves of live coals carried by the ladies into their pews. The hugest snowstorms did not deter the people from attending services. But the people of those days were tough, and accustomed and hardened to exposure, in their homes as well as in churches. Years after large stoves were placed in the entrance or porch, with pipes running the entire length of the audience room, on either side aisle, and passing out of a window on either side. Sitting in my father's pew, as a small boy, I used to see how far I could blow my breath, by the fog created, and judge it must have been from six to ten feet. Sermons were usually about an hour long, and dealt largely with dry, abstruse discussions of knotty points in theology. But people were fond of discussing them, and often did so at the corners of the street and in stores and not infrequently in the public inns.

The winters were in those days seemingly much colder and the snows deeper than of later years, accumulating to the depth of four or five feet not infrequently, and were of course drifted correspondingly. The young men of the parish used to form what they styled a "bee," in winters, to shovel out a roadway and a footpath across the "Common" to the meeting-house, as the snows were drifted too deeply to allow, otherwise, a passage to and from the house.

In those days it was the practice of the boys and girls of an evening to play "Betty Winkle," a sort of hide-and-seek play, around the meeting-house, the front steps being the starting and leaving-off place. There was a cellar under the whole house, with large double doors at the north or rear end of the house, and a window each side of the doors to light the cellar, and the village hearse and the two brass cannon could be plainly seen through these windows. The youngsters, especially the girls, used to scamper as fast as possible when passing round the north end of the house, past these cellar doors, where the hearse with its sable coverings and huge black plumes on top and black tassels at the sides, and those two cannon were kept, especially if the evening was somewhat dark, for they were regarded as something suspicious and forebodings of evil. When it was decided best to take the old house down and reërect it on its present site, some variations were made in the internal arrangements. The pulpit was lowered and remodeled, the side or wall pews at the pulpit end of the house were taken out, the windows lessened one-half in number, and those remaining refitted with larger-paned glass, and the choir end of the house entirely changed. The same spirit of unity, liberality and loyalty which had previously characterized the people of the parish in providing for the interests of the church and society was equally shown in meeting

the expenses of removing and replanting the house on its present foundations.

I can recollect several occurrences of the winter of 1815-1816 quite distinctly, when on February 15, I became three years of age. I can just remember how in that winter of 1815-1816 my father's two-horse lumber-box sleigh and span of iron-gray horses, Bob and Poppit by name, used to drive round to the front door on Sunday mornings, with plenty of straw in the bottom of the lumber box, plenty of buffalo robes in the four board seats across the sleigh, holding three grown persons in each, and with full strings of old-fashioned large and loud-sounding sleighbells on the horses, with all the household save myself and someone to take care of me, and also all persons who cared to go from my sister's house opposite to ours,—the sleigh-load with foot stoves for the women and plenty of lunch for all, would start off for "up-in-town" meetings, eating lunch in the hour's intermission at noon, then another hot sermon in the afternoon, then home between three and four o'clock and a sumptuous meat supper and hot coffee.

"Bob," the horse, was a square trotting, sturdy fellow of great bottom and strength, the fastest trotter in the country, but to ride him horseback, which I sometimes had to do, was like riding an up-and-down country sawmill going with a full head of water. Bob was a son of the original Justin Morgan, the progenitor of the renowned breed of Vermont Morgan horses; he lived to be thirty-six years old and was owned by my father thirty years. When at length his end came, the entire household had to drop a tear on his memory, for a more faithful servant never lived. A good representation of Bob is to be seen, painted from life by Fisher in 1829, in a painting of Brattleboro.

Madame Wells was a sprightly little body, small in stature and full of spirit and energy. As a little boy I used to think Madame Wells lived under the pulpit—for she had charge of the communion service and preparation of the bread, which was kept in the closet there. Afterwards this fell to the lot of my good mother for many years.

My father's pew was the northeast corner wall pew, probably the coldest in the house, and I used, as a little boy, to carry my mother's foot stove of live coals into and out of the meeting-house. She always carried a capacious muff and when my hands became unbearably cold, I used to put them into her muff to warm.

An old hymn in frequent use and favor was:

Our life contains a thousand springs
And dies if one be gone;
Strange that a harp of thousand strings
Should keep in tune so long!

I remember one hymn which I cannot find in our modern hymn books:

In sleep's serene oblivion laid
I safely passed the silent night;
Again I see the breaking shade
I drink again the morning light.

Newborn, I bless the waking hour;
Once more, with awe, rejoice to be;
My conscious soul resumes her power
And springs, my guardian God, to thee.

It was during Doctor Charles Walker's pastorate that the old Meeting-House on the Common was taken down and reërected on its present site. Doctor Walker was of huge, portly frame and commanding presence, and had a heavy voice. He performed the marriage service for us at the old Goodhue farmhouse, which stood where the Retreat farmhouse now stands.

In early days the Retreat farmhouse was a noted hostelry, where travelers baited themselves and teams, or spent the night, when journeying up and down the country. The meadow was largely used for baiting droves of cattle and sheep on their way to market. Droves of turkeys and occasionally of geese stopped there for the night. It was amusing to watch the turkeys as they came along towards evening. They wanted to go to roost on trees or on the ridgepole of any house, barn or shed they came upon, and were with difficulty prevented or dislodged.

Mrs. Holbrook had an exceptionally high, clear, leading soprano voice and being a ready and correct reader of music, she could execute at sight any church music put before her. She sang in the choir some thirty years, and I led the choir for over forty years, composing or else arranging and adapting many selections for the use of the choir and furnishing other new music for it from time to time. Doctor Walker was very fond of music. He and Madame Walker not infrequently came to my house to tea and an evening's visit, and with Mrs. Holbrook at the piano we used to gratify him with some of our best selections of music. It was during his pastorate here that my father died at the age of seventy-eight years. Being a man of powerful frame and robust vitality, he would probably have lived several years longer but for a heavy fall on an icy walk, striking the back of his head; brain fever resulted, causing death a few weeks after.

During the pastorate of Doctor Walker, the choir used to give a public concert or two each winter at the old meeting-house on the Common, in which the heavy choruses of Handel, Haydn, Mozart and other composers

were pretty well handled by a choir of some fifty members; and the choruses were duly interspersed with music of a lighter character, such as songs, duets and quartets. There were some fifteen sopranos, several contraltos, six or eight tenors and a long row of basses, with accompaniment of three violins, two flutes, clarionet, violoncello, double-bass and bassoon. The instruments were well played for that day and in a country town, and some of them remarkably well. The violoncello playing, by a fine old singing master of wide repute, James F. Robbins, could hardly be matched for rapid and skillful execution, outside the playing of famous foreigners at city concerts. We had three sopranos, Mrs. Holbrook one of them, who could each take octave B and C above staff firmly and clearly. As leader of the choir, I used to feel quite proud of its achievements. The people came in droves to these concerts on the Common, no matter how deep the snowdrifts, some coming quite long distances and not getting home till midnight.

### Temperance

The Church took a definite stand on the matter of the use of intoxicants at its meeting of January 31, 1834. The clerk's entry reads:

This evening being the time appointed for the church to act on the subject of temperance, it was discussed with much ability by several members. Resolved, that the traffic in, and use of ardent spirit as a drink being immoral, their practice is inconsistent with the Christian profession, and with good standing in this church, and their abandonment shall henceforth be an invariable rule of admission to membership in this church.

This resolution was carried with only three dissenting votes.

A temperance store was advertised as follows:

The subscriber flatters himself that not having the *smell* of *ardent spirits* in or about his store that he shall secure the patronage of a good portion of the community.

Among the earliest organizations devoted to the promotion of temperance was the Young Men's Temperance Society of Brattleborough, formed in 1836. Two hundred and sixty-two pledges were signed. This was merged into a Young Men's Total Abstinence Society in 1841.

Uriel Sikes kept a temperance house in the forties, at his residence on Main Street.

The Concordia Division of The Sons of Temperance of the State of Vermont was instituted February 18, 1848. The officers for the first quarter were: Thomas Chubbuck, W.P.; Frederick Hunt, W.H.; William S. George, R.S.; Bethuel Ranger, T.; E. W. Prouty, C.; J. H. Farwell, A.C.; Riley Burdett, I.S.; William Davenport, O.S.

Cyrus Davis, printer and pressman in the old Typographic Company, was a Methodist preacher, and among the earliest of temperance exhorters. The chapel and the Alexander house on Canal Street were scenes of much of his oratory.

Doctor Timothy Dwight remarked of Brattleboro that "the inhabitants were all included within a single congregation, and amounted in 1790 to one thousand, five hundred and eighty-nine, a goodly number for one creed."

This kind of unity lasted about twenty years, and doubtless sowed the seed of the unusual degree of harmony between the different religious bodies afterwards organized. Church buildings have been occupied interchangeably as the emergency demanded room. The first Francis Goodhue, a Congregationalist, gave to the little band of people who departed from the orthodox society, the land on which the Unitarian Church was built. Subscriptions from prosperous members of one church to needs in another have not been uncommon. As early as 1841 there was "a concert of sacred music by the united choirs of Reverend Mr. Walker's and Reverend Mr. Brown's Societies on Thanksgiving Even," a union of Congregationalists and Unitarians in the same songs of praise.

Proselyting has been frowned upon. For many years, however, theological questions led all others as subjects of general conversation. Governor Holbrook remembered a heated discussion over the persons of the Trinity, in the old taproom of Chase's Stage-House, participated in by men who halted the theme long enough for another "glass," when the subject was taken up again with renewed vigor. Instances there would be of bigotry, which held its own side by side with personal charity. When the first Christmas tree was carried through the village street, Deacon John Holbrook, most tender to human frailty, exclaimed, "There go the rags of popery!"

A story has come down to us of a Congregational divine, who stated in the course of one of his sermons that more persons went to perdition from the Episcopal Church than from any other cause whatsoever. This exposition of the nature of sin was presented to his flock when the Tylers and others, Episcopalians at heart, were still worshiping with Congregationalists in the absence of any church of their own preference. The first considerable impetus towards St. Michael's Episcopal Church in Brattleboro was contributed by that sermon.

Church fairs, held in the Town Hall, patronized without regard to religious affiliation, and anticipated the whole year through, have been made occasions of social importance by the presence of summer visitors who have added fresh interest and the note of fashion, while paying generously for the fine handiwork of the fancy articles table. It was the strawberry supper

in June of the Congregationalists that has called forth the large attendance. The Unitarian ladies have always carried off the palm in the gentle rivalry of bountiful suppers. The Universalist fairs have had the advantage of being held in the winter when large numbers of the townspeople have been eager to patronize an entertainment distinctly their own.

The charity of the ladies extended beyond the limits of their respective churches. On May 27, 1828, there was a ladies' meeting in behalf of the Greeks. Of it *The Messenger* said:

The attention of the benevolent females of this village has of late been particularly called to the subject of relieving their destitute and suffering sisters in Greece; and the result is equal to the high expectations which the known liberality of the sex has led us to indulge.

The meeting at the Bank Hall, on the 23d ult. was numerously attended. John Holbrook, Esquire, having been called to the chair, the throne of Divine Grace was fervently addressed by the Reverend Mr. McGee. Then a very lively and powerful address, prepared at the request of the ladies, was delivered by Mr. E. D. Elliot. The meeting was also addressed by E. H. Allen, Esquire, and by the presiding officer. Several resolutions were then brought forward by the ladies, expressive of the deep interest which they felt in the success of Greece, struggling for freedom and for life . . . and more particularly in the distresses of those of their own sex in that unhappy country. Committees were also appointed to carry into effect the various objects expressed in the resolutions; and it affords us pleasure to say that they have been executed with a promptitude and efficiency that does honour to their benevolent exertions. Donations to the amount of 205 dollars were shortly collected and expended for cloths, which have been manufactured into about four hundred garments for the naked women and children of Greece, and forwarded to the Greek Committee of Boston. These contributions when contrasted with those of many large towns, may appear trifling; but considering the smallness of our village and the limited means of the greater part of its inhabitants, it is a goodly offering.

A combination of women for a charitable but more secular object was the Maternal Association, May 22, 1834, organized with a membership of fifteen ladies.

### Antislavery in 1837

Although the Constitution of Vermont specifically declared that "no male person born in this country, or brought from over sea, ought to be holden by law to serve any person as a servant, slave, or apprentice . . . unless bound by his own consent," between 1830 and 1840 lectures against

slavery met with an unwelcome reception in many towns in New England. Public sentiment was against any discussion of this question by the people of Brattleboro. The leading citizens encouraged a mob to disturb the antislavery lectures of Reverend Edward R. Tyler, and the Congregational pastor of that period refused to read in his pulpit a notice of these lectures, or even a notification of a "prayer meeting for the oppressed." Deacon David Wood made the announcement, "There will be a meeting of prayer for the oppressed, at Elliot Street chapel, . . ." It was well understood at the time why the deacon, instead of the minister, read the notification. The reverend gentleman also recommended the church discipline, or expulsion, of members of his church who attended said lectures. One justice of the peace advocated tar and feathers to be applied to his person and another justice of the peace said he would "find powder for the mob if they would blow the damned abolitionist down the bank."

## CHAPTER XXXI

## BUSINESS PROSPERITY BETWEEN 1819 AND 1828

Business Prosperity between 1819 and 1828—Vermont National Bank—Epaphroditus Seymour, first cashier. Stoves and tin—Ashbel Dickinson—Linus Dickinson. Water supply. Vermont Mutual Life Insurance—1828, Hall & Fessenden—Doctor Charles Chapin—Benjamin R. Jenne—Sherman & Jenne. Lottery—Colonel Paul Chase and Major Henry Smith, managers—Methods. Vermont House—Willard Pomroy, Chester W. Pomroy, Hiram and Alonzo Joy, George W. Emerson, J. S. Robinson, Captain Thomas C. Lord, proprietors.

### The Brattleborough Bank, 1821
### The Vermont National Bank, 1865

The first moneyed institution, called the Brattleborough Bank, was incorporated in 1821. Ninety days were given in which to secure subscription to the capital stock, which was placed at $100,000, divided into two thousand shares of $50 each. Jonathan Hunt, Junior, Epaphroditus Seymour, Jonas Mann, Samuel Clark and Artemas Robbins were named commissioners to receive the stock subscriptions. The first meeting of the stockholders was held on the first day of March, 1822, "at the inn of John R. Blake," when William Hall, Junior, Jonas Mann, Samuel Clark, Jonathan Hunt, Junior, and Epaphroditus Seymour were elected directors, and on the same day the directors organized by electing Jonathan Hunt, Junior, president. At this meeting the first installment of fifteen per cent of the capital stock was ordered to be paid. April 4, Epaphroditus Seymour was appointed cashier, and on the following day the directors voted "that a banking house be erected on land owned by F. Goodhue, a few feet north of Williston & Hunt's store, provided the land is given to the corporation and put in good condition to erect a building on." General Jonas Mann was named a committee to see that the building was erected "as soon as convenient." This building, which occupied the site between the Clapp house and the Congregational Church, was built during the season of 1822, but the exact date of its completion and occupation by the bank is not given. The business of the bank was done in this building until about the year 1855, when it was removed to the corner room on the first floor of the old Revere House building, afterwards used as the Revere House office. The bank's first dividend, of one dollar per share,

was declared September 17, 1823, and for some time the regular semi-annual dividend was one dollar per share. It is evident, however, that there was profit in the banking business in those early years, for in January, 1828, $10,000 of undivided profits was carried to the dividend account. In 1836, also, a division of profits was ordered, and a "first instalment" of five dollars a share was directed to be paid. Mr. Hunt held the office of president until his death, and was succeeded in 1834 by John Holbrook. In 1837 Mr. Holbrook declined a reëlection, and was succeeded by Mr. Seymour, who held the office until his death in June, 1854. At this period, 1837, a new charter was granted the bank, and the capital stock was increased to $150,000. The directors at this time were Samuel Clark, John R. Blake, Charles Chapin, Henry Smith and Epaphroditus Seymour. In July, 1841, Horatio S. Noyes became cashier and served until October, 1850, when Philip Wells succeeded to that office.

The vote instructing the directors to take the necessary steps toward converting the institution into a national bank was passed March 14, 1865, and the charter of the Vermont National Bank, under the national banking laws, was granted on the twelfth of May following. The directors at the time of conversion were Samuel Root, W. H. Rockwell, Parley Starr, Wells Goodhue and Hampden Cutts. Samuel Root was the president, having been elected on the death of Mr. Seymour in 1854. Philip Wells continued as cashier until January, 1867, when he resigned. His brother, Frank Wells, was elected his successor, and served for one year, when, in January, 1868, George S. Dowley was elected. On the death of Samuel Root, in 1869, Wells Goodhue succeeded to the presidency, serving till 1874, when he resigned and was succeeded by Lafayette Clark, who held the office till 1878, when he declined a reëlection and was succeeded by William P. Cune, who from that time attended with unvarying diligence and efficiency to the duties of the office.

The Vermont National Bank, or Bank of Brattleborough, had but one predecessor in the state. The Bank of Burlington was chartered in 1819, but the separate existence of that institution ceased when its stock and assets were bought by the Merchants' National Bank of that city, and it was merged in the last-named institution. The Vermont National Bank, therefore, ranks as the oldest bank in the state.

George C. Averill succeeded George S. Dowley as cashier in 1886 when Mr. Dowley became president in the place of W. Pitt Cune, deceased. Mr. Dowley died November 4, 1896.[1]

The bank built the banking house which it now owns and occupies.

[1] Mr. Averill was president from January 1, 1897, to May 10, 1915, when Doctor H. D. Holton became president. Honorable James M. Tyler succeeded Doctor Holton March 5, 1917, as president, and Charles G. Staples succeeded Mr. Averill as cashier.

EPAPHRODITUS SEYMOUR

was the youngest son of Major Moses Seymour of Litchfield, Connecticut. He was born July 8, 1783, received a good academical education at the Morris Academy, South Farms, Connecticut, and afterwards was thoroughly trained in the business and duties of a merchant's clerk in a mercantile establishment at Brooklyn, in his native state.

Horatio Seymour, the eldest brother, was educated for the legal profession, and settled in Middlebury, Vermont. He became a distinguished lawyer in western Vermont, and for twelve years, being the Whig leader, represented the state in the United States Senate. Near the close of the last century, Henry Seymour, an older brother of Epaphroditus, came to Guilford and was extensively engaged in mercantile business. Subsequently Henry Seymour, about 1802, induced his brother Epaphroditus to come to Guilford and engage in trade, although he was less than twenty years of age. At this time Guilford was the most populous and prosperous town in Vermont.

Henry Seymour removed to Pompey, Onondaga County, New York, and engaged largely in trade. Subsequently, in 1819, he removed to Utica, New York, and was appointed one of the canal commissioners of that state.

Epaphroditus continued in mercantile business in Guilford until 1814, when he removed to Brattleboro and was associated with George Atherton in mercantile business. He continued in trade here some three or four years, after which he resided alternately at Guilford and Brattleboro. He spent the winter of 1820 at Middlebury, Vermont.

In the fall of 1821 the Legislature of Vermont chartered a bank at Brattleboro, which was organized the following year, and Mr. Seymour was chosen cashier thereof by the directors in March, 1822, and continued to hold the office until January 1, 1837, when he was elected president of the bank to fill the vacancy made by the resignation of John Holbrook. He held this office and faithfully discharged the duties thereof until his death, June 19, 1854. He settled the estate of Honorable Jonathan Hunt, as executor, without executing bonds for the faithful discharge of the trust which the testator had reposed in his integrity and fidelity, and the estate inventoried at a sum exceeding $150,000. During the year 1837 and from 1837 to 1840, inclusive, he was associated with his nephew, Horatio Seymour[1] of Utica, New York, and C. S. Seymour of Litchfield, Connecticut, in settling the estate of his brother, Henry Seymour, which estate was very large and widely scattered. While connected with the bank his time and energies were almost exclusively devoted to the maintenance of its reputation for soundness and solvency.

[1] Afterwards governor of New York and candidate for the Presidency.

He was a great admirer of a fine horse, and manifested a deep interest in the improvement of the breed of horses in Brattleboro and vicinity. At his death he was keeping in his stables eight brood mares with colts that were sired by the celebrated Gifford Morgan. Some of its descendants have been owned in Windham County, and old horse fanciers readily detected in them the symmetry and prominent characteristics of the sire, which was always regarded as the noblest horse in New England.

The community reposed the most implicit confidence in his integrity. Before the adoption of savings banks and trust companies in this state, large sums of money were entrusted to his care and keeping, and in many cases with a simple minute noting the amount; yet for the period of more than forty years not a whisper was ever breathed against his fidelity in the discharge of any fiduciary engagement he had assumed. He was a generous-hearted man to the poor and unfortunate, and kindly aided young men who were struggling against adversity and poverty to obtain an education and qualify themselves for professional pursuits. He was trustee of the Vermont Asylum.

He married Miss Mary Root, sister of Mrs. Lemuel Whitney of Brattleboro. He had but one child, a boy, who died November 23, 1830, aged two years and six months.

Mrs. Seymour died October 25, 1841, aged forty-two.

### Stoves and Tin Factory

Ashbel Dickinson and Horace Wilcox came to Brattleboro from Berlin, Connecticut, in April, 1819, and formed a partnership in the stove and tin business that continued about three years. Mr. Dickinson had previously been in business in Richmond, Virginia, and Brockville, Canada. The building occupied by this firm stood on the corner of Main and High Streets. Mr. Dickinson was subsequently associated in business with the following persons successively: Oren Curtis, I. G. Chandler, Charles H. Cune, L. D. Prouty and Charles H. Crosby; the shop having been removed first to the room in Fisk's Block, afterwards occupied by I. N. Thorn & Company, druggists, thence to Esterbrook's Block, where E. A. Wood was, and thence to the stone building occupied by Joseph Clark, which was built by Mr. Dickinson. While here Mr. Dickinson, who at the same time was connected with parties in Troy, New York, sustained heavy losses, which obliged him to go into bankruptcy, in consequence of which he removed to New Britain, Connecticut, in 1849, having then been in business here for thirty years.

Returning three years after, he again established himself in the tin business, occupying the location used by F. C. Edwards as a bindery, from which place he removed to the south end of Fisk's Block. From here he

finally removed to Blake's building, on Elliot Street. In 1859 Mr. Dickinson sold the business to his son, Linus P. Dickinson, who sold to D. W. Kathan.

It was a period of fifty years in which the Dickinsons, father and son, were identified with the business interests of Brattleboro.

Ashbel Dickinson married Miss Lydia P. ——; he married, second, Mrs. Louisa Porter of Berlin, Connecticut, December 24, 1837; she died September 10, 1860, aged fifty-seven. He died September 14, 1879, aged eighty-six. Their children were:

Evelyn, born April 29, 1824; married March 21, 1842, Edwin H. Chase (see p. 500); died April 3, 1870.

Emily, baptized October 3, 1827; married December 13, 1847, Sidney A. Miller (see p. 416); died May 12, 1851.

Linus Porter, born August 3, 1828; married Miss Emma Balch. Their daughter Emma was born May 20, 1868; married Charles C. Elliot of Elgin, Illinois.

Lucy Marvin, born October 9, 1842.

Clarence Blydenburg, born September 13, 1846.

In 1824 the East Village was said to be the richest village of its size in New England. Paper was manufactured here, in the Holbrook paper mill, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand dollars, and in his printing and bookbinding establishment business was done to the amount of twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars annually. At the distillery of Francis Goodhue nine thousand bushels of rye were distilled, and at his factory eighteen thousand pounds of wool were manufactured yearly. At the tin factory of Wilcox & Dickinson ware was manufactured in 1823 to the amount of ten thousand dollars. At the distillery of Phineas Stewart, in the West Village, about eighteen hundred barrels of cider were distilled, and more than seven hundred barrels at the distillery of Levi Goodenough in eight months. At the factory of Edward Woodman five thousand yards of cloth were dressed, and fourteen thousand pounds of wool carded in one year.

At the East Village there was an "Aqueduct Corporation," an "Engine Company," and a "Royal Arch Chapter of Freemasons." Four stages, carrying mails, arrived at Smith's tavern three times a week; one from Boston, one from Hartford, Connecticut, one from Albany and one from Hanover, and they all reached here the same day they left the above places. A mail arrived here once a week from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, from Northfield, Massachusetts, and from Townshend, this state. There were three military companies in town, one of light infantry, one of artillery and one of infantry. There were eleven school districts and schoolhouses,

one printing office, issuing a weekly paper, *The Brattleborough Messenger;* one paper mill and one bookstore, connected with, perhaps, the largest printing and bookbinding establishment in the state; one post office, one bank, "The Bank of Brattleborough"; five gristmills, seven sawmills, one cotton and one woolen factory, a hat factory, an aqueduct lead pipe factory, three clothiers' works, three carding machines, nine merchants, four taverns, four distilleries, an apothecary's shop, two tanneries, six blacksmiths, two goldsmiths, and a variety of other shops. The population was two thousand and seventeen.

There were "brought into town by boats and other conveyances during the year ending March 1, 1824, $96,963 of merchandise."

### Water Supply

All the buildings on Main Street, and a large proportion of dwelling houses throughout the village are supplied by water from springs of great purity.

The water from the Western Aqueduct (Association) was brought about one mile to High Street in 1826 by John Holbrook, Asa Green and Francis Goodhue. It was divided into one hundred and eighty shares which sold for eight dollars each. This supplies all streets north of Elliot Street. The Northern Aqueduct (Association) supplies Linden Street and the Common. The Southern Aqueduct (Association), South Main, Canal, Clark and Reed Streets. The Brattleboro Water Company, organized in 1860, a portion of Green, School and Elliot Streets. The Prospect Hill Aqueduct Company, 1866, residences on Prospect Hill. The Centerville Aqueduct (Association), residences in Centerville only.

In consequence of a fire entirely consuming, for lack of water, the house of Doctor John L. Dickerman in 1834, large cement cisterns, supplied by waste water from dwelling houses, were placed at advantageous points.

A remarkable example of public service quietly carried on has come to light by the resignation of Mr. F. W. Kuech (January 26, 1918) from the care of the water tower of the Western and Northern Aqueduct Association, near the Common. He not only made necessary repairs on the building, but for forty-one years hauled wood from his own woodpile and "sat up" with a fire on bitterly cold nights to keep the water from freezing, *without any expense whatever to the shareholders.*

### The First Insurance

Hall & Fessenden (Franklin H.) became agents of the Vermont Mutual Fire Insurance Company when it was established in 1828. William R. Hayes was agent for West Brattleboro in 1831. Major Henry Smith was a director and local agent for several years. Mr. Fessenden became,

later, agent for the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company, and in 1847 for the New England Health Insurance Company. Hall & Fessenden sold to Doctor Charles Chapin and he in 1867 to Major Benjamin R. Jenne, of whom Sherman & Jenne (1878) and again Clarence F. R. Jenne were successors.

### The Lottery

The lottery played an important part when the business of taxes and the art of carrying public burdens was crude and ill-defined. Probably the course of Great Britain in legitimatizing the lottery in 1709 promoted its growth in this country.

The lottery mania created a furor in Vermont, and for fifty years or more lotteries had the sanction of the Legislature and successfully flourished. In either 1826 or 1827 a lottery office was opened in Brattleboro, chartered by the state, for the benefit of Horatio Knight, and Messrs. Paul Chase and Henry Smith were managers. The office was directly opposite the Brattleborough House, a famous hostelry at that time and for many years thereafter. A large sign hung over the door with a painting representing a woman holding in her hand a cornucopia from which was flowing a perfect avalanche of dollars. In those days the most reputable people of the town, as well as others, patronized the lottery office and without the least suspicion that it was anything like gambling or at all reprehensible to "try your luck." People thought no more of buying a lottery ticket than of buying a pound of tea. The townspeople evidently thought they stood a little better chance of getting rich by laying out two or three dollars for a ticket than in any other way, but it seems to have taken but four or five public drawings to change their minds, and after all had had a few chances at "fortune's wheel" even the promise of a twenty per cent dividend in the "Brattleborough Typographical Company" did not seem to lure shy capitalists. One of the old-time spectators thus describes the drawing:

When the day arrived for revolving the glass cylinder to decide who was to get $3000 or $5000, a stage was built just in front of the hotel, on which stood the city fathers looking as wise and solemn as the bird of wisdom. They surrounded the cylinder with the exception of the side to the crowd.

The prize numbers and blanks were enclosed in little tin boxes, something like a pill-box, when they were thrown promiscuously into the cylinder, which was hung with a crank, like a grindstone or a Chinese praying machine. When the word was given the awful cylinder, loaded with so many different fates, was revolved a few times and then stopped, when James Elliot, then clerk of the county, would proceed to take out one

of the little boxes, open it and proclaim its contents, at the same time holding before the gaze of a multitude that filled the streets, and whose haggard looks and almost breathless anxiety told of the great interest, the "prize winner."

McMaster's history says of this period:

Lotteries sprang up and in a short time there was a wheel in every city and in every town large enough to boast of a court-house or a jail. Whenever a clumsy bridge was to be thrown across a little stream, a public building enlarged, a schoolhouse built, a street paved, a road repaired, a manufacturing company to be aided, a church assisted, or a college treasury replenished, a lottery bill was passed by the Legislature, a wheel procured, a notice put in the papers, and often in a few weeks the needed money was raised. It was with the money collected from the sale of lottery tickets that Massachusetts encouraged cotton spinning and paid the salaries of many of her officers; that the city hall was enlarged at New York; that the court-house was rebuilt; that the library was increased at Harvard.

People were extremely poor at that time and very little money was in circulation except coppers. The good money was coined in the seven state mints then in operation. So scarce was the coinage that people paid for their lottery tickets in wheat, and in turn were paid in the same commodity when the prizes were declared.

There was an advertisement in *The Reporter* of April, 1811, of the Harvard College Lottery, $15,000 being offered as the highest prize.

That James Elliot lent his name to the following is a proof of the sincerity with which people of character regarded the lottery.

SPLENDID SCHEME.

2 of $2000—2 of $1000—20 of $250
Highest Prizes!—Tickets only $2.

---

VERMONT LOTTERY,

Sixth Class, New Series,

For the Benefit of Horatio Knight.

To be drawn at Brattleboro' East Village in June or July next.

(In the 5th Class, Three Thousand Tickets remained unsold, and yet the four highest prizes, amounting to Four Thousand Seven Hundred Dollars, were every one sold. The immense loss by unsold tickets renders necessary the entire sale of another Class, to effect the object of this Lottery.)

SCHEME.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | prizes | of | 2000 | are | 4000 |
| 2 | " | " | 1000 | " | 2000 |
| 20 | " | " | 250 | " | 5000 |
| 20 | " | " | 100 | " | 2000 |
| 20 | " | " | 50 | " | 1000 |
| 20 | " | " | 20 | " | 400 |
| 200 | " | " | 10 | " | 2000 |
| 200 | " | " | 5 | " | 1000 |
| 200 | " | " | 3 | " | 600 |
| 6000 | " | " | 2 | " | 12000 |
| 6684 | Prizes. | | | | $30,000 |

13316 Blanks.——20,000 Tickets.

Not two blanks to a prize—Subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent.

Every number in the Lottery will contain four figures or cyphers, thus—0000—0001—0009—0010—0099—0100—0150—0200—0999—1000—and so on to 19999.

DRAWING.—40 figures and cyphers, four of each from 0 to 9 inclusive, will be put into a wheel, and *every one* of them drawn out successively. This will be the whole operation, and the prizes will be assigned as follows:

The 6000 prizes of two dollars will be assigned to the tickets ending with either of the three first drawn figures or cyphers of different numbers.

The 200 of three to those ending with the 4th and 5th drawn, whether different or the same, in the order in which they are drawn from the wheel.

The 200 of five to those ending with the 6th and 7th drawn in like manner.

The 200 of 10 to those ending with the 8th and 9th drawn in like manner.

The 20 of 20 to those ending with the 11th, 12th and 13th drawn in like manner.

The 20 of 50 to those ending with the 16th, 17th and 18th drawn in like manner.

The 20 of 100 to those ending with the 21st, 22d and 23d drawn in like manner.

The 20 of 250 to those ending with the 36th, 37th and 38th drawn in like manner.

The two prizes of 1000 dollars to the ticket having for its number the 4th, 14th, 24th and 34th drawn, in the order in which they are drawn, and the corresponding number over 9999.

Those of 2000 to the ticket having for its number the 10th, 20th, 30th and 40th drawn in like manner, and the corresponding number as above.

The following is the explanation of "the corresponding number:"—Suppose No. 0000 should draw one of the highest prizes, the corresponding number would be 10,000.—Should No. 2759 draw $1000, No. 12759 would be entitled to the other prize of 1000. Should No. 5486 draw $2000, so would 15,486.

JAMES ELLIOT, *Manager.*

May 5th, 1827.

The resignation of Mr. Elliot in 1831 is as follows:

State of Vermont, Windham ss. New Fane, April 9, A. D. 1831.

To the Hon. John Roberts and James L. Stark, Esquires,
Two of the Judges of Windham County Court.

I the Subscriber, having heretofore been legally appointed, by your Honours, the Sole Manager of the Lottery formerly granted by the Legislature of the State of Vermont, by which the sum of One Thousand Dollars was authorised to be raised for the benefit of Horatio Knight, do certify that the said sum of One Thousand Dollars has been raised by the said Lottery under my management, of which sum nine hundred and fifteen dollars has been paid to said Knight, and the balance of eighty five dollars remains in my hands subject to his Order. And that all the expenses of said Lottery have been paid.

I do therefore resign the trust and office of Manager of said Lottery, and have caused a certificate to this effect to be filed in the office of the Secretary of this State, as evidence that the said grant has been fulfilled and satisfied, and that the said Lottery is at an end.

JAMES ELLIOT.

## THE VERMONT HOUSE

In 1828 a common wooden dwelling of two stories stood where St. Michael's Episcopal Church and the Town Hall now are (it was the home of Doctor Jonathan A. Allen in 1816), which was in that year (1828) fitted up for a public house by Willard Pomroy, and called the Vermont House. His brother, Chester W. Pomroy, who came here from Newfane Hill, was the first proprietor; he was succeeded by Hiram and Alonzo Joy, George W. Emerson, J. S. Robinson and others, Captain Thomas C. Lord (son of Judge Joseph Lord of Putney) being the last owner and

proprietor. (Sumner Pratt was steward of the house under Captain Lord.) Wantastiquet Hall was built in the rear of this hotel by Colonel Calvin Townsley and sold to Captain Lord after 1840.

Captain Lord married Miss Olive Hough; he died August 21, 1851, aged forty-five, and she lived until 1897, to the age of eighty-eight.

The militia meetings were mostly held at the Wantastiquet. It was sixty-eight feet long by thirty wide. Dancing school was taught in the old hall in 1848 by a Mr. Rockwood of Greenfield. James Gordon Bennett stopped at this house in 1850 just before its removal. The old Vermont House was removed in 1849-1850, and a brick front of three stories took its place. B. and N. Holland were the proprietors from 1850. It was destroyed by fire in 1852.

An invitation to a railroad ball at the Wantastiquet has been preserved. It was printed in gold by J. B. Miner on an embossed card, on which was the picture of a railroad train of two cars behind an engine and tender, all looking uncertainly balanced on four wheels each, the wheels placed well toward the center of the car, and reads:

The Pleasure of your company is requested at Wantastiquet Hall on Tuesday, Feb. 20, 1849. Managers: Chas. Chapin, D. F. Kingsley, Joseph Clark, F. Goodhue, F. A. Holman, Roswell Hunt, H. Townsley, J. J. Crandall. Dancing will commence at 7½ o'clock. Music Flagg's Band.

Another invitation to the general public from a village newspaper:

Complimentary Dinner at the opening of Lord's New Vermont House, Brattleborough, Thursday, August 1, 1850, at 3 o'clock P. M. You are respectfully invited to attend. Committee of Arrangements: C. Townsley, William H. Rock-well, G. C. Hall, L. G. Mead, A. E. Dwinell, George Newman, Lovell Farr, O. H. Platt, George C. Lawrence, Frederick Franks.

Music, Kendall's Band. Tickets, $0.75.

## CHAPTER XXXII

## BRIDGES

Bridge across West River—Petition for public highway—Case argued by Judge Samuel Phelps and Daniel Webster—Little bridge over "Creek"—Bridges over Connecticut River.

In 1821 an arch bridge of solid timber, in place of the trestle bridge then standing, was built across West River, by Captain Nathaniel Bliss, which was open for travel about the first of December. In 1841 it was thought to be unsafe and was accordingly removed, and a covered bridge was built of what was commonly called the "X" pattern, but was known as "Town's Patent." There was a defect in the supporters when the bridge was raised, so that the center sank, and the upper chords never shortened. On this account the bridge presented an unsightly appearance. The inhabitants of Dummerston and Putney were dissatisfied with paying tolls every time they came to this village,[1] and they, through one Dix, petitioned for the laying of a public highway across said bridge, and the case, involving the constitutionality of the law, went to the Supreme Court and was argued by Judge Samuel Phelps and Daniel Webster, with the result that the bridge was made free in 1848,—the town of Brattleboro paying therefor the sum of $4000. This is an old notice:

### WEST RIVER BRIDGE

Toll-free until the First day of January, 1848, on your family domestic concerns. You are not to carry or do any business for any person that has not a Ticket to pass said Bridge, so as to hinder them from paying Toll, directly or indirectly, upon the forfeiture of your Ticket. You are to open and shut the gate for yourselves. 1847.

JOHN BEMIS *Toll Gath.*

Of the bridges across the Connecticut River, the "little bridge" over "the creek" was carried away in the winter of 1824-1825. In 1831 both bridges were rebuilt by Captain Isaac Damon; $6200 was paid for the main bridge, $1500 for the smaller one, the committee to superintend the

[1] The little red house near the present bridge was the tollhouse.

erection of these bridges being Mrs. Mary Chapin, Francis Goodhue and Henry Clark. In 1843 the little bridge was swept away by freshet. In 1844 there was a new bridge, built by Henry Reed and Charles Liscum, under a committee consisting of Charles Chapin, Joseph Goodhue and John H. Wheeler. February 19, 1857, the main bridge was swept away, and rebuilt by Dexter Morse of Newfane at a cost of $6000.

# CHAPTER XXXIII

## NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers—American Yeoman—Simon Ide, 1817—Brattleboro Messenger, 1822—Windham County Democrat—George W. and Clarissa I. H. Nichols, 1836.

### The American Yeoman

Simeon Ide had worked as pressman on Webster's Spelling Book the greater part of the year 1813, for William Fessenden. In 1816 he had printed "the first new Ipswich (New Hampshire) edition" of the New Testament, in his father's blacksmith shop in that town; but the work proved unremunerative, and after having disposed of most of the edition to pay his debts, he found himself possessed of a good Ramage press, a font or two of type, and a few other necessary utensils of the trade, and he resolved upon publishing a newspaper. Failing to find the necessary encouragement at Keene, he next turned to Brattleboro, and issued the first number of *The Yeoman,* February 5, 1817.

Honorable John Phelps, Honorable James Elliot, Honorable Royall Tyler, Doctor Allen, Doctor J. P. Warren and other men of some note, were occasional contributors to the columns of *The Yeoman.* A circulation of three hundred copies was insufficient, however, to satisfy Mr. Ide's ambition, and at the end of one year he removed to Windsor, Vermont, and united his paper with *The Vermont Republican,* in the office of which he had commenced his apprenticeship in the fall of 1809.

### The Windham County Democrat

### (The Brattleborough Messenger)

### (Edited by George W. and Clarissa I. H. Nichols)

In 1822 *The Brattleborough Messenger,* a Whig paper, was started by Alexander G. Putnam, a printer who learned the trade at Windsor. George W. Nichols purchased *The Messenger* in 1826, and continued it until it was merged into *The Vermont Phœnix*[1] in 1834, which was "purely Whig and wholly anti-Jackson." Mr. Nichols was a Democrat. After two years' connection with *The Phœnix,* he sold out, and soon purchased

[1] See p. 419.

*The Windham County Democrat,* which was started in 1836 by an association of Democrats and run for one year under the editorial management of Mr. Joseph Steen.

George W. Nichols was born in Stowe, Vermont, in 1782, and learned the printer's trade at Walpole, New Hampshire. He came to Brattleboro to be foreman on *The Reporter,* and married a sister of William Fessenden. By this marriage there was a son, George W. Nichols, Junior. March 6, 1843. Mr. Nichols married, second, Mrs. Clarissa I. Howard Carpenter of Townshend, Vermont, and she was for some years the real and accredited editor of the paper. Under her administration *The Democrat* became one of the earliest champions of woman's rights in the country, and took a prominent position among the newspapers of the state. The paper was discontinued in 1853. In the spring of 1855 Mr. Nichols removed with his family to Kansas, where he died August 29, aged seventy-three. Mrs. Clarissa I. Howard Nichols was born January 25, 1810, in Townshend, Windham County, Vermont, the daughter of Chapin Howard of that town. She was one of the earliest and ablest women who, with tongue and pen, championed the rights of her sex. No woman in so many varied fields of action more steadily and faithfully labored as editor, speaker and teacher in Vermont, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Iowa, Ohio, Kansas and California. It was while editing *The Windham County Democrat,* as early as 1847, she began in Vermont her plea for woman's educational, industrial and political rights, speaking in public. The next year she was instrumental in securing the passage of the first bill in the Vermont Legislature that recognized the civil existence of women. Mrs. Nichols and her daughter, in bloomers made of buff calico, walked the streets of Brattleboro to the amazement of the natives until their departure for Kansas, where she served one term as recording clerk of the State Legislature.

In Kansas she plead for:

First—Equal educational privileges in all the colleges and institutions of learning fostered and controlled by the state.

Second—Equal rights in the formation and conduct of the schools.

Third—An equal right for the mothers, with the fathers, to the custody and control of their mutual offspring.

Fourth—The right of the wife to hold and accumulate property and sue and be sued, as if sole.

The first, second and third provisions were adopted in advance of all other states, and the fourth secured a broader margin of property rights to wives and widows than was for years enjoyed by the women of any other state except Louisiana.

The Brattleborough Emigrant Aid Society was formed at the time of

the movement towards Kansas, which was instigated by Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols in 1855. Reverend Addison Brown was president; Doctor O. R. Post, vice-president and treasurer; R. W. Clarke, E. E. White, etc., directors.

Mrs. Nichols with her husband, son and five others from Brattleboro and many more from the surrounding towns, started for Kansas March 24, 1855, the second train sent out by the Emigrant Aid Society. She moved to Pomo in Potter Valley, Mendocino County, California, in 1871, and died there January 11, 1885.

She had two children by a first marriage to —— Carpenter.

Children by her second marriage were:

Mary, married —— Herrick. They had six daughters and two sons. She died in 1908.

Julia M., married January 26, 1864, Charles Robertson of Boston.

Eliza, died in 1894, aged seventy-four.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

## PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Private Schools—Miss Rebecca Peck—Mr. Edward Sanborn—Miss Melendy—Mrs. Carpenter—Miss Kimball—Miss Amelia S. Tyler.

### Miss Amelia S. Tyler

Private or "select" schools made their appearance as early as 1822, when Miss E. Whitcomb opened a boarding school for young ladies "in the pleasant Mansion-House of the Honorable Gilbert Denison[1] in West Brattleborough." She had as assistants two young ladies "amply qualified."

Miss Rebecca Peck's School on the corner southwest of the Common in the East Village in 1823 was under the patronage of Mrs. Boott, which was a guarantee of the qualifications of Miss Peck as principal.

A private school for boys—the number of pupils limited to twenty—was conducted by Mr. Edward Sanborn from 1828. Other schools were opened, one by Miss Melendy in Ashbel Dickinson's building in 1837, by Mrs. Carpenter in the Dickinson building in 1838, and by Miss Kimball the same year. Of few years' duration, they doubtless accomplished their purpose of beginning and "finishing" the youth under instruction.

But it was Miss Amelia S. Tyler who started a school in her father's house October 1, 1826, when she was but twenty years of age, which continued through various changes for fifty years, or until her death in 1878; in the beginning, a school for girls, in other years a "home school for boys," and, finally, for boys and girls. Brothers, nephews and cousins of her family were prepared for college under her inspiration and instruction, and three generations of children from the best families in this town and a large number from remote towns and cities were among her pupils.

A circular of the school in the third year of its existence reads:

MISS A. S. TYLER

will reopen her school in this
Village on Monday, Dec. 28.
Terms—For the usual branches of an English education,
And including rhetoric, Composition, Grammar,

[1] Son of Captain David Denison of Leyden, Massachusetts, and probate judge for the District of Marlboro in 1809.

Natural Philosophy, Geography and Astronomy, with
the Globes,[1] Algebra, Geometry, etc., together with plain
and ornamental needlework,—$4.00.
For the French, and Latin language,
or drawing,—$5.00.
An Instructor in Music will be
engaged if sufficient encouragement
is offered.
Mrs. Tyler will take a few young ladies
to board in her family.
For board, including washing,—$1.75.
For board only,—$1.50.
Brattleborough, Nov. 4, 1829.

The daughter of Chief Justice and Mrs. Royall Tyler, she inherited the mentality of both parents. In addition to the influences of a home in which history and literature were daily companions, as was the best thought of the day, she had the advantages of education in a noted school of Salem, Massachusetts, where her cousins, Elizabeth Peabody, the famous kindergartner, the Pickmans and the Nathaniel Hawthornes were living, who made much of the charming and promising girl, thereby aiding in the development of her mind and character.

And she was a born teacher. But the teacher was not made at the expense of the girl and woman. Full of exuberant vitality, she passed through dancing days that seemed to her mother to go beyond the bounds of "rational amusement," into the poise and power of a rich and balanced nature—for power she had, to reveal the intellect of youth to youth itself and to guide that intellect to the culture into which she was born.

Kindergarten methods, learned directly from Elizabeth Peabody, were applied in the instruction of the younger children, but English and the languages were her own particular department of the school's curriculum. She was also remarkable as a teacher of mathematics, giving life to the dry bones which that study was too often made under other teachers. History was a very important study in the school, its interpretation being based on the deep religious faith of Miss Tyler in a Creator working through humanity towards more enlightenment and happiness for humanity. The Bible was studied and a thorough grounding given in the history of the Church. A great deal was made of life in the open. Botany was taught on long tramps across country. A two months' vacation in the summer was the only break in the course, and the boarders remained over

[1] The use of globes was considered essential to the study of geography, and as the cost was considerable, they were one of the assets of a model school.

Christmas and the Fourth of July, sharing a big family tree at the house of Judge C. Royall Tyler on Christmas Eve, while lessons in patriotism were made effective by the celebration of Independence Day with the noise and spirit that characterize our national holiday.

Miss Tyler was respected and loved in the happy home she made for the boys, while she never failed in her duty as a strict disciplinarian. Her favorite punishment for boys was to send them to bed for a day, which was more severe on their active, rebellious feelings than any short-lived chastisement by the rod could be. And she did not spare the rod.

One of her most discerning boys has said that of all the teachers he had studied under, in school and at Harvard, she was the best, the one who made him wish to study and who gave him a permanent joy in the life of the intellect.

When the Tylers moved to their permanent home near the Common, the school moved with them, and there, in a room running the length of the second story in the ell, lighted by very small windows set high in the walls, without any equipment beyond deal desks and benches, a table for the teacher and a blackboard, the intellect and character of Miss Amelia Tyler's pupils were given stimulus for lifelong tasks.

In 1867 the widow of Edward R. Tyler and her daughter, Elizabeth Billings, came to assist Miss Amelia in her increasing task, and remained as important factors in the welfare of the school.

Below the window placed to her memory in St. Michael's Episcopal Church is the following inscription:

In Memoriam
by a grateful pupil
to Amelia Sophia Tyler,
Teacher of Three Generations.
Vivit post funera virtus.

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A nation is rising whilst
its women are wise and virtuous,
for good women are God's modelers
of its heroes.

## CHAPTER XXXV

## THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH

Universalist Church—Names and record of pioneer preachers—Settled pastors—Ladies' Circle.

Reverend Hosea Ballou, who was born in Guilford, preached his second sermon in this place, in 1791. He was then in his twenty-first year. He says: "The second time I attempted to preach was in the town of Brattleboro, Vt., where my brother preached in the daytime and I undertook to speak in the evening, being overpersuaded to do so; but this attempt was a failure, and I was greatly mortified and thought for a time that I would not engage in a work for which I was not competent." The brother referred to was David Ballou, considerably older than Hosea, and the father of Reverend Moses Ballou of Philadelphia. Among the auditors of Father Ballou on the occasion mentioned above were, probably, Colonel Daniel Stewart, Levi Goodenough and Reuben Stearns; at least, these men were pronounced Universalists at that time. Colonel Stewart was always a Universalist. If so, the doctrine of the final restitution of all things was believed here as early as 1780.

Hosea Ballou, 2d, preached some of his first sermons in Brattleboro. It is believed that he preached at the residence of Levi Goodenough in his eighteenth year—1814. He certainly preached there not later than 1816-1817.[1] Between this date and 1829, there was occasional Universalist preaching in schoolhouses or private residences by Reverends John Brooks, Thomas J. Sawyer, William A. Balch, Russell Streeter and Isaiah Boynton. In December, 1829, Reverend Matthew Hale Smith, then only a boy of eighteen, was settled over a society in the West Village. He preached half the time there and the other half in Guilford. Meetings were then held in the Town Hall. Mr. Smith continued his pastorate in Brattleboro till 1832, a successful one so far as indicated by outward results. He was popular and his congregation was always large.

He was succeeded by Reverend Aurin Bugbee. The old church in

[1] Hosea Ballou, 2d (born in Halifax, Vermont), was the author of "The Ancient History of Universalism from the Time of the Apostles to the Condemnation in the Fifth General Council, A. D. 533, with an Appendix tracing the Doctrine down to the Era of the Reformation."

West Brattleboro was owned in considerable part by Universalists. They asked for the privilege of using it occasionally a Sunday, but their request was absolutely refused. Thereupon they went to church early Sunday morning, November 24, 1833, forced open the door and took possession of the house. Meantime, two clergymen, Reverends F. Loring of Hinsdale, New Hampshire, and Warren Skinner of Proctorsville, had been engaged to conduct the religious services during the day. Mr. Loring began his service at nine in the morning and continued until half past ten, when Mr. Skinner took the pulpit. At this time the other party with their members, one of them the principal of the Academy, came in a body to the church, entered the vestibule and demanded admittance to the auditorium, the doors of which were all closed, long seats filled with men being placed against them. They requested the Universalists in the vestibule to call out their committee for consultation; but they answered that they should not interrupt the services, which had then begun. Next the Congregationalists proposed to overpower the Universalists in the entry, rush into the church and expel Mr. Skinner by force from the pulpit, and take possession themselves. But Judge Clark advised them that by this course they would all render themselves liable to indictment and heavy fines as disturbers of a religious meeting. The academy bell was then rung and they departed in a body to that place and held their meeting, leaving the Universalists in undisputed possession of the church for the rest of the day. However, at the close of Mr. Skinner's service, at twelve o'clock, Mr. Loring began his second service for the day, and at its conclusion, at half-past one o'clock, Mr. Skinner took the desk and occupied it till three o'clock. As a result of this contest, after some months the Universalists sold their interest in the church to the other owners and in 1834 built the brick church now standing in the West Village. Meantime their meetings were held in Stewart Hall.

The brick church was dedicated the first of January, 1835. Immediately after the dedication of the church, Reverend Charles Woodhouse assumed the pastorate of the society and continued it two or three years. He was succeeded, about 1838, by Reverend Abraham Page, whose ministry extended only through one year. Reverend J. W. Bailey preached here from 1841 to 1843. An incident occurred during this period which made a deep impression upon his audience. One Sunday while he was preaching, a pure white dove came into the church, through an open window, perched upon the stovepipe, where it remained a moment, flew directly over the minister's head, poising there awhile, and then passed out of the window through which it entered. The speaker was moved by this incident, so much resembling the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Jesus, and drew from it encouragement and ap-

proval of his words and work. Reverend W. S. Ballou was pastor of the society in 1844-1845. He was succeeded in 1847 by Reverend John S. Lee. The Melrose Seminary, of which Mr. Lee was head, was established at West Brattleboro at this time. Mr. Lee was followed in the parish by Reverend W. S. Ballou, whose second pastorate extended through two years. Reverend Edwin Davis preached part of the time during 1851-1852; Reverend W. Wilcox part of the time during 1853-1854. The society's last settled pastor was Reverend Maxey B. Newell, who supplied them half the time in 1858-1859.

The society was organized January 10, 1834. Among the signers of the first constitution were Phineas Stewart, Samuel Earle, Junior, Jeremiah Beals, Emory Stearns, John Cutting, Robert Windsor Frazier, Roswell and Alonzo Goodenough, John Mixer and Rufus Pratt.

Universalist meetings were held in Wheeler's Hall in the East Village as early as 1835, Reverend Charles Woodhouse being the preacher; but it was not till May 24, 1843, that the present society was organized. Among the original members were William H. Esterbrook, September 17, 1843, G. W. Goodrich, John W. Frost, Sabrina P. Miller, Doctor Reuben Spaulding, A. J. Hines, J. H. Esterbrook, Alfred Simonds, O. J. Martin, Orin Starkey, Luther Weld, Harvey Houghton, John B. Miller and Sewall Morse. The first meeting-house owned by the society was a chapel located on the corner of Canal and Clark Streets, where the Alexanders lived, which was purchased by the Millerites in May, 1843. It was built and occupied for many years by the Methodists.

The first settled pastor of the society was Reverend L. J. Fletcher, who began his ministry in the early part of 1844 and remained until 1846. He was succeeded in July, 1846, by Reverend John H. Willis, who remained here only one year. Reverend C. R. Moor assumed the pastorate of the society early in January, 1848, this being his first pastorate; he preached at the old chapel and boarded with Colonel Arnold J. Hines; on account of ill health he closed his connection with the society in February, 1852. The present Universalist Church was built during his settlement here. It was erected in 1850 and dedicated in February, 1851. He held some of the best pastorates in New England, was a trustee of Tufts College and one of the editors of *The Gospel Banner,* the denominational organ. Reverend H. P. Cutting was settled over the society in May, 1852, and remained one year. He was followed, June, 1853, by Reverend George H. Deere, whose pastorate extended through seven years. During his ministry the church was repainted in 1857, and through his exertions $500 was raised in 1858 for Tufts College. Reverend E. Smiley began his labors with the society the first of January, 1861, and closed them the same year. He was succeeded early in 1862 by Reverend W. T. Stowe,

whose pastorate extended to July, 1864. Reverend M. R. Leonard supplied the desk through the winter of 1864-1865. Reverend James Eastwood was called to the pastorate of this parish September 15, 1865, and resigned January 3, 1870. Reverend M. H. Harris was settled July 1, 1870. During the nine years of Mr. Harris's pastorate—until October, 1879—this parish grew to be among the largest and strongest in the village, and the largest Universalist parish in the state. In 1871 the church edifice was enlarged and remodeled. The church organization was reorganized September 14, 1843. Other parishes held by Reverend Mr. Harris were in Worcester and Chicago.

Later pastors here have been: Reverend E. W. Whitney, 1880-1887; Reverend T. W. Illman, 1887-1889; Reverend F. W. Sprague, 1889-1893; Reverend Hal D. Maxwell, March 30, 1894.[1]

Mr. and Mrs. Lockhart Barrett were prominently connected with this church for forty years or more, and most of the time he was the church sexton. He rang the bell for church, fires and deaths during this period, though under the new order of things fires and deaths are no longer announced from the church towers; but it took some time for the faithful sexton to reconcile himself to the change.

The Ladies' Circle of the church has given a succession of annual fairs from about 1850, which have been perhaps more largely attended than those of any other church society.

[1] Reverend R. K. Marvin was installed September 22, 1899; Reverend F. L. Masseck served from May, 1905, to December, 1906; Reverend Delmar E. Trout was installed July, 1907.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

## THE UNITARIAN CHURCH

Unitarian Church—Names of those dismissed from Congregational Church, October 9, 1835—Reverend Addison Brown—Mrs. Brown—Pastors—Freme Circle—Women's Alliance. The Village Lyceum.

In 1818 Reverend William Wells, pastor of the Congregational Church for twenty years (then in the seventy-fifth year of his age), went back to England, where he spent a year with his eldest daughter, Mrs. Freme. During this interval a dispute arose among his parishioners about various matters of doctrinal opinion, which resulted finally in the calling of a new minister of a more rigid type, the Reverend Jonathan McGee, to succeed Mr. Wells. This was naturally a source of grief, not only to Mr. Wells on his return, but to a number in the society who disliked this reversal to a stricter and narrower exposition of theological belief. After the death of Mr. Wells, in 1827, the feeling became so intensified that measures began to be taken to establish a second Congregational society in the village, which should embrace those who were in sympathy with the ideas of Unitarianism, now being advanced so freely in many of the New England churches, especially in those in the neighborhood of Boston and up and down the Massachusetts coast.

The American Unitarian Association was established in Boston in 1825, and Reverend Edmund Quincy Sewall, while employed in missionary work by this body, was sent to Brattleboro in March or April of 1830 to help found this church. In a letter dated at Rochester, New York, May 18 of that year, he writes (quite naïvely perhaps), "I had a very pleasant month in Brattleborough and left an impression very favorable to myself and to my doctrine." Within a few months of Mr. Sewall's visit (which was doubtless supplemented by the earnest service of other Unitarian clergymen sent on the same errand) the society was formally brought into being. On April 5, 1831, Samuel Root, Paul Chase, Gardner C. Hall, John R. Blake, Charles Chapin, J. D. Bradley and George Newman, with others holding the same views, came together and entered into the following agreement:

We, the subscribers, do hereby voluntarily associate and agree to form a religious society by the name of The Brattleborough Unitarian Congre-

gational Society for the purpose of building a meeting house, and settling and supporting a minister.

At this first meeting Honorable Lemuel Whitney was chosen moderator; Samuel Allen, clerk; John R. Blake, treasurer, and Gardner C. Hall, Charles Chapin and John R. Blake, a prudential committee. Francis Goodhue, Gardner C. Hall and Elihu N. Thomas were chosen a building committee. Samuel Allen, Jonathan D. Bradley and Charles Chapin were chosen a committee to report a code of by-laws. At a meeting held April 11 it was voted to add Paul Chase and Samuel Root to the building committee. On the following day, April 12, a contract was entered into by this committee and Messrs. Howard & Emerson of Swanzey, New Hampshire, builders, for the erection of this place of worship. The amount to be expended was $1500, this to cover the erection of a wooden meeting-house with its end to the street, fifty-four feet long by forty-two in width, furnished with a pulpit, galleries and bell tower, the same to be completed by the first day of December of the current year (1831). The lot on which it stood is practically the same on which the present church stands, and was presented to the society by Francis Goodhue. The church was dedicated February 22, 1832, Reverend George W. Hosmer of Northfield, Massachusetts, preaching the sermon. On the Sunday succeeding the dedication, Addison Brown, who had been preaching several months at Troy, New York, where he had organized a liberal church, commenced supplying the pulpit as a candidate, and at the expiration of three months received and accepted an invitation to become the minister of the society, with an annual salary of $600. His ordination took place June 14, among those taking part in the service being Doctor Hill of Worcester, Doctor Kendall of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Doctor Abbott of Peterboro, New Hampshire. On the same day, Reverend Nathaniel Thayer, D.D., of Lancaster, Massachusetts, and other clergymen being present, the following persons, Eben Wells, Mary Wells, Samuel A. Allen, Maria Allen, Lemuel Whitney, Sophia Whitney, S. D. Chapin, Eliza Hyde and Eunice Metcalf, united themselves into a church, adopting and subscribing the same covenant which had been used under the ministry of Doctor Wells and Mr. McGee. Mr. Brown's pastorate extended until October, 1845, a period of nearly fourteen years, and during that time he was active in every good work, whether relating to the parish over which he was minister or to the community at large, in whose service he always took rare delight.

A society for the men in the parish was formed during his pastorate, also one for the women, both organizations meeting apparently for the deepening of the soul life within as much as for charitable and other

work. The Sunday school was established immediately upon Mr. Brown's entrance upon his charge, as well as a church organization with frequent services of communion. The silver used on these occasions was the gift of Mrs. Freme, who by this time had given up her English home and was now a resident of Brattleboro, and a strongly interested member of the Unitarian society. The congregation during these early years numbered from one hundred and ten to one hundred and fifty. Families of the Universalist faith worshiped with their Unitarian brethren until the establishment of their own church in the village. Among the prominent family names at this period are Blake, Bliss and Bradley; Chase, Clark and Chapin; Dickinson, Frost and Hall; Higginson, Hunt and Hyde; Lawrence, Newman and Pratt; Root, Ryther and Seymour; Wells, Whitney and White.

Mr. Brown's pastorate of fourteen years terminated in October, 1845, but during the succeeding period of the same length no less than four ministers labored, one after another, in connection with this society. Apparently a year and a half passed by, with only supplies from Sunday to Sunday, before Farrington McIntyre, a student at the Cambridge Divinity School, received and accepted a call to take the place left vacant by Mr. Brown's resignation. He was ordained April 15, 1847, yet for some reason his pastorate ended within the same year. The year previous to his settlement, however, a small pipe organ, costing $550 (known as the Salem organ), had been purchased by the society to take the place of the bass viol of former days, so that the Sunday services, during his brief ministry, were enriched to this extent. Mr. McIntyre was followed in 1848 by the Reverend Mellish I. Motte, whose pastorate extended only to the following year, therefore does not stand out with much vividness in the annals of the church. Nevertheless, he was the minister at the time of Mrs. Freme's tragic death in May, 1849, when her house was destroyed by fire, and his address at her funeral service has been preserved in print. The name of this excellent lady has likewise been kept green through the honorable record of the Freme Circle, which came into existence the summer of this same year (1849) for the purpose of raising money to replace the silver communion service that was lost in the fire, together with its guardian.

From 1849 to 1852 there seems to have been no minister regularly settled over the parish, though, doubtless, its work went on, in a steady, unobtrusive fashion, contributing constantly to the well-being of its members and of the larger household without.

Finally, in the summer of 1852, Reverend Solon W. Bush, then settled in Burlington in this state, was asked to become the minister of the parish and, after some deliberation, accepted the invitation. He was the pastor

of the church for five years, and is said to have been the first occupant of the parsonage that through the earnest efforts of the members of the Freme Circle had now been added to the material resources of the society. The quiet, devoted ministry of Mr. Bush left a legacy of affection and good will behind it.

The fifth minister of the parish, following Mr. Bush in 1858, was Reverend Francis C. Williams of North Andover, Massachusetts. Mr. Williams was a classmate in the divinity school of William Orne White, so long the faithful pastor of the Unitarian society in Keene, New Hampshire, and of John Farwell Moore of Greenfield. An earnest and well-read man, although of an impetuous nature, Mr. Williams threw himself into the work allotted him until the outbreak of the Civil War, when he was appointed chaplain of one of the Vermont regiments. He served in this capacity from December, 1861, to June, 1864, severing meanwhile his connection with the society to whose needs he was no longer able to minister. This separation occurred in 1862, and two years later (in 1864) Reverend Frederick Frothingham was called to the vacant pastorate, the duties of which he performed most acceptably until 1867, a term of three years, or until shortly before he entered upon his ministry in Buffalo, New York. In many respects Mr. Frothingham was a man of unique personality and his sermons are reported as being original in their outlook upon life, and full of reserve power.

Then followed an interregnum of four years when the pulpit was maintained by temporary supplies, and all parish work, requiring the services of a minister, was performed either by pastors of churches within the town, or by such as might be called in from a greater distance. The name of only one minister has been reported, that of a Mr. Richardson, a friend of Mr. Frothingham, who (though not formally settled) preached here for nearly a year, giving general satisfaction.

On June 1, 1871, Reverend William Lincoln Jenkins was settled over the society as its seventh pastor, his ministry extending until April 1, 1879, being next in length to that of Mr. Brown and of unwonted interest to the people under his care. It was during his pastorate that steps were taken to replace the old meeting-house by the substantial edifice of stone of today. Mr. Jenkins labored most assiduously to bring about this object, seconded by the hearty and self-sacrificing efforts of his parishioners, young and old, and by the year 1874 preparations were begun for the erection of the new building. Leavitt R. Sargent, Richards Bradley and George H. Clark served as a building committee, and the new church, with its many memorials to the departed who had done good service in days gone by, was dedicated October 13, 1875. Four years afterwards Mr. Jenkins's pastorate came to a close, and he was succeeded during

the same year by Reverend John B. Green, who came hither from Montreal, where he had been officiating as pastor of the Unitarian Church.

Mr. Green served this parish as minister from 1879 to 1882, fully three years. He took great interest in the communion service while here, and did all he could to enlarge the number of communicants. The more formal statement of religious belief, handed down from the ministry of Mr. Wells and Mr. Brown, he changed and simplified; although perhaps the best, as well as the most concise, utterance of this nature is to be found in the present Bond of Union, namely, "In the freedom of truth, and in the spirit of Jesus Christ, we unite for the worship of God and the service of man."

Reverend Samuel McChord Crothers succeeded Mr. Green, his ministry beginning October 18, 1882, and ending October 5, 1886. Mr. Crothers was originally a preacher of another faith, and his pastorate in the Brattleboro church was the first under Unitarian auspices. His four years of unpretending usefulness speak for themselves, and proved but the stepping-stone to a larger and higher place in the profession to which he is so warmly attached. Two years passed away before the society had another settled minister. But in this interval, as at other periods when the emergency has arisen, the services in the church were conducted by laymen, often for weeks at a time, and the names of Miles (Colonel Charles A.), Chapin and Draper (Doctor Joseph)—among others—call to mind hours as full of devotion and of earnest, thoughtfully prepared speech, as any this place of worship has ever known.

In the year 1888 Reverend Frank L. Phalen was called to the vacant pastorate and served as minister until his acceptance of an invitation to Concord, New Hampshire, in 1892. Formerly of a different religious connection, he was filled with enthusiasm while presenting his new message. His desire to spread more widely abroad the liberal faith, led him to speak in outlying hamlets, while he proved his willingness to labor for the common good of the community by taking a place on the prudential committee in charge of the public schools. The number of worshipers in the church increased during his ministry.

The eleventh pastor was E. Bradford Leavitt, who, graduating from the Divinity School in Cambridge in June, 1893, was at once invited to become the minister, acting in that capacity from July 6 of that year until December 31, 1896. Youthful, brilliant, with a mind trained by keen scientific observation, his message could not have failed to claim the attention of his hearers. During his ministry (to be exact, October 29, 1894), the Brattleboro branch of the Women's Alliance was formed, with Mrs. Charles Warder as president, Miss Stella P. Dalton, secretary, and Mrs. C. M. C. Richardson, treasurer. This organization has gone on with its

quiet, efficient work ever since, supplementing in many ways the long-continued labors of the older society, the Freme Circle.

Reverend Edmund Q. S. Osgood preached for the first time February 21, 1897; in July he accepted a call to become the minister; and on October 6 he was formally installed, the sermon being preached by Mr. Crothers and the address to the people being given by Mr. Phalen, two of his predecessors in the pulpit.

### Reverend Addison Brown

Reverend Addison Brown was born at New Ipswich, New Hampshire, March 11, 1799, the last year of the eighteenth century; his education, life and spirit were emphatically of, and kept pace with, the nineteenth. His collegiate and theological education were furnished by Harvard College and the Cambridge Theological School. A graduate of the class of 1826, and of the class of 1831 from the theological school, he became minister of the newly established Unitarian Church of this village in 1832. As its first minister, he continued in its pastorate nearly fourteen years, and on dissolving his official connection remained, with brief interruptions, until his death, one of its most devoted members.

His connection with the Brattleboro Unitarian Church terminated December 1, 1845. Though continuing to preach as occasion offered during the greater part of the remainder of his life, Mr. Brown formed no new pastoral connection. With the deepest interest in the advancement of the general good, which he always held to be the great aim of the church and the ministry, he turned his attention to other methods of promoting it. The cause of education especially interested him. To it he gave increasingly his thought and energies. The condition of the public schools in this region excited his deepest concern. He saw they were far behind what the public need and the possibilities of the case required; he sought to remodel the schools on a higher and more effective plan, and he aimed to bring a more direct relation between the parents of the pupils and the teachers and schools entrusted with their education. In 1841 he had the gratification of seeing a response to his efforts, in the introduction into the schools of the graded system. He labored to the end of his public life to deepen the sense of responsibility in the public mind for the efficiency of the schools. He held office as superintendent of the schools in Windham County from 1846 until that office was abolished, after which, for several years, he acted as superintendent of the schools of the town of Brattleboro. He also conducted a Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies in his home. (See p. 660.)

With the press he became connected in 1862, when Doctor Charles Cummings, summoned from the editorial chair to the battlefield, relin-

quished the charge of *The Vermont Phœnix*. Mr. Brown became editor and one of the proprietors, which post he held until March, 1871, when failing health compelled his retirement. Loyally, in the bitter days of the Civil War, he stood by the flag of the Union; that he ceaselessly identified, and toiled to induce others to identify, the fortunes and significance of that flag with the broadest and most generous ideas of liberty and the rights of man, his works attest. He realized the importance of his post as editor of a newspaper, and sought, in every way that opened before him, to make the journal in his control powerful for good.

With a special interest he advocated the cause of woman's elevation. He set no bounds to his claims of right for her. To her largest aspirations he lent a faithful, helping voice. Not alone her pleading for a higher education, not alone her assertion of right and opportunity to labor in other spheres than those heretofore at her command, not alone her right to the possession and use of her earnings, but, besides and beyond, her right to enter on every sphere to which she felt a divine call, a native fitness, and to the enjoyment of full political rights, found in him a devoted, and, so far as was possible to a mind so finely balanced and so judicial as his, an enthusiastic advocate. Indeed, wherever oppression was, there was he to be found exposing and withstanding it. In the days when slavery's night brooded over the land, he stood one of the lights of liberty that prophesied the coming of the dawn. And the slavery of strong drink found no more steadfast enemy than he. In his own person, in his home, in all his public teaching and writing, he was the advocate and the exemplar of temperance.

His life was devoted chiefly to others' good. He believed in personal righteousness rather than in profession of piety. To do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with God, formed his great aim.

He married December 13, 1832, Miss Ann E. Wetherbee of New Ipswich. He died in May, 1872.

Mrs. Brown was born in Boston August 26, 1807, the daughter of Abijah and Betsey Wilder Wetherbee. Her grandfather, Paul Wetherbee, was a minuteman of the Revolution, and her great-great-grandfather, Joseph Wilder, was a judge of the Massachusetts courts. In her early childhood the Wetherbee and Wilder families moved to New Ipswich, New Hampshire, where they and their descendants built up the neighborhood known as Wilder Village. Mrs. Brown grew up in New Ipswich, receiving her education in the district school, attending afterwards New Ipswich Academy and private schools in Keene, New Hampshire, and Groton, Massachusetts. She taught in a private school in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, and in the common schools in New Ipswich.

Her marriage to Mr. Brown took place at her father's house in New

Ipswich, and was solemnized by Reverend Abiel Abbott of Peterboro, one of the early ministers of the Unitarian denomination. The next day, December 14, they drove to Brattleboro by way of Keene and Chesterfield, and it is a record of the time that the weather was then mild and pleasant and there was no snow on the ground.

Mrs. Brown's long life was one of ceaseless activity and of constant devotion to her family and friends. Until past her eightieth year she did her household work and had charge of all her affairs. To the last her mind was clear and she retained her interest in all the intellectual pursuits which had been the great source of enjoyment of her whole life. There has probably been no person in Brattleboro who read so constantly all of the world's best literature, all current literature worth the while, and kept so fully in touch with the whole trend of modern thought—in religion and theology, in politics, in science, in history, and on all social questions—as did Mrs. Brown. She was especially versed in astronomy and was an expert botanist, possessing an innate gladness in the wild flowers, the birds and all free outdoor life. She was an accomplished linguist, reading with ease in Latin, German and French. She had true artistic perception. In her earlier years she sketched from nature with skill and taste and instructed her pupils in this art.

During the last half-dozen years of confinement to her room Mrs. Brown's enjoyment of all these pursuits continued unabated and she was constantly in touch with all affairs in the village and the world outside. The final weakness and decline of old age came only during the summer preceding her death in the autumn. Within ten days of her death she sat up in bed to read the village and daily papers, and on the day of her death she asked in an interval of consciousness for news of the elections and expressed her pleasure that Mr. Hughes had been elected governor of New York. She died November 7, 1906, aged ninety-nine years and three months.

Along with her intellectual attainments and capability for affairs, Mrs. Brown possessed a bright, strong, sunny nature, sweet and good to the core, which made companionship with her a delight, and chased away all the minor cares and worries of life. The women who were her pupils fifty years before, no less than her own family and her immediate neighbors and friends of later years, recalled all these qualities with gratitude and paid to this good, true life a heartfelt tribute of thankfulness.

Mrs. Brown was born of one of the pioneer Unitarian families of New England, and the joy and strength of her inner life were in the breadth and freedom of that faith; and so long as her strength permitted, she was a constant attendant on the services of the Brattleboro church and a participant in all its activities.

Children:

Frances Allen, born January 15, 1834; died August 27, 1871; a teacher, assisting her father; was assistant in Colonel Charles A. Miles's School, Brattleboro, and in Westside High School, Rockford, Illinois.

Ann Elizabeth, born June 25, 1836; married May 30, 1853, Christian F. Schuster; died February 9, 1862. Children:

Lora and Anna May, died young.

Paul F., born April 15, 1858; cashier of Forest City National Bank, Rockford, Illinois; married April 15, 1879, Lizzie, daughter of Honorable Thomas Butterworth of Rockford, born May 3, 1859. Children: Paul B., Addison B., Ann E., Margaret.

Elizabeth Frances, born January 6, 1861; married June 28, 1887, Edward T. Twitchell, M.D.,[1] born in Keene January 19, 1861, son of Doctor George B. and Susan Thayer Twitchell; owing to the death of her mother, she lived in Brattleboro in the Brown and Higginson families until her marriage. Children: Paul Schuster Twitchell; Margaret White Twitchell, married, 1911, Frederick Lincoln Steele, Junior; Helen Hinds Twitchell; Roger Thayer Twitchell.

Addison, Junior, born June 6, 1838; married February 7, 1863, in Washington, District of Columbia, Florida Starr, born in Norwich, Connecticut, August 3, 1842, daughter of Melancthon and Lucretia Nevins Starr; died March 3, 1865, on his way home from the Civil War; a lieutenant-colonel, 5th Vermont Regiment. (See p. 781.)

Charles Wetherbee, born November 7, 1840, of the 2d Regiment Vermont Volunteers; married in Rockford, Illinois, August 20, 1867, Elizabeth, daughter of Melancthon and Lucretia N. Starr, who was born in Tallahassee, Florida, January 5, 1846; died June 25, 1904; he died November 26, 1908. They had a son and two daughters living in Rockford.

Mary, born July 5, 1842; married, first, July 31, 1863, Captain Dennie W. Farr, born January 7, 1840;[2] married, second, February 7, 1867, Colonel A. T. Dunton. The Duntons left Brattleboro in November, 1906, to live with children in Sheboygan, Wisconsin.

Colonel Augustus T. Dunton was born in Manchester, Vermont, August 22, 1825, the son of Doctor Thomas Dunton, who preached in Bennington and St. Lawrence Counties, New York. During the war Colonel Dunton served as captain and assistant quartermaster in a New York regiment of United States Volunteers, and received brevet

[1] Harvard Medical School 1884, practiced in Ashmont, Massachusetts; died, 1920.
[2] Killed in Civil War. (See p. 779.)

commission as major and lieutenant-colonel. He died in Sheboygan August 9, 1912. Children:

Flora Starr Dunton, born in Rockford, Illinois; married at Clearwater Harbor, Florida, January 15, 1892, Ovington Ross, born October 20, 1868. Children: Prudence Ovington; George Thomas Ovington; Mary Virginia; William Hulin.

### The Village Lyceum

The Village Lyceum was organized by Reverend Addison Brown, who was its first president. A Young Men's Lyceum Course was an effort towards general culture which took root in New England in the early thirties. In their first phase, declamation, anonymous compositions and questions for discussion preceded debates. There were five lyceums in Windham County in 1830: in Brattleboro East and West Village, Marlboro, Townshend and Newfane. Improvement in the common schools was a direct influence of the lyceum.

"Ought the present law to be abolished requiring imprisonment for debt?" was a question for discussion in the Brattleboro lyceum in 1831. "Is the sale of alcoholic liquors worse, in a moral point of view, than the vending of quack medicines?" "The slanderer more dangerous to society than the thief," were discussed in the early lyceum. In 1858 it was argued and deprecated that more encouragement is not given to young men in professional or mercantile pursuits than to more worthy men in mechanical and industrial pursuits.

The lyceum organized at Centerville for discussion in 1865 "Resolved, That our nation has reached the point of perfection in military strength and glory." And in 1866 the Village Lyceum "Resolved, That the village of Brattleborough is more indebted to the mechanics for its prosperity than to its transient sojourners," and in the same year, "That Emigration from New England to the West ought to be encouraged"; in 1877, "That the manner in which the town of Brattleborough provides for her poor is a disgrace to our Christian profession"—to be discussed by the Liberal Association.

In the meantime lectures were growing in popularity: literary, historical or political subjects were treated by the clergy, teachers or men of liberal education in the community. The value of this institution increased in proportion to the distance from metropolitan centers and became a source of intellectual interest and diversion, as men of the first order of mind appeared on the lecture platform.

In 1843 John B. Gough lectured and Henry Ward Beecher gave his first public lecture here when a student of Amherst College. Horace Greeley and Bayard Taylor were here in 1849. Henry Ward Beecher

spoke at the Unitarian Church on "The Mission of the Beautiful," January 1, 1854; Wendell Phillips and J. G. Holland before 1860; in 1861 Edward Everett, John G. Saxe, Henry Ward Beecher again and Mark Twain. About forty ladies and gentlemen went from Brattleboro to Greenfield in 1861 when Thackeray made his appearance in that town. Reverend William H. Channing and Wendell Phillips lectured here in 1864.

## CHAPTER XXXVII

## THE BRATTLEBOROUGH HIGH SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

The Brattleborough High School Association—Character of school—Names of teachers—Scholars of 1846.

The Brattleborough High School Association came into existence in the year 1832, when the following act of incorporation was passed by the Vermont Legislature:

An act to incorporate the Brattleborough High School Association.

Sec. 1. *It is hereby enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont,* That there be, and hereby is, constituted and established a High School for young masters, ladies, and misses, in the east village of the town of Brattleborough, in the county of Windham, in this state; and that John Holbrook, Francis Goodhue, Joseph Fessenden, John L. Dickerman, Gardner C. Hall, Samuel Root, Paul Chase, Henry Smith, Henry Clark, Philip Hall and William R. Hays, and their successors, be trustees of the same, and they and their associates and successors are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate, to be known and distinguished by the name and style of the *Brattleboro' High School Association;* and by that name shall have succession, and may sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, contract and be contracted with, may have a common seal, and the same alter at pleasure; make and establish such by-laws, rules and regulations as shall, from time to time, appear necessary to said corporation, not repugnant to the laws of this state or of the United States; and may take and hold, by grant, gift, purchase or devise, or otherwise, real and personal estate, to the amount of thirty thousand dollars, and the same use, improve, manage and appropriate for the benefit of said school.

Sec. 2. *It is hereby further enacted,* That the officers of said association shall be appointed annually, on the first Tuesday of April, at the hall of the High School, in said Brattleboro', by a majority of the members present at said annual meeting; and in voting upon this, as upon all other business which may come before the corporation, each share of the stock of said association shall entitle the owner thereof to one vote.

*Provided,* That any future legislation may alter, amend or repeal this act.

The land on which the building was erected, and on which the present building stands, was owned originally by Francis Goodhue and John Holbrook. In 1828 and 1829 a considerable tract in that vicinity was sold to Doctor Philip Hall, and from this he made several sales. March 25, 1831, he executed a bond to John Holbrook, Francis Goodhue and G. C. Hall, in the sum of $6000, to sell and convey to them or their representatives, upon request, a certain portion of that land, and it was on this that the High School building was erected. A deed of the land was not given until almost ten years later, when the property passed into the hands of District Number 2 and the schoolhouse became a public school.

Public schools were conducted with no more method than was characteristic of the teacher, whose control depended on a strong will supplemented by physical prowess. Children expected to be whipped or beaten for the least misdemeanor, and as little was done to direct the energies of boys outside school hours in profitable channels, their ebullition of natural spirits often exceeded the bounds of decency. The bigger boys were fair matches in strength for the average teacher and in many a conflict came off victorious. The pupils were crowded together on long benches in rooms without ventilation, which made study a difficult task, and any books selected by parents without coöperation with each other were accepted as textbooks.

There were writing schools in 1822, the chief occupation of teachers being the manufacture of pens from goose quills. Fine writing became an art, and was an indispensable accomplishment in a teacher. But improvements came rapidly. A blackboard was introduced by Charles C. Frost in 1827.

The High School building was erected during the year 1832, or just previous to the passage of the act of incorporation. Probably the first term of school in the building was kept during the winter or spring of 1833. Mr. John W. Frost taught the last two terms of school in the old schoolhouse on the Common, which were held there previous to the opening of the High School. He had about one hundred and ninety pupils in the school, which he taught with only one assistant, Miss Arabella Ranger, sister of Mr. Bethuel Ranger.

The High School of that day was not a high school in the sense in which the term is used since the establishment of our graded school system. It was not a public school, but more properly a select school or academy, established and maintained for the benefit of those who wished and could afford to give their children better school advantages than were provided by the district schools. All pupils who attended paid a stated sum for tuition.

The first teacher of the school was Mr. L. G. McKean, who came in 1822, a young man of bright mind and versatile parts, who was a leader and a central figure in the community so long as he remained here. After him came Mr. Meeker, who afterwards entered the ministry; Mr. Packard; John S. Brown, brother of Reverend Addison Brown, 1835; Mr. D. M. Kimball, before 1839; Aldace Walker; and Samuel H. Price, 1840. Miss Leverett taught French, drawing and botany, 1834-1835.

To obtain now a complete list of those who attended the first term of the school under Mr. McKean is impossible, but these names were recalled by Mr. Henry Burnham and Mr. George H. Clark, who were themselves of the number: Charles Harris (a nephew of Doctor Chapin), A. A. Barker, Theodore Barber, W. A. Dickinson, Belinda Elliot, Eliza Fessenden, William and Henry Elliot, Hiram Farnsworth (later secretary of the Kansas board of education), Charles Reed, Elizabeth, Ann and Henry Smith, Edward and Lucy Chase, Fanny Frost, John Burnham, Jane and Sophia Woodcock, Maria, Henrietta and Albert Cross.

The school, under the old association, had varying degrees of success, and it would be impossible to give now a correct estimate of the several teachers. John Brown is remembered as an excellent teacher.

As early as 1834 Reverend Addison Brown made the public schools a theme of discourse at his church on Fast Day. J. Dorr Bradley, L. G. Mead, J. Steen, J. R. Blake, Addison Brown and C. Davis, being interested in the new system for public schools, held a meeting for discussion, and in 1841 formed a prudential committee of L. G. Mead, J. Steen and C. Davis, who engaged Moses Woolson, the first teacher of the "central" and most advanced school.[1] He was a man of marked personality, a thorough scholar, widely read, of great sincerity of purpose, a hater of shams and, all in all, a remarkably strong character. After he left here he taught in the West and about Boston. During the latter years of his life he was chiefly engaged as a private tutor, having fitted for college many a young man who has since made his mark in the world. He died January 19, 1896.

Honorable Mellen Chamberlain succeeded Mr. Woolson. He was a student in Pembroke Academy and at Concord—where his father moved his family when Mellen was fifteen—and entered Dartmouth College in 1840. Mr. Chamberlain was principal of the High School in Brattleboro for three years, then went to Dane Hall at Harvard and studied law, serving also as librarian, and was admitted to the bar and opened a law office in Boston in 1849. He married and made his home at Chelsea, and served the city in several positions, was representative to the general court in 1858 and 1859, being a member of the special committee on the

[1] High School.

revision of the statutes; and he was in the senate in 1863 and 1864, in the latter year chairman of the judiciary committee.

From 1866 to 1878 he was a judge of the municipal court of Boston, and during the last eight years of his life chief justice of that court. Judge Chamberlain's historical studies, and his great interest in collecting in England and elsewhere abroad, as well as at home, manuscripts relating to American history, were well known, when, in 1878, he was chosen librarian of the Boston public library, and he held that post in the old Boylston Street building until 1890, when the impaired health of advancing age caused his resignation. He died at Chelsea, Massachusetts, June 25, 1900.

After Judge Chamberlain came I. L. Clark; Mr. Wilson Abbott, 1855; Mr. Sears; Reverend Mr. Southgate; Mr. C. A. Miles in 1858; Mr. William F. Bacon, 1859; and Mr. T. A. Howard in 1862, assisted by his wife. The latter was the immediate predecessor for one year of Mr. Bingham.

Complete records of the school back of Mr. Bingham's day are scarce. There comes to our hand, however, one such record. It is in the shape of a well-thumbed blank book which Addison B. Hall, then a boy of fourteen, filled with various memoranda, boy fashion and with painstaking care, during the winter term of 1846-1847. One of these memoranda is headed "Names of the scholars who attend school the winter term, 1846," and the list is the following:

| Boys. | Girls. |
|---|---|
| John Stebbins. | Mary Ann Hyde. |
| Sidney Wadsworth. | Fidelia Fowler. |
| Leonard Wheeler. | Elizabeth Crosby. |
| George Leon Walker. | Louisa Dickinson. |
| Charles Cune. | Jane Thomas. |
| Joseph Wright. | Sophia Pratt. |
| Gilbert Grout. | Harriet Dutton. |
| Willard Sumner. | Mary Reed. |
| John E. Blake. | Sarah Stoddard. |
| George Fowler. | Eliza Hyde. |
| Charles Frost. | Jane Clapp. |
| Addison B. Hall. | Margaret Williston. |
| Henry Newman. | Caroline Hoar. |
| Charles L. Mead. | Martha Mussa. |
| William Hubbard. | Susan Putnam. |
| George Chaney. | Angelina Hyde. |
| Frank Cune. | Frances Brown. |
| O. H. Chapin. | Gracia Reed. |

Richards Bradley.
William Wheeler.
Samuel Warren.
Erastus Bardo.
Edgar Bradley.
George Stoddard.
George Samuels.
Henry Thompson.
Payson Williston.
William Thomas.
Frank Marsh.
Wells S. Frost.
Larkin G. Mead.
Robert Arms.
Charles Newman.
Henry Wait.
Byron Morse.

Mary Newman.
Mary Ann Conant.
Mary Howe.
Elizabeth Briggs.
Julia Goodhue.
Maria Webster.
Mary Chaney.
Mary Chapin.
Sophia Thomas.
Mary Bemis.
Jane Streeter.
Jane Thompson.
Mary Brown.
Ann Steen.
Jane Simonds.
Mary Nash.
Adeline Dutton.
Harriet Crosby.

Another of the memoranda is headed

List of Studies studied at the Central School at the Winter Term, 1846.

Davies's Algebra.
Adams's Arithmetic.
Davies's Arithmetic.
Colburn's Arithmetic.
Worcester's Geography.
History of England.
History of the United States.
American School Reader.
Porter's Rhetorical Reader.

In the fore part of the book are copied several pages of songs from the old school singing book, "The Odeon." In the list are the "Canadian Song," "County Guy," "Tyrolese Evening Hymn," "The Maltese Boatman's Song," "Isle of Beauty, Fare thee Well," "The Mellow Horn," "Bounding Billows," "Bonnie Doon," "Balerma," etc.

Edward Clark, who came to West Brattleboro in 1862 to teach music in Glenwood Seminary, introduced music into the public schools, giving up his position as leader of the Unitarian choir to devote more time and thought to this important service for the boys and girls.

AMERICAN HOUSE

RUFUS CLARK'S HOTEL

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

VERMONT HOUSE

BRATTLEBORO HOUSE

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

## AMERICAN HOUSE

Phœnix House, American House—"Sikes Tavern," Uriel Sikes—(Daniel Webster a guest in 1840)—Ralph Herrick—Burnett—Edward Woodman—George A. Bugbee—Charles G. Lawrence—Liberty Rice—J. H. Matthews—Shaw—H. C. Nash—R. W. Rawson—J. S. Gates—C. Stearns—Henry Starkey—F. E. Reed—George Albert Boyden.

### The American House

was a small building occupied by Deacon John Holbrook for mercantile purposes until 1811. It was sold about 1830 to one of the Hunts of Vernon (probably Arad Hunt) in company with Francis Goodhue, who added the front gable and pillared porch between 1833 and 1837, and gave it the name Phœnix House. From 1820 to 1835, when Uriel Sikes kept tavern there, it was simply known as "Sikes' Tavern." He was followed by Ralph Herrick as proprietor and he by a Mr. Burnett and Edward Woodman.

This house sheltered many distinguished guests during the years it was open to the public, but probably the most famous was Daniel Webster, who had dinner and a nap here the afternoon of July 5, 1840. The great orator was on his way from Barre, Massachusetts, to Stratton Mountain, where he spoke at the Harrison rally. He left Barre early in the morning in a barouche drawn by four horses, and reached Brattleboro about the middle of the afternoon. He did not stay at the Stage House, as Colonel Paul Chase, its proprietor, was a Democrat, while Edward Woodman of the Phœnix House was a staunch Whig. After dinner and his slight rest, Mr. Webster made a brief speech in the grove of oaks known as the Goodhue Grove, and continued on his way to Stratton.

This hotel was in the possession of the Goodhue family (Joseph and Wells) until 1860, when it was sold to Charles F. Simonds. In 1862 it was again sold, to Stearns & Ray (John L.), and in 1865 it was bought by Ray & Boyden.

Mr. Boyden, who was proprietor for eleven years,—longer than any of the others,—seemed to be especially identified with the reputation of this hotel. His kindness of heart and inborn courtesy looked unfailingly to

the happiness and comfort of his guests and lent an atmosphere apart from that of the usual public hostelry.

Among other proprietors have been George A. Bugbee, Charles G. Lawrence, Liberty Rice, T. H. Matthews, —— Shaw, Henry E. Nash, Rufus W. Rawson, J. S. Gates, C. Stearns, George A. Boyden, Henry Starkey, F. E. Reed.

George Albert Boyden,

son of Asa Boyden of Guilford and Betsey his wife, was born January 7, 1835, and June 26, 1861, married Alice M., daughter of William S. Chase, who was born May 7, 1842, and died September 10, 1894. He died March 13, 1903. He was a partner in the dry goods store of O. E. Austin for twelve years before 1850. Mr. and Mrs. Boyden lived for twenty-two years in various Brattleboro hotels, being proprietors and managers of the Revere House and of the American House eleven years, retiring in November, 1879.

Children:

Charles Asa, born March 19, 1875; he entered the Vermont National Bank in 1894, serving as clerk, bookkeeper and teller until the organization of the Brattleboro Trust Company in 1906, and he became treasurer of that company the next year. He married October 8, 1901, Ethel L., daughter of Judge E. L. Waterman. Children: Alice, George Albert, James Waterman.

## CHAPTER XXXIX

## MEN FOREMOST IN MANUFACTURE

Machine shops—Elihu H. Thomas—Thomas & Woodcock—Hines & Newman—Hines, Newman & Company—Newman & Son—Colonel Arnold J. Hines—George A. Hines—George Newman—Ferdinand Tyler. Stanley Rule Company—S. Morton Clark—Edward A. Stearns—F. E. Edwards—D. C. Stratton—Horatio S. Noyes—Madison Ranney—Azor Marshall—Theodore Cole. Manufacture of carriages—Captain Adolphus Stebbins—Asa Miller—Sidney A. Miller—Howard A. Pratt.

### Machine Shops

The first machine shop was established about 1833 by Elihu Thomas and Nathan Woodcock. As improvements in paper making were made, dispensing with the old-school process of making by hand, a new impetus was given to the business and there was a great demand for suitable machinery, the difficulty of supplying the demand rendering it very profitable. Besides supplying the mills in this immediate vicinity, Thomas & Woodcock filled numerous orders from Massachusetts. In 1838 the establishment passed into the hands of Hines & Newman, with whom Roswell Hunt was associated in 1845, after which the firm name was Hines, Newman & Company. Their paper machinery was in use in a large number of mills from Canada through the United States to Mexico. In 1861 the firm was Newman & Son; in 1865, Ferdinand Tyler & Son. In 1866 they employed twenty men, their machinery being sold in various parts of the Union.

Other machine shops were owned by Crane & Morris; John Gore, who made steam engines and paper-mill presses; Luther Weld, who carried on his shop from 1830 to 1866, when Calvin J. Weld purchased the property. He manufactured planes, band saws, the Weld two-block shingle machine and self-regulating water wheel.

### Elihu H. Thomas

The Thomas family are of Welsh origin and the branch in Brattleboro descendant of Sir Rice App-Thomas of Carew, Wales. Elihu H. Thomas, son of Daniel and Mary Ruggles Thomas, was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, October 30, 1802, and when quite young came to Brattleboro to reside with his uncle, Elihu Hotchkiss. He married Miss

Abigail Bangs May 11, 1825, and reared nine children, Elihu H., Junior, remaining in Brattleboro. Mr. Thomas was a very enterprising man. He learned paper manufacturing, and at one time, besides the mill in Brattleboro, had one at Hinsdale, New Hampshire, and one in Ohio, where he also manufactured pins and combs under the firm Thomas & Marsh; he had also a fanning-mill factory in this town. In 1827 he advertised "gravestones, cast-iron ploughs, fanning-mills at the New Brick Shop, six rods south of the Creek Bridge."

He had a tannery near the site of the old depot; he was also the first to take daguerreotypes in this locality. In 1834 he was sent for six months to England and France, in the interest of paper manufacturing, to study English and French processes of manufacture, being at that time of the firm Thomas & Woodcock. (Elihu Thomas, Nathan Woodcock and Gouverneur Morris, son of General Lewis R. Morris of Springfield, Vermont, were promoters.) On his return from England, Mr. Thomas built, after an English model, a large brick house on Birge Street in the section known as Thomasville. In 1844 he and William G. Cutting purchased the mill property owned by the Typographic Company. Owing to the mismanagement and dishonesty of Cutting, Mr. Thomas lost his money, so in 1848 he went to Boston, where he was engaged in perfecting a sewing machine. In 1850 he went to California, where he engaged in hotel keeping, in the manufacture of mining machinery and other enterprises. About 1874 he returned to Vermont, locating at North Bennington, and died there February 7, 1876. Mrs. Thomas died August 4, 1867, in California.

Children:

Julia Montague, married 1864, George B. Keyes, son of Judge Asa Keyes of Brattleboro. He died in Wilmington, Los Angeles County, California, May 22, 1877, aged fifty-six, leaving a son, Charles.

Charles Ruggles, married Miss Ann Hill.

Sarah D., married Charles E. Welling of Bennington and had five children.

Jane Abigail, married Samuel Burton Purple of Northfield, Massachusetts; had four children.

Sophia A., married Isaac Desler; have had three children.

William Wells, married Mrs. Henrietta Pratt Fowler; have had three children. Married, second, Miss Regina Lake.

Dwight Bangs, married Miss Helen Jones Eddy; they live in Bennington and have three children.

Elihu Hotchkiss Thomas, Junior, born June 10, 1837; married September 18, 1862, Miss Celia Daggett of Westmoreland. Children: Nina J., married May 18, 1887, John C. DeWitt, and has children,

Ruth, Arthur B.; Lenna H., married September 15, 1904, Elbert W. Tenney, son of Webster and Mary (Bingham) Tenney, and has a son, John Norman.

Going with his parents to Boston, Mr. Thomas learned the carver's trade, and in 1856 went to Jacksonville, Colorado, where he engaged in mining, building mining machinery and in the lumber business. For many years he made use of his knowledge in the setting-up department of the Estey Organ Company.

He was an expert workman and his business dealings were marked by the expert's characteristics of sincerity and skill. Integrity and a fine sense of honor were the basis of every act and relation in the life of Mr. Thomas.

Frederick Robbins, married Miss Ann Shipley; they have had two children; he married, second, Mrs. Emma Pearson Staples; married, third, Miss Frances Pearson.

### Hines & Newman

William Hines, son of William of Rhode Island, came from Monroe, Massachusetts, to Guilford, Vermont, and here his son Thomas was born April 7, 1780. John and William were other sons. William Hines, Senior, finally settled at Hinesburg, which was named for him.

Thomas was a millwright by trade and came to Brattleboro as assistant to Deacon John Holbrook in his milling operations. He married July 6, 1800, Sarah Arnold, a descendant of Thomas Arnold of Providence, Rhode Island, whose family was of great antiquity in Wales, having its origin in the ancient Princes of Wales.

They had twelve children: William, Isaac, Mrs. Isaiah Stearns, Lydia, Laura (Mrs. Streeter), Emily J., who married Jacob Estey, Mila Ann, who married Lockhart Barrett, Arnold J., who lived in Brattleboro.

Mrs. Hines died October 22, 1865. Mr. Hines died April 20, 1869.

Colonel Arnold J. Hines was born in Guilford, Vermont, January 28, 1805; he married December 29, 1825, Sarah, daughter of Ezekiel Gore of Bernardston, Massachusetts, who died March 14, 1835. In 1837 he married Maria L. Brown, granddaughter of Gamaliel Arnold; she was born in Dummerston April 12, 1818. In 1829 Arnold and his father removed to this place, where the remainder of their lives was passed.

Arnold J. Hines, as captain of the old artillery and colonel in the old Vermont State Militia, in the declining days of our military organization, proved worthy to lead a "forlorn hope." He was prominent in the fire department, securing the first village charter, was one of the original members of the Prospect Hill Cemetery Association, and principal or important actor in establishing and sustaining the Universalist Church.

In politics he was a strong antislavery Democrat until the christening of the Republican party, of which he was one of the active and original members.

He was for twenty-five years the senior partner of the well and widely known firm of Hines, Newman & Company, iron founders and machinists. He was a man of excellent judgment, of good business habits, and his advice was frequently sought and highly esteemed by his townsmen. In all the relations of life he was a man of integrity of character combined with a geniality of disposition that commanded the respect and affection of his fellow citizens no less than of his more intimate associates and friends. He died April 6, 1862.

Children of Arnold J. Hines:

By his first marriage, Mary J., born July 20, 1832; married May 1, 1849, George Cutler; a daughter, Mary L., married Walter Haywood, son of Jeremiah E. and Mary Brown Haywood of Brattleboro. She died in 1915, leaving a son, Leon.

Mrs. Sarah A. Morrill, who died at Dedham, Massachusetts, December 15, 1891.

By his second marriage, Julia A., Mrs. A. P. Wilder, who died October 19, 1915, aged seventy-eight. A. P. Wilder, a pioneer traffic man in Kansas, was official of the Santa Fé Railroad thirty years, finally manager of Missouri and Kansas Car Service Association. Children: Mrs. Belle Hillyer of Topeka; Mrs. Franklin Hudson (Annie L.) of Kansas City; Mrs. B. F. Criswell of Denver. Mrs. A. P. Wilder was a singer and founded the first musical society of Topeka.

George A. Hines, born January 29, 1840. He prepared for college at the Brattleborough Academy and "Parson Brown's" private school, and graduated from the civil engineering and architectural courses of the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard College in the class of 1863. He married Henrietta Henfel of Philadelphia, and lived in that city a short time. He then moved to Boston, where he lived a few months before coming to Brattleboro to make his permanent home. He was employed for many years at the Estey Organ shops as cost accountant and designer. He represented Brattleboro in 1894 in the State Legislature and was secretary and treasurer of the Prospect Hill Cemetery Association. He was a member of the Professional Club of Brattleboro and was a regular attendant at the Universalist Church. Children: Arnold J., died February 12, 1886, aged six years; H. Marie, married April 20, 1886, W. S. McKenney of Northampton; Bertha, married August 1, 1888, W. H. Brackett (see p. 985), and has a son, Roger Brackett, born March 15, 1895; Amy J. Hines.

Lockhart H. Barrett, who came here from Hinsdale, where he was born in 1822 (son of Ora and Anna Adams Barrett), married November 28, 1843, Mila Ann, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hines. He was in the employ of Wells Goodhue, who was at that time president of the bank; afterwards of John Birge and "Squire Clark." For ten years Mr. Barrett worked in the shop of Hines & Newman, until he bought a half interest in Samuel Pike's lock and gunsmith shop; in two years he bought his partner's interest and for more than twenty-five years carried on with success this business, which was sold to Herbert M. Wood in 1885. Children: Georgiana, married November 18, 1867, H. F. Brooks, of the grocery firm of Raymond & Company, Boston, and son of Thomas D. Brooks of Athol; Charles B. Barrett, of the firm of Barrett & Leonard, Springfield, Massachusetts, married Miss Harriet Lyman.

John M. Willis began work in Hines & Newman's shop as an expert moulder in brass and iron; Asa Sherwin was with this firm from 1835 to 1874, and John M. Joy in this shop learned the machinist's trade.

### George Newman

George Newman was born in 1798 at Seekonk, Massachusetts. He came as a boy with his parents to Marlboro, and when still very young became a skilled mechanic while learning the trade of carriage making in the shop of Captain Adolphus Stebbins. In 1828 he was employed by Elihu H. Thomas in the fanning mills in the East Village. He was a clerk in the employ of Thomas & Woodcock at the time they began the manufacture of pulp dressers for paper making. A few years later he succeeded them in this business, as also in their iron foundry, blacksmithy, clothier's shop, sawmill and gristmill, and was a partner of Colonel Arnold J. Hines and Roswell Hunt, Esquire, in the same branches of industry in which Lewis Newman, Gouverneur Morris, Esquire, and —— Brinsmade of Troy, New York, invested money. Finally all this business came into the possession of the Newman family, under the name of George Newman & Son.

He married Miss Lydia Lee, who was born in 1807 and died February 9, 1888. He died September 11, 1872. His character was one of the town's assets for good, and his unconsciousness of it added to his influence.

In *The Vermont Phœnix* of September 13, 1872, appeared the following obituary notice of Mr. Newman:

The life of George Newman was in a large measure identified with that of the town of which he was so long an honored resident. He served many years as lister, town treasurer and selectman, and for two years, 1848-1849, represented the town in the Legislature. As proprietor of the

machine shop, engaged in the manufacture of paper machinery, with which he was associated from 1837 to 1865, his name was familiar to many people in various parts of the country, and the respect with which he was regarded was universal. Evidences of this may be seen in the frequency with which he was called upon to settle estates. Probably no man in the county had administered upon so many estates as he. For more than twenty years he was an officer of the Windham Provident Institution for Savings, and for the last two years was its treasurer; he was president in 1868-1869. He was also one of the original members of the Unitarian Church in this village, of which he ever remained a prominent and liberal supporter. Ever ready to oblige a neighbor or assist the needy, kindly in all his relations, and without an enemy in the world, the influence of his genial life has not passed away.

Children:

Lucy N., married H. R. Godfrey; died in 1863.

George Henry Newman, born in 1831, learned the machinist's trade in his father's establishment, and upon attaining his majority became a partner.

In middle life Mr. Newman moved to Topeka, Kansas, where for some years he was engaged in bridge building, and later conducted a banking business. Returning to Brattleboro after having acquired a competence, he was soon invited to take the treasurership of the Nashawannuck Manufacturing Company, the largest manufacturers of webs and suspenders in the country, and was a resident of Easthampton for fifteen years, where he held important offices of trust, among which was director in the First National Bank of that town.

He moved to Boston for the purpose of engaging in banking business with his brother, Albert H. Newman, president of the Commonwealth Bank of Boston. The sudden death of the latter somewhat changed his plans, but he continued his residence in Boston from that time, not engaging in active business but being the special partner for some years in the banking firm of Rogers, Newman & Tolman.

He married, first, Miss Sarah E. Caldwell, born in 1835, died in 1867; second, 1869, Miss Mary D. Chase of Toledo, born in 1842, died in 1897; third, Miss Mary Page of Boston.

He was past worshipful master of Columbian Lodge, Number 36, F. and A. M. of Brattleboro. He died in March, 1902.

His will contained a bequest of $5000 to the Brattleboro Home for the Aged and Disabled and another of $2000 to the Unitarian Society of Brattleboro, the latter in memory of his father, George Newman, who was a deacon of the church many years.

Julia, born June 9, 1840; married, first, Charles Boyden; they had a son, Walter L. Boyden, president of Plymouth (Massachusetts) National Bank, who married Miss Mary S. Maher of Easthampton. Julia married, second, October 22, 1868, GEORGE H. RYDER, son of William and Mary (Richardson) Ryder, born April 30, 1835, who was for thirty-five years in the employ of the Estey Organ Company, and who died in 1903. She died in 1910. They left one son, John R. Ryder, born September 16, 1878, who married October 8, 1902, Marcia Parker, daughter of E. L. Parker.

Laura D., born in 1843, married November 21, 1864, Reverend James Henry Wiggin. A son, Albert H. Wiggin, born in Medfield, Massachusetts, February 21, 1868, married Miss Jessie Duncan Hayden of Boston October 4, 1892; he was bank clerk in Boston, 1885-1891; cashier of the Third National Bank of Boston, 1894-1897; president of the Chase National Bank, New York; Eliot National Bank, 1897-——; National Park Banks, 1899-1904; director of many important corporations; trustee of the hospital of the Saturday and Sunday Association; on the board of managers of the Music School Settlement; on the board of the Bank of Commerce and of the Guaranty and Banker's Trust. His residence is in New York City and he has a country place in Greenwich, Connecticut.

ALBERT L. NEWMAN, born in 1846, left the Brattleboro High School at fifteen to become clerk in the Vermont National Bank under Philip Wells, cashier. At seventeen he was clerking in Athol. He went to Chicago, but was called back to Athol to become cashier of the Millers River Bank. In 1881 he was vice-president of the Commonwealth Bank, Boston, and became president, which position he held until 1892, when, on account of ill health, he spent several months in European travel. In January, 1893, he became partner in the firm of Rogers, Newman & Tolman, brokers. June 11, 1868, he married Ella M., daughter of Alpheus Harding, who was president of the Millers River Bank. Colonel Newman was on the staff of Governor Ames three years. He died May 2, 1894, aged forty-seven. He left a son, Albert H., born December 6, 1872, who studied at Athol and Prince School, Boston, and the English High School, and was a graduate of Harvard College, 1895. He entered the office of Kidder, Peabody & Company; in 1897 he became partner of the firm Blodgett, Merrill & Company. He married Miss Jeanie Smith; died in 1915, leaving two sons and a daughter.

Ida, born October 15, 1848; married June 3, 1873, Doctor H. A. Deane of Easthampton. Children: Mary L., married Lester G., son of Olin L. French, and has a son, Freeman Lee. Mary L. Deane graduated

from Smith College in 1900; was assistant teacher of High School in Brattleboro 1906-1907.

Ira, died in March, 1864.

Mrs. William C. Bryant of Greenfield. Her daughter, Hattie L., graduated from Smith College in 1900 and was assistant teacher in the Brattleboro High School during the years 1906, 1907 and 1909. For two years and a half she was teacher of Latin at Brunot Hall, a private school in Spokane, Washington. She married Samuel H. Rice of Waltham.

### Ferdinand Tyler

Ferdinand Tyler was born in Townshend December 20, 1808. He united with the Congregational Church when very young and was its faithful supporter to the end of his life. In 1831 he came to Brattleboro as clerk for Nathan B. Williston, and was taken into partnership by the latter in 1868. In 1864 Mr. Tyler purchased the machine shops of Newman & Son and continued the manufacture of paper-mill machinery, in which he was engaged at the time of his death.

To Mr. Tyler more than to any other man, perhaps, we are indebted for the organ shops. He was the efficient one who solicited and secured subscriptions after the fire for the joint stock company that started the business. He was one of the original stockholders and directors of what was then known as the First National Bank, and was active in advancing its interests. He built the Tyler brick block in 1872.

Mr. Tyler was extensively known in New England, and elsewhere, as an active business man, and in Brattleboro especially was highly esteemed not only as a business man of integrity, but for his public spirit, intelligence and kindliness of nature.

August 13, 1837, Mr. Tyler married Miss Sophronia Miller, born June 3, 1811, who died December 11, 1862. He died June 19, 1876.

Their only son:

Major John C. Tyler, born February 18, 1839; graduated from Yale College in 1861 and received the Bishop Prize for debate, was admitted to the bar in 1864; died January 11, 1880. His wife, who was Lavinia S. Hunt, daughter of Arad Hunt, was born July 5, 1839; died December 30, 1891.

### The Stanley Rule Company

In 1833 S. Morton Clark (son of Doctor Ezra Clark) & Company started a manufactory on the site of the old railroad depot. Business increased rapidly and in 1835 they removed to a factory built for their use on Birge Street, where the old woolen mill stood, and where they employed from twenty-one to thirty hands in the manufacture of box-

wood and ivory rules. In 1837 the "hard times" put a stop to their operations, and in 1838 all their machinery, stock, etc., were purchased by Edward A. Stearns, previously in their employ.

Edward A. Stearns was born in Warwick, Massachusetts, in 1806 and came to Brattleboro in 1831, married Miss Elizabeth C. Salisbury September 15, 1834; he died July 29, 1856. He had a son, Edward A., who was born in 1839 and died in 1890. A brother, John Stearns, was for a while associated in the business, but was succeeded at different times by F. E. Edwards, D. Charles Stratton, Horatio S. Noyes, Madison Ranney, Azor Marshall and Theodore Cole. Deacon Augustus A. Stearns was in the employ of the company twenty-two years, Lewis S. Higgins eighteen years. In 1842 the shop was destroyed by fire with all the machinery. Stearns immediately recommenced business in the building formerly occupied by the Typographic Company. In 1853 they manufactured eighty different patterns of rules and measures, at prices varying from twenty-five cents to ten dollars. All the machinery was invented or improved by the proprietor or those in his employ. Their rules took the lead, as in accuracy and beauty of finish they surpassed all others in the American market. The value of the yearly products was from $15,000 to $18,000.

Charles L. Mead bought an interest in the business in 1857.

The Stanley Rule and Level Company, desirous of securing the special machinery, bought the plant of Stearns & Company and moved it to New Britain, Connecticut, in 1870, with about twenty mechanics. After the war Mr. Mead was made a director and treasurer, which positions he held until his death.

The rules had become so well known when Mr. Stearns died that they still continued to bear his name, and found a ready sale, not only in this country, but in Cuba, South America and Australia. The variety made embraced about one hundred styles and sizes, and when ready for market they were forwarded to New Britain, where the Stanley Rule and Level Company were more largely engaged in the business of manufacturing rules and a large variety of other tools and implements. The company had a warehouse at 57 Beekman Street, New York, from which place they were sent to all parts of the country. The boxwood and ivory consumed in manufacturing the rules were imported, the former from Turkey, and the latter from India and Africa. The boxwood cost about $100 per ton, and the ivory from $3.50 to $4.50 per pound—its cost had varied from $1.50 to $7 per pound. The tusks weighed from fifty to one hundred pounds and frequently iron balls were found in them. The shop was twice burnt, once at Thomasville and subsequently, September 4, 1858, when it was owned by Mr. Mead.

### The Manufacture of Carriages

Captain Adolphus Stebbins, son of Levi, born in West Brattleboro November 11, 1779, made the first wagon ever built in this town; he carried on the business of wagon making at West Brattleboro until 1832, when he came to the East Village, where John H. Stebbins followed in the business of his father.

The business of manufacturing carriages and sleighs on a somewhat larger scale than is usual for domestic purposes only, was begun by Asa Miller in the summer of 1835, when he employed six hands. He soon set about manufacturing articles of a high grade, and made sales in almost every state of the Union and Canada. His manufactures were wholly confined to two- and four-horse open mail wagons, open and top buggies and single and double sleighs. His annual production in 1853 was from $25,000 to $30,000. He was established many years on Elliot Street with his son, Sidney A. Miller. Howard A. Pratt was a member of this firm up to the time of the war, when it was reorganized under the name of N. B. Williston & Company, Mr. Pratt being a member of that firm until 1874.

Asa Miller was born in Dummerston in 1797, where he married Miss Sally Bemis. He died April 9, 1883, aged eighty-five years ten months. Children:

Sidney A. Miller, born in Dummerston July 26, 1826; married December 13, 1847, Emily, daughter of Ashbel Dickinson; married, second, Mrs. Ida Balch Wheeler, who died in March, 1911. He died in Omaha June 13, 1918. Of four children, Henry C. survives and is cashier of Stock Yards National Bank, South Omaha, Nebraska. He married October 28, 1894, Miss Augusta M. Bauman, who died in 1895.

Catherine W., married, first, August 24, 1844, Orrin W. Slate, who came to Brattleboro in 1861 and with Warren E. Wilkins kept a dry goods store until 1869, when he removed to New Britain, Connecticut; married, second, Reverend Alfred Stevens of Westmoreland.

Children of Orrin and Catherine W. Slate:

Genevieve, born November 8, 1851.

Emily M., married October 6, 1875, Henry H. Thompson. Their son, Alfred H., born March 27, 1876; married October 7, 1901, Miss Florence Howe. Children: Charlotte, Helen.

## CHAPTER XL

## METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Methodist Episcopal Church—First house of worship, 1835-1837—New house, 1880—Fields of service of former members.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was instituted through the efforts of a layman. In the year 1833 one Cyrus Davis came to Brattleboro to superintend the printing department of the publishing house of Messrs. Holbrook & Company. An ardent Methodist and class leader of that denomination, he lost no time in organizing a society. Early records refer to preaching services in the year 1834, held in a small district schoolhouse on Canal Street.

The first house of worship was erected in 1835-1837 on Canal Street near the schoolhouse. The Reverend William Brewster was the pastor in 1837, and by his "excellent character, eloquence and energy" greatly strengthened the new society. His successor, Reverend Mr. Harding, was likewise a pastor of sterling qualities. But despite good leadership and much zeal on the part of the members, there was that unfortunate lack of this world's goods that made the clearing off of the mortgage on the new property a doubtful and discouraging undertaking. Under the roof of this building, about the year 1840, there came into being the Baptist society. Thus, weak financially, and with much of its vital force transferred to the newly formed Baptist society, it seems to have suffered a temporary eclipse. In the year 1842 we find the Adventists, then known as Millerites, in possession of the property. Later still it passed into the hands of the Universalists, by whom it was used as a place of worship till 1850-1851, when the present church home of that denomination was erected. The vacant church was sold to Mr. W. Alexander, by whom it was converted into a dwelling house.[1] Methodism ultimately rallied and reëstablished itself in new and better quarters on School Street.

The new structure was of brick and was situated directly opposite the old Estey homestead. It was later disposed of, and in the form of a three-story apartment house, still does good service. Services were held thereafter in the Town Hall until the year 1880, when the present handsome brick house of worship on Elliot Street was built free of debt, and

[1] It still stands at this date (1920), being known as the Alexander place.

dedicated by Bishop Andrews. Excepting its first early trials, the society has known a steady and gratifying progress, and has become a strong spiritual force in the community. Brattleboro Methodism finds vast encouragement and its best justification for continued existence in the fact that it has expressed itself worthily not only in the Christian activities of the town, but has given of its vigorous young life to the same form of service in the larger world without. Among those who received in this church the initial inspiration that impelled them to seek wider fields of service are the following: William Fuller, active in Young Men's Christian Association work in his home town and in Bennington, Vermont, Woodsville, New Hampshire, and other places; D. Nat Bartlett, Young Men's Christian Association worker engaged throughout New England; Reverend L. H. Sprague of Jamaica, Vermont; Miss Ruth Sawyer, who married Reverend Hart Fuller of Ellenville, New York; Miss Elizabeth Bagg, teacher in New Jersey schools, prominent in the missionary activities of the church district in which she lives; Reverend H. Chester Hoyt, late chaplain A. E. F., now pastor at Southbridge, Massachusetts; Mrs. H. Chester Hoyt (Irene Plimpton), graduate, together with her husband, of Boston University; Reverend A. W. Atwood, who served the Vermont Conference; Reverend William Moore, pastor at Merrillville, Indiana, student at Northwestern University; Miss Mabel Baker, who became the wife and coworker of William Moore; Reverend Mason W. Sharp, pastor at Milford, New Hampshire, and student at Boston School of Theology.

## CHAPTER XLI

## THE VERMONT PHŒNIX

Vermont Phœnix (The Statesman, The Republican)—William E. Ryther—Obadiah H. Platt—Doctor Charles Cummings—Charles S. Prouty—Reverend Addison Brown—D. B. Stedman—O. L. French—Walter E. Hubbard. The Brattleboro Publishing Company incorporated. Windham County Reformer changed to Brattleboro Daily Reformer in 1913, Howard C. Rice and Ephraim H. Crane, editors and owners. Samuel Knight, correspondent of Vermont Phœnix.

*The Vermont Phœnix* was first published September 12, 1834, by George W. Nichols and William E. Ryther, Mr. Nichols being the publisher of *The Brattleborough Messenger,* a Whig paper in politics, and Mr. Ryther publisher of *The Independent Inquirer,* a paper of liberal religious views, owned by an association of gentlemen. It was first published for the proprietors for a short time by Hiram Tupper. *The Inquirer* having been published one year, the association sold it to Elihu H. Thomas. The proprietors of the two papers then agreed to let both *die,* and from their ashes resurrect another paper to be called *The Vermont Phœnix. The Phœnix* was published by Nichols and Ryther until September 30, 1836, when they transferred their interest to Gardner C. Hall and John C. Holbrook, the politics of the paper not being satisfactory to some of its patrons. The paper was then put in charge of Calvin Walton, from Boston, whom the proprietors engaged for the purpose, Mr. Ryther being retained in the office, and the paper advocating the election of William Henry Harrison for president. Five weeks afterwards, having purchased the paper of the proprietors, Mr. Ryther assumed its publication, and continued the same until July 8, 1847, when a partnership was formed with Obadiah H. Platt (afterwards of St. Louis, Missouri) which lasted until April 18, 1861, when Mr. Platt, having purchased Mr. Ryther's interest, became sole proprietor. Mr. Ryther published in 1840 *The Flail,* Joseph Steen, editor, which had a circulation of five thousand copies a week.

*The Phœnix* was enlarged in 1845, eleven years after its first publication. Mr. Ryther's office was for a time in the old "long" building, later the site of Hooker Block, but it was afterwards removed to Wheeler's Block. During his residence in Brattleboro he owned and occupied the

house where William S. Newton lived on Cemetery Hill; he also acquired the ownership of the Main Street property, well known at one time as "Ryther's Arcade," where in 1884 he erected a brick building.

June 5, 1851, Mr. Platt, having purchased *The Bellows Falls Gazette,* united the same with *The Phœnix,* announcing that the paper would be published simultaneously at Brattleboro, Bellows Falls and Ludlow. How long this arrangement lasted is not known. *The Phœnix* was again enlarged January, 1852. About this time the name of the paper was changed to *The Statesman.* January 1, 1855, it was merged with *The Eagle,* published by B. D. Harris, and the combined paper was called *The Republican.* George W. Nichols, publisher of *The Windham County Democrat,* having given up his paper and gone west, the type and fixtures were purchased by Doctor Charles Cummings (who had some connection with *The Eagle*) and February 3, 1855, he revived *The Vermont Phœnix,* with which *The Republican* was merged in 1857. Doctor Cummings remained editor and proprietor of *The Phœnix* until he went to the war, in 1862, as lieutenant-colonel of the 16th Regiment Vermont Volunteers. At this time the publishing of the paper was in charge of Charles S. Prouty, and the editorial charge was assumed by Reverend Addison Brown. Cummings was killed before Richmond, September 30, 1864, while in command of the 17th Vermont Regiment, which he had recruited on the expiration of the time of the 16th Regiment.

Messrs. Brown and Prouty purchased *The Phœnix* of Cummings's estate in December, 1864. January 1, 1868, Daniel B. Stedman bought a third interest in the paper, which was then enlarged to its present size. Mr. Brown died May 11, 1872, and September 1, 1873, Mr. Prouty sold his interest to Olin L. French, who had formerly been editor of *The Keene* (New Hampshire) *Sentinel.* The firm became French & Stedman. In January, 1888, when ill health compelled Mr. Stedman to retire, Mr. French became sole owner and publisher.

Mr. French was a writer of ability, a printer of practical experience and a good business man. Under his management *The Phœnix* developed until it became not only one of the most influential in its own state, but was recognized throughout New England as a model among country weeklies.

With a steadily increasing prestige and patronage it grew from a four-page "blanket sheet" to one of from ten to twelve pages, covering the local and suburban fields with unusual thoroughness. In its typography and letterpress it was in a class by itself as a fine specimen of the Art preservative of all arts.

Mr. French knew how to write in clear and concise English, and having a discerning mind, his editorials on important subjects were virile and

convincing. His selections of miscellaneous reading matter were made with intelligence and taste. No fictitious elements were allowed in the news columns, which could be depended on for accuracy. *The Phœnix,* by his guidance, reflected the true status of the time and place.

But further than this, throughout his long connection of over thirty-six years with *The Phœnix,*—twenty-two as editor,—Mr. French never lost sight of the purpose to which he believed a newspaper should be devoted, which was the promotion of a sane public mind. His own appreciation of values in human diversity and a catholic spirit towards the manifold modes of human expression, contributed largely to the realization of this ideal.

In the columns of his paper may be found many an editorial encounter with critics or opponents in terms of wit, without malice; but when moral or political issues involved his positive convictions there was open war, fearless and without compromise.

*The Vermont Phœnix* as Mr. French made it was an effective agency for the advancement of the best and lasting interests of Brattleboro.

From April 27 until September 27, 1898, *The Phœnix* published a daily edition known as *The Brattleboro Evening Phœnix,* undertaking this venture to meet the public news interest on account of the outbreak of the Spanish-American War.

In March, 1910, O. L. French retired from active newspaper work, selling *The Vermont Phœnix* to Walter E. Hubbard, who had been connected with the paper since 1885, for fifteen years as head of its news and editorial departments. Mr. Hubbard's proprietorship continued until February, 1913, when a corporation known as the Brattleboro Publishing Company acquired *The Phœnix* and the other local weekly, *The Windham County Reformer,* which had been owned since November, 1905, by The Vermont Printing Company. Mr. Hubbard became president of the new company, Howard C. Rice vice-president and Ephraim H. Crane treasurer. In March of that year (1913) *The Reformer* appeared as an afternoon daily under the name of *The Brattleboro Daily Reformer,* the venture meeting with a public reception which made it successful from the start. Mr. Hubbard sold his holdings in the Brattleboro Publishing Company to Messrs. Rice and Crane in September, 1918, and something over a year later acquired ownership of *The Evening Times* of Beverly, Massachusetts, of which he is now the publisher.

### Olin Lester French

Olin Lester French was born in Glover, Vermont, December 26, 1843, a son of George and Sylvia (Gray) French, and grandson of Silas French and Joseph Gray, pioneer settlers of the town.

Olin French was a student at the Orleans Liberal Institute in Glover,—at the age of seventeen entered the High School of Keene, New Hampshire,—but at the close of the school year began a three years' apprenticeship with *The New Hampshire Sentinel* in Keene, to learn the printer's craft. At the end of this period, he became part owner of the paper and he remained as part or sole owner and publisher until September 1, 1872.

November 14, 1867, he married Emma H., daughter of A. H. Freeman, of Keene. She died in Brattleboro May 30, 1874. He died May 13, 1921.

Small of stature, retiring to the point of diffidence, giving himself in intimacy to but few, his personal life nourished by a discriminating love of beauty in literature, music, art and nature, Mr. French had in seeming contrast to these characteristics—and perhaps because of them,—an unswerving public conscience. Strong principles, integrity in sustaining them, without question of policy or expediency, were distinctive of his course of action as a man and as a journalist.

A faithful member of the Unitarian Church, his religious beliefs were held unobtrusively, as were the deep things of his private life.

A son, Lester Gray French, was born in Keene, New Hampshire, April 26, 1869. He married, first, Miss Addie M. Farrar. A daughter, Sylvia. He married, second, Miss Mary L. Deane. A son, Freeman Lee.

Lester G. French graduated from the Brattleboro High School in the class of 1887 and from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1891. After being for a time with the International Correspondence Schools at Scranton, Pennsylvania, as instructor in mathematics, he went to the Builders' Foundry, in Providence, Rhode Island, for experience in the practical side of his profession; and from Providence to New York as editor of *Machinery*. Afterwards he became editor of publications of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in New York. He was the author of the earliest treatise on the steam turbine.

He died April 18, 1921.

William Eaton Ryther was born in Bernardston, Massachusetts, April 5, 1806, a son of Doctor Gideon and Sylvia Alexander Ryther. He learned the printer's trade in Springfield and Greenfield.

Mr. Ryther's first wife was Miss Delia P. Jewett of Halifax, born in 1810 and died November 5, 1855. They had six children. June 7, 1859, he married, second, Martha Clark of Dummerston, a sister of Thomas and Eli Clark. She was born in 1819 and died in December, 1904.

Mr. Ryther was a man of real kindness of heart, but he possessed a native shrewdness and a sharp wit which held their own in any encounter. A staunch Whig under the old party lines, he was equally staunch and

uncompromising as a Republican after the formation of that party. His integrity was unquestioned. He died in Bernardston August 1, 1893.

Mr. Ryther left by will, after the death of relatives, $10,000 to missionary organizations, $1000 to the Home for the Aged and Disabled in Brattleboro and an income of $500 to the church in Bernardston.

Children by first marriage:

D. Jewett, born in 1841; of the 4th Regiment Vermont Volunteers; died of disease contracted in service, September 24, 1865.

Dwight L., born in 1845; died December 3, 1874.

George H., born in 1852; a graduate of Harvard College; a member of the City Council of Cambridge; died at Pueblo, Colorado, April 23, 1899.

## Samuel Knight

Samuel Knight was born in Dummerston August 21, 1793, the son of Samuel and Susanna Knight. In his early life he was for a considerable period clerk and bookkeeper in a Putney store; for a time he was a resident of Newfane, where, in 1842, when quite an old bachelor he married Miss Eliza Merrifield; they had one son, Henry Samuel, who died in 1871. His first wife having died, he married, second, the widow of John Robinson, a well-known hotel proprietor of Bellows Falls.

How early he began to write for the newspapers is not known, but in 1833 he was a contributor to the columns of *The Independent Inquirer* and the Brattleboro newspapers. While in Newfane he furnished articles for *The Green Mountain Democrat,* published in that town; when *The Vermont Phœnix* started in 1834 he contributed and served more or less as editorial assistant. He removed to Brattleboro in 1843 and purchased the house on Elliot Street where he died September 28, 1877.

He was a member of the old board of road commissioners appointed by the Legislature under a law of the country passed in 1827; clerk of the board until the repeal of the law in 1831; was delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1843, and from that time a resident in Brattleboro. He was entrusted very extensively with town affairs: he served as first selectman ten years, many years as lister and was long a justice of the peace. He had skill as a practical surveyor and was an excellent bookkeeper; his services as accountant were often called into requisition by merchants and other business men; he was also much employed as assistant at the post office.

As a writer noted for wit and sarcasm, many old citizens recall telling hits administered by him to opponents through his newspaper, but they were never tinged with malice. He was always kind, obliging and good-natured.

## CHAPTER XLII

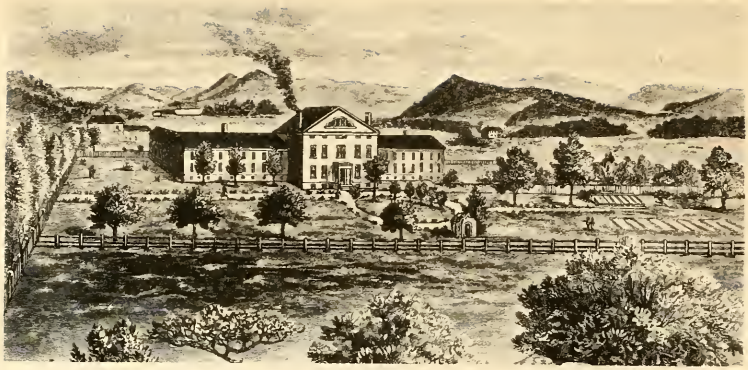
## THE BRATTLEBORO RETREAT

Brattleboro Retreat, formerly Vermont Asylum for the Insane—Bequest of Mrs. Anna Marsh—Location—Buildings—Trustees—William H. Rockwell, M.D.—Madame Rockwell—Edward R. Chapin, M.D.—Doctor Joseph Draper—Doctor Shailer E. Lawton. Statistics of Asylum Estate. Notable Assistant Physicians.

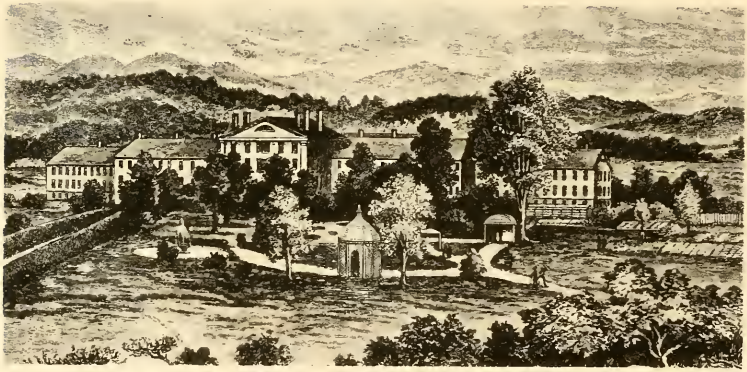
The Vermont Asylum for the Insane was founded upon a bequest of $10,000 from Mrs. Anna Marsh of Hinsdale, New Hampshire. She was a daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Hunt and married Doctor Perley Marsh of Hinsdale, who died September 18, 1807, aged forty-one; she died October 14, 1834, aged sixty-five. In accordance with the provisions of her will, the Vermont Asylum for the Insane was incorporated by the Legislature November 3, 1834. The trustees named in the will of the founder, and also in the act of incorporation, were Samuel Clark, John Holbrook, Epaphro Seymour and John C. Holbrook, all of Brattleboro. They held their first meeting at Colonel Chase's stage tavern, pursuant to notice, signed by Samuel Clark and published in *The Vermont Phœnix* of September 11, 1835, and organized by choosing Samuel Clark chairman, Epaphro Seymour treasurer, John C. Holbrook secretary. On the third of October following, at an adjourned meeting, the legacy of Mrs. Marsh was paid into the hands of the trustees by Asa Keyes, one of the executors of the will of Mrs. Marsh. . The first report of the trustees to the Legislature was then made under the requirements of the charter. This report (which was never printed) was in substance as follows: That they had received the sum of $10,000, bequeathed by Mrs. Marsh for the foundation of an institution for the relief of the insane, and that they had fixed the location of the same at Brattleboro, the terms of the will restricting them to some place in Windham County, near the Connecticut River. They further took this early opportunity to state (what they said "must be obvious to every one"), that the sum of $10,000 was far from adequate to the establishment of such an institution as should be at all commensurate with the wants of the state. In their opinion $30,000 was requisite, and they submitted to the consideration of the Legislature the question of supplying such additional sum as might be necessary.

DOCTOR WILLIAM H. ROCKWELL

ASYLUM MEADOW



1836



1844

THE VERMONT ASYLUM 1854

This appeal was supported by an interesting statement of the results of their inquiries and investigations as to the needs of the state, in respect to provision of this kind, supplemented by a showing of what had been done in this direction by Massachusetts and other states. The Legislature responded by the passage of an act, November 9, 1835, appropriating $2000 annually for five years, "To enable the trustees the more effectually to promote the benevolent designs of the institution; provided, that said trustees should take no benefit from the provisions of the act, until they had so far erected the building and organized said asylum so as to receive patients therein; and, provided, also, that any future legislature might alter, amend or repeal this act."

The original purchase of Nathan Woodcock embraced about two acres only on the westerly side of the road; but here was situated a mansion house, "Woodlands," a two-story wooden building, Joseph Fessenden owner, which was subsequently known and designated as the "White House," until finally giving place, in 1857, to the brick building now known as the "Marsh Building." On the opposite side of the road, on the same plateau,—now the site of the main buildings,—were four acres more, then used as a garden. Forty-five acres of meadowland contiguous to the garden on the north were secured from Ebenezer Wells and, after the purchase of the narrow intervening strip of Houghton Pike, were bounded by the county road upon the westerly side.

A letter bearing date, Boston, May 27, to Mr. John C. Holbrook, from Reverend Louis Dwight, at that time secretary of the Prison Discipline Society and an active philanthropist, attests his view of the fitness of the location thus secured, as follows:

I received your letter of the 25th inst. this morning, and reply without delay. I have no doubt you have decided wisely in regard to your location for the Asylum. I never supposed that the place which you describe could be purchased at any price. I understood, when I was in Brattleborough, that it was owned by a man of fortune who had retired from the busy scenes of life to enjoy that beautiful retreat, and as I saw it was fitted up in a style of taste and beauty which is not surpassed, in my judgment, by any country seat in the environs of Boston, New York, or Philadelphia, and had such a profusion of flowers, shrubs, and fruits, why! of course—as I supposed, no man of fortune would sell such a place. I should always have preferred that house, and that location, to the farm-house location but I consider it more of the perfection of beauty of nature and art to unite that house and grounds with as much of the meadow as was wanted, than could be aspired to by any man. It appears now from your last letter, that you have secured this house and grounds

for the insane, and can have as much of the meadow and woodland as you want, together with a spring of water, at fair prices, and that you have already purchased forty-five acres of meadow land. I can only say that so far as my observation extends there is not a more beautiful spot of earth than that which you have secured in Vermont for the insane. The location of the publick institutions at Charlestown (McLean Asylum), Worcester, Hartford, Bloomingdale, bear no comparison with it in my mind's eye.

Doctor D. Hack Tuke, the celebrated English alienist, who visited the United States in 1844, said: "It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the beauty of the grounds and surrounding hills of the Vermont Asylum."

The work of remodeling the dwelling was then commenced, and at a meeting of the trustees, held June 28, 1836, Doctor William H. Rockwell of Hartford, Connecticut, for several years previously assistant at the Connecticut Retreat, was chosen to the superintendency, to enter upon his duties as soon as the premises were ready for patients, which was December 12, 1836. His salary was to be $1000 (of which he surrendered voluntarily $400 the first year), and he was to live in the building free of rent, "to furnish his own parlor and chamber—himself and wife to discharge the duties of steward and matron." Three dollars a week was the price of accommodation in the wings. Indigent persons, if curable, were received for six months at two dollars a week.

The second report of the trustees (unpublished) was presented to the Legislature in October, 1836. In this the progress made was detailed. Besides the remodeling of the dwelling house, an extension of a wing containing eight rooms was made to it, the whole being designed for the accommodation of twenty patients, the necessary officers and employees; the cost of the whole, the purchase, refitting and furnishing, absorbing nearly the whole of the Marsh legacy. They expressed the belief that they had been extremely fortunate in the selection of Doctor Rockwell for the superintendency, and that in the expenditure of the bequest of the founder they had erected accommodations for patients to the utmost limit of the means at their command, and had so endeavored to order their arrangements that, in the event of further extensions, these first expenditures should not be to any considerable degree lost; and closed by submitting to the Legislature the question as to whether the advantages to be derived from such an institution should be extended through its enlightened liberality to all the citizens of the state who required them, or be confined to the comparatively few whom it would be practical to accommodate on the original limited plan, calling attention to the impossibility of relying at once upon the appropriation of $10,000 made the

previous year, by reason of the provisos which rendered the annual payments liable at any time to be repealed.

In response to this report, the Legislature granted an additional appropriation of $2000. Three subsequent appropriations for extending accommodations were made by the Legislature during the seven years following, two of $4000 each, and one of $3000, aggregating a total of $23,000. These last grants were made with certain provisos in the interest of the state, securing to citizens of Vermont a preference in the matter of admission over those of other states, and stipulating that, in case the institution should cease to exist, the real estate should be held as security for the total amount granted. From 1845, instead of a proprietary establishment, it became a public institution receiving the insane poor of the state. With the exception of the state aid referred to, it has been self-sustaining and self-creating, through the sagacious foresight and sound practical management of its board of trustees and superintendent. Its success has been in no small degree due to the pursuance of a steady policy, which has been rendered practicable under its charter, which preserved it from those frequent changes of management that are incidental to political revolutions in institutions under ordinary state control.[1]

In 1846 land was purchased of Reverend Addison Brown for a cemetery and a tomb was built.

From the opening of the institution to patients religious services have been held every Sunday, in the chapel of the center building, which was built in 1838.

An *Asylum Journal,* the first newspaper published in an institution for the insane, was edited and printed by male patients from 1843 to 1847, when the recovery of those connected with it concluded the undertaking. "A Crazy Man's Ticket" for president and vice-president was one of the attractions of *The Journal.*

The asylum is a chartered institution, but not a stock corporation. It is simply a property in trust for a specific object and its management is wholly vested in its board of trustees. The following are the changes that have occurred, by resignation or death: In 1838, John Holbrook, deceased; Asa Keyes was elected his successor. In 1839, John C. Holbrook removed from the state; Nathan B. Williston was elected to succeed him. In 1847, Epaphroditus Seymour resigned; J. Dorr Bradley was elected in his place. In 1852, Samuel Clark resigned; Frederick Holbrook was his successor. In 1862, J. Dorr Bradley, deceased; Daniel Kellogg was

[1] In May, 1896, under the supervision of Doctor Giddings, commissioner of the State Asylum at Waterbury, one hundred and fourteen women and thirty-six men were transferred from the Brattleboro Retreat. Some had been here from ten to twenty years.

chosen to fill the vacancy. In 1874, Daniel Kellogg and Asa Keyes resigned; William H. Rockwell and James M. Tyler were elected in their stead. In 1875, Nathan B. Williston resigned; Richards Bradley was chosen in his place. In 1872, Doctor William H. Rockwell resigned, and was succeeded by his son.

Doctor William H. Rockwell, Junior, was succeeded by Doctor Joseph Draper February 16, 1873. On the death of Doctor Draper, Doctor Shailer E. Lawton was made superintendent April 20, 1892.

Doctor Lawton studied in New York City and in the medical department of the University of Vermont, where he graduated in 1881. During his preparatory studies he spent some time at the Hartford, Connecticut, Retreat, and it was through the recommendation of Doctor Stearns, the superintendent, that he came to Brattleboro, immediately following his graduation, to fill the position of assistant physician during the absence of Doctor Draper in England. The following year he was appointed first assistant physician.

Fitness of temperament, natural ability for the requirements of his profession and long experience in practice have been supplemented by a course of special study in neurology and psychological investigation in New York, and by travel and observations in Europe, which have put him in touch with the best thought and the best methods of specialists on both sides of the Atlantic. It was Doctor Lawton who changed the name Vermont Asylum to Brattleboro Retreat.

June 1, 1893, he married Lillian, daughter of Captain and Mrs. Upton of Roxbury, Massachusetts.

Children:

Shailer, born March 30, 1894; married June 17, 1915, Miss Mildred Stewart.

Lillian, born August 17, 1895; married October 11, 1919, Appleton T. Miles.

### William H. Rockwell, M.D.

William Haydon Rockwell was born in East Windsor, Connecticut, February 15, 1800. He was the only son, in a family of eight children, of Charles and Sarah Haydon Rockwell. His father was a farmer, as were several generations of only sons before him, a fact that rendered him especially desirous that his son should succeed him in the cultivation of an estate that had been long in the family. But though not inclined to adopt this for his permanent pursuit, the knowledge of farming here acquired was afterwards of great service in aiding the son to advance the interests of those whose welfare became the chief concern of his life.

A rather precocious fondness for the study of mathematics enabled

young Rockwell to early master the science of surveying. This proficiency gained him, at the age of seventeen, the position of leading surveyor in the neighboring towns, and by the time he had attained his majority he was appointed surveyor-in-chief of Hartford County. During the intervals that occurred between this and other engagements, he found time to aid his father when his work pressed more heavily, and also to prepare himself to pass the first three examinations and to enter the junior class of Yale College. From this institution he was graduated with distinction in 1824. He received soon after the appointment of principal of the Nichols Academy at Dudley, Massachusetts. After remaining there two years, he entered on the study of medicine in the office of Doctor Thomas Hubbard, a professor in the Yale College Medical School. While yet an undergraduate, he was appointed assistant physician in the Retreat for the Insane at Hartford, then under the charge of the noted alienist, Doctor Eli Todd, where he remained until his return to the Yale Medical School, from which he was graduated in 1831. Though earnestly invited to resume his position in the Retreat, and having now a strong predilection for the specialty to which he hoped sometime to return, he wisely judged it better to first gain more experience in the general practice of his profession, and, a favorable opportunity offering, he at once entered on the practice in Durham, Connecticut. He was there not quite two years when, in response to a most urgent request from his old friend and preceptor, Doctor Todd, then in failing health, he returned to the Retreat. Here he continued as assistant physician until called to Brattleboro, though acting superintendent during Doctor Todd's disabling illness and for some time after his death.

Doctor Rockwell was married June 25, 1835, to Mrs. Maria F. Chapin, a native of Salisbury, Connecticut, who died August 30, 1885, aged eighty-six.

He received from the board of trustees the appointment of superintendent of the Vermont Asylum for the Insane, June 28, 1836, but he did not assume charge until the following October, when his services were required to supervise the completion of the alterations and additions to the buildings that were being made to render it suitable for the reception of patients.

Under the management of Doctor Rockwell the asylum was extended, rebuilt, as to a large portion destroyed by fire December 21, 1862, and remodeled in some parts before and since that catastrophe. The institution has, besides, supported itself from the first on income derived from private patients. A new chapel was dedicated in March, 1884.

While at Hartford, Doctor Rockwell had longed for an opportunity of attempting an experiment, before untried, of largely engaging the male

patients of an asylum in farm labor; and it is known that the favorable location of the Vermont Asylum for such purposes greatly influenced him in his decision to accept the superintendency. But, as shown in some of his earlier reports, he met with much opposition from some of his brother specialists, who deemed the project impracticable and dangerous. The success of the experiment is substantiated and, indeed, now indisputably established by the fact that all state institutions for the insane, built in more recent years, have adopted his idea, and now possess extensive farms on which the inmates are more or less largely employed.[1] In 1839 the female patients made all the bedding of the establishment and much of the clothing and did the mending under the direction of the matron. Driving every day and gardening were added to their other activities. But while so much interested in securing the success of this undertaking, he neglected none of the other means commonly used for the occupation and diversion of the insane. Indeed, he had early and thoroughly tested almost everything in the form of diversion and the ordinary occupations and exercises, both within doors and without, for female as well as male patients, such as are now resorted to for their benefit. As long as he lived there was an intimate relation between the town and the Asylum. In the institution were many patients whose years of separation from home and friends deprived them of the natural opportunities of their social heritage, but who were well enough to add variety and interest to the life of the community, and in return reception days, fairs, balls, concerts and theatricals at the Asylum were largely attended by the people outside. Chess, billiards, cards, backgammon and, out of doors, battledore and shuttlecock also served as attractions. There were always a number of women actively engaged in painting, drawing and piano playing. The original, sometimes fantastic, and often beautiful articles made by the patients and kept in glass cases in the wards, were much in demand by visitors to Brattleboro, and sold at good prices.

Possessed of abilities of no common order and in harmonious union as they were with a most generous and sympathetic nature, Doctor Rockwell could undoubtedly have won distinction in almost any position in life. To refer to one faculty only, his memory was so retentive that until late in life he could translate the classic authors with almost the same facility as when fresh from college.

As a citizen of Brattleboro, Doctor Rockwell is most affectionately remembered for having always taken an active interest in everything that tended to advance the growth and prosperity of the town, as well as for

[1] George W. Pierce had served eight years as supervisor of the male department when he was appointed manager of the Retreat Farm, which position he held until his death in 1909.

being among the foremost in every benevolent work. During the earlier years of his residence here he occasionally read a lecture at the Village Lyceum, choosing for a topic something regarding mental or physical hygiene, or other subject in the treatment of which useful information could be imparted.

In person, Doctor Rockwell was much above the ordinary height, but of erect and well-proportioned figure. His head was large and of fine shape; features regular and countenance pleasing. On May 10, 1872, as he was starting from his door he was thrown from his wagon with such force as to cause a fracture of the neck of the thigh bone; this, together with internal difficulties consequent to the shock to his nervous system, confined him to his bed until his death November 30, 1873.

For thirty-seven years Mrs. Rockwell shared the anxieties and labors of her husband. Favored with uniformly robust health of body and mind, with marked amiability and humanity of feeling, and, withal, practical good sense and decision of character, she was well equipped for the varied and multiform requirements of her position. She was the devoted and untiring friend of the unfortunate inmates of the institution, ever ready to devise ways for promoting their comfort and health, occupation for their minds and hands, amusement for their entertainment or solace for their darker and more troubled days.

It was largely through her natural and cultivated taste that the extensive grounds and surroundings of the Asylum were so well preserved according to the original plan, and made still more attractive.

Children:

Mary K., married September 27, 1860, Thomas F. Thatcher of Philadelphia, a graduate of Columbia College. During the war he held a responsible position as paymaster of the army; after 1874 he was a member of the firm Richard Lacey & Company, New York, brokers in East India goods. He died June 30, 1879, aged forty-one. After his death Mrs. Thatcher entered the Sisterhood of St. John Baptist and died, after a lingering illness, September 17, 1914.

William H., Junior, born March 3, 1840; married June 16, 1864, Ellen E., daughter of Robert Mowe of Eastport, Maine. (See p. 935.)

Lieutenant Charles F., U. S. A., born November 26, 1841; died November 13, 1868, aged twenty-seven.

Miss Abbie Rockwell, sister of Doctor W. H. Rockwell, for seventeen years matron of the institution, died January 11, 1867, aged sixty-eight.

### Edward R. Chapin, M.D.

Doctor Edward R. Chapin was born January 1, 1821, at Salisbury, Connecticut, then called Chapinville, the son of Madam William H. Rock-

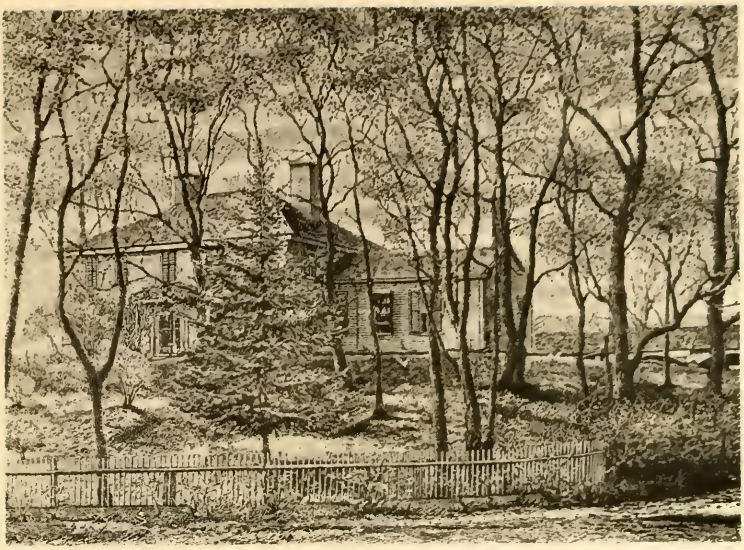
well by her first marriage. He was educated at the Leicester Academy and Yale College, and graduated at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York. Immediately after graduation he entered Bellevue Hospital, where he remained for two years on the staff of surgeons. He became assistant physician at the Vermont Asylum under his stepfather, William H. Rockwell. After a few years' service there he went to New York City, where he was successful in private practice, with an office on Pine Street. About the year 1850 he was appointed surgeon upon a steamer plying between Panama and San Francisco. When the first city hospital was established in San Francisco, Doctor Chapin was appointed surgeon-in-chief, holding the place about five years. Returning to the East, he resumed his old position at the Asylum in Brattleboro temporarily, and subsequently was appointed superintendent of the Insane Asylum at Flatbush, Long Island. During his incumbency, which covered a period of fifteen years, this institution made rapid growth, increasing to a capacity for the treatment of eight hundred patients and holding high rank among similar institutions in this country. At the end of fifteen years Doctor Chapin suffered a severe attack of pneumonia, which deprived him of the use of one lung. Finding change and rest necessary for the recovery of his health, he resigned his position and went to Europe, returning with his health much improved. November 12, 1873, he married Mrs. Sarah Goodhue Bull, the youngest daughter of Colonel Joseph and Madam Sarah Goodhue. Their married life of twelve years was peculiarly happy. Their winters were spent in southern climes in this country and Europe, and their summers were mainly divided between Brattleboro and Old Orchard, Maine. While in Paris, in 1886, Mrs. Chapin died. The sudden shock was one from which he never fully recovered and he died December 7, 1886.

Doctor Chapin was a man of fine, generous and cheerful nature, with a kindness of heart and warmth of personal sympathy and general culture and refinement which endeared him to his friends and won him the love and respect of all who knew him.

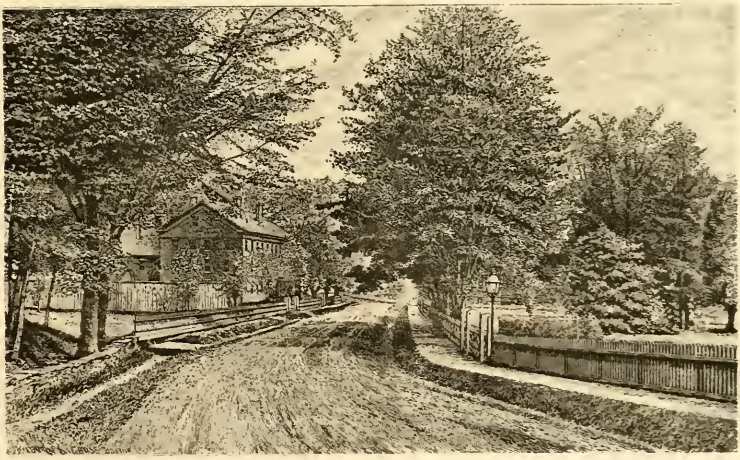
### Statistics of the Retreat Estate

The Retreat estate, as it now is, has been made up of many small additions of land acquired from time to time, covering a period of nearly fifty years; the statistics of these additions are interesting for their history of the locality and the names of the original owners.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1836 | Six acres of land and buildings of Nathan Woodcock, | $3500 |
| | Forty-five acres of land of Ebenezer Wells, | 2700 |
| | Land of Houghton Pike, | 800 |
| 1838 | Spring of Houghton Pike, | 150 |



RESIDENCE OF DOCTOR PERLEY MARSH



MARSH BUILDING

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

IN 1874

OLD HEDGE

RETREAT TOWER

GARDEN

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1845 | Spring of Eben Wells, | $ 200 |
| 1847 | Wood lot and pasture of John L. Dickerman, westerly of Holbrook meadow, making addition to farm, | 1000 |
| 1848 | Fifty acres from the west part of Stephen Barrett's farm, | 800 |
| | One acre of Charles Chapin, beyond the house of Houghton Pike, subsequently owned by Daniel Miller and sold by him, | 150 |
| 1849 | September 22. Tract of land on Chesterfield Mountain of Samuel Thomas, twenty-five acres, | 250 |
| | Sixteen acres of J. R. Blake between the main building and the Common. | |
| | One acre of meadow of Newman Allen. | |
| 1850 | One-half acre west side of Putney road of Nelson Crosby, | 100 |
| | Three acres of meadowland of Newman Allen, contiguous to that bought in previous years, | 482 |
| 1852 | Three hundred acres of mountain woodland opposite the village, in Chesterfield and Hinsdale, | 4800 |
| 1853 | One-half acre corner of Chase and Asylum Streets of W. E. Eason at | 300 |
| | Thirty-six acres from the Ebenezer Wells farm, | 3700 |
| 1854 | Bulk of Ebenezer Wells farm improved by F. Holbrook so as to greatly increase productiveness, | 5185 |
| | Meadow drained by F. Holbrook, run-out pasture lands tilled and restored by him. | |
| | Small piece of land of Nelson Crosby, including a slate ledge suitable for stone foundations, | 90 |
| | December 28. Woodland on side of the mountain, | 450 |
| | Fifty acres adjoining, from John L. Sargent, | 210 |
| 1857 | Wood lot of fifteen acres on West River road of P. B. Francis, disconnected from Asylum estate proper, | 300 |
| | Prouty lot of Nathaniel Samson and Charles S. Prouty, | 1010 |
| | The Asylum gave a site, corner of Chase and Asylum Streets, and moved there the schoolhouse from the Common, freeing the Common from all obstructions, purchasing land next to Chase Street School of the Misses Crosby, | 600 |
| | A low buckthorn and osage orange hedge had separated the Common from the Asylum grounds. | |
| 1858 | Thirty square rods of Shepard Rice, connecting Prouty lot and Asylum lands. | |
| | Newman Allen farm of about 175 acres, | 10,500 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1858 | Additional woodland on the mountain, of John Heywood and others, | $ 840 |
| 1859 | One-half acre, near Asylum, of Mary A. Knowlton, | 30 |
| | Additional land on the mountain, | 100 |
| 1860 | Eighteen acres of cultivated land, of Keith White, | 1700 |
| | Lot on Cedar Street. | |
| 1862 | November. Sixty-nine acres of mountain woodland of Farnsworth and Colburn, | 600 |
| 1863 | Ten acres of F. Holbrook upon meadow, | 1700 |
| | Seventy acres of woodland in Dummerston, | 1752 |
| 1864 | Forty-six acres of woodland in Vernon of Wells Goodhue, | 1800 |
| 1866 | One hundred square rods contiguous to cemetery, of Henry F. Smith, | 250 |
| 1867 | Supply of water from place of James H. Capen equal to that previously depended upon from the Ebenezer Wells farm. | |
| 1868 | North of the Marsh Building three buildings were purchased in 1868, namely, one occupied by Willard Edwards, one occupied by Francis T. Green and one occupied by Mary A. and William Knowlton, | 5400 |
| 1870 | Henry H. Rice's farm of seventy acres, | 3500 |
| 1871-72. | March, 1871. Pike homestead of David Miller, | 2600 |
| | Water from Calvin J. Weld and Isaac B. Taft. Estate of James A. Chase, contiguous to Wells Farm, twenty acres, | 3075 |
| 1877 | Small cottage near Cold Spring with one-half acre, bought of Rinaldo N. Hescock, | 775 |
| 1880 | House and lot with blacksmith's shop between the David Miller place and the Newman Allen farm, of George and Polly C. Person, | 1800 |
| | Road from Forest Square to Newfane road, north of the David Miller place, laid out; this road separated from the farm about thirty acres for a park. Ernest W. Bowditch, in October, laid out the park. | |
| 1881 | Purchase of Miles schoolhouse and land, for Women's Retreat, afterwards Linden Lodge, | 7600 |
| 1882 | Waite lot on Putney road, | 2400 |
| 1883 | Two and three-sixteenths acres bought of Joseph Prescott, contiguous to park, | 700 |

Work on Retreat Tower was begun in July, 1887, and the Tower was completed in 1893.

The old house on the Retreat farm stood perhaps a hundred feet south of the present dwelling. It was somewhat larger than the present farmhouse, two-storied, of the shape called "salt box," that is, sloping in the rear to one story. An ell was built to the south, the second story projecting, so as to give a veranda with three arches.

It is worthy of note that during the past eighty-five years the Brattleboro Retreat has had but four superintendents.

William H. Rockwell, M.D., elected superintendent June 28, 1836, served continuously until May 10, 1872, when he sustained a fracture of the thigh which terminated fatally November 30, 1873. He was succeeded by his son, William H. Rockwell, Junior, M.D., who accepted the superintendency with the understanding that he would fill the position ad interim. His resignation was tendered December 11 of the same year.

Joseph Draper, M.D., was elected superintendent December 11, 1872, and entered upon service February 16, 1873. Doctor Draper served until the date of his decease, March 17, 1892.

S. E. Lawton, M.D., who had served for eleven years as first assistant physician, was elected acting superintendent March 20, 1892; was appointed superintendent April 20, and is still in service.

Among those who have served as assistant physicians at the Brattleboro Retreat during its long and honorable career, the following have gone to wider fields of usefulness and activity and have achieved more than ordinary distinction. Their names appear in chronological order.

Chauncey Booth, M.D., connected with McLean Hospital for fifteen years, serving as superintendent during the two years prior to his death.

David P. Brown, M.D., physician in chief of the Bloomingdale Hospital, New York.

Oliver S. Lovejoy, M.D., superintendent of State Farm, Work House and Insane Hospital at Cranston, Rhode Island.

Edward R. Chapin, M.D., superintendent of Kings County Hospital for the Insane, Flatbush, New York.

John P. Clement, M.D., superintendent of the State Hospital at Madison, Wisconsin.

Edward B. Nims, M.D., superintendent of the Northampton Hospital for the Insane, Northampton, Massachusetts.

John M. Clarke, M.D., founder of Lake View Sanitarium at Burlington, Vermont.

Henry T. Whitney, M.D., physician in charge of the Medical Missionary Hospital at Foochow, China.

Frank W. Spaulding, M.D., superintendent of Clifton Springs Sanitarium, Clifton Springs, New York.

Edward French, M.D., superintendent of Medfield State Hospital, Harding, Massachusetts.

Lowell F. Wentworth, M.D., superintendent of Hospital for the Insane at Topeka, Kansas. Now assistant commissioner, Department of Mental Diseases, State House, Boston, Massachusetts.

Whitefield N. Thompson, M.D., superintendent of the Hartford Retreat, Hartford, Connecticut.

Thomas Howell, M.D., superintendent of New York Hospital, New York City.

Daniel H. Calder, M.D., superintendent of State Mental Hospital, Provo, Utah.

Charles D. Wilkins, M.D., superintendent of Ohio Valley General Hospital, Wheeling, West Virginia.

George B. Landers, M.D., superintendent of The Morristown Memorial Hospital, Morristown, New Jersey.

BRATTLEBORO IN 1836

RIVER FROM CEMETARY

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

## CHAPTER XLIII

## BUSINESS METHODS IN THE FORTIES

Business methods in the forties—Hall & Townsley. Stage lines—Asher Spencer—Daniel P. Kingsley—Bridge & Weeks. Birge & Dickinson—John R. Blake & Company—John H. Wheeler—G. & C. Lawrence—Calvin Townsley & Son—Ranger & Thompson—Williston & Tyler, merchants. Salisbury & Company—A. Barber—Goodhue, Chapin & Company—Hines, Newman & Company, manufacturers. Political campaign of 1840—Daniel Webster, orator, speech in Goodhue Grove—Mass meeting Stratton Mountain. Stage-drivers—Charles D. Gale—Asher Spencer—Daniel P. Kingsley—Charles Wood—Bridge & Weeks.

It is difficult to portray the labor required to propel the heavily laden flatboats through the narrow rapids to moorings near the present site of the railroad arch which spans Whetstone Brook at its mouth. Inside the covered bridge a rude windlass, to which was attached a ponderous rope or cable, turned by half a dozen stalwart men, dragged every incoming boat through the tortuous rapids, aided by pushers with rude poles along either side of the ungainly and awkward craft. The experiences of the "swift watermen" in these early boating times were second only to the scenes upon the Hudson and Mississippi in thrilling interest, and it is related of an old Chesterfield farmer that it took him all winter to recount to his neighbors his hazardous experience on a trip to Hartford.

The village had but 1500 inhabitants and the town not quite double that number. The principal merchants of that day were Hall & Townsley, "the great moguls" among them, occupying the whole of the Steen building. They ran several of the flatboats; David Goodell, Keith White and Henry Reed did the rest of the freighting with their big six-horse teams at their leisurely pace. For the passenger traffic the stages came and went in every direction.

### Charles D. Gale

Charles D. Gale was a stage-driver thirty-two years and never had an accident that injured anybody, although his coach was overturned several times. He began staging on the run from Brattleboro to Athol. He used to start at two in the morning and arrive at Athol at eight o'clock, then give up the ribbons to another driver, who drove another stretch, and so

on to Boston, a distance of about one hundred and thirty miles from Brattleboro, arriving in the city at nine o'clock at night, the coaches making on an average between six and seven miles an hour. He subsequently drove on the "Cheese" line, so-called, from Worcester to Northampton. Mr. Gale, during his staging, drove between Keene and Boston and between Nashua and Lowell. He was paid $15 per month and board.

Those were the days when the coming of the mail coach was announced by the loud blowing of the driver's horn and when each country postmaster took the mail bag and sorted over the contents, adding to them such as were to go out.

When the presidential campaign of 1840 was in full swing Mr. Gale was living in Winchester, New Hampshire, and on the seventeenth of June that year he was the driver of a huge wagon with six gray horses, which went all the way from Winchester to Concord, New Hampshire, decorated with evergreen boughs and with a log cabin on the turnout, while thirty men of Winchester and kegs of hard cider made the occasion one never to be forgotten. The distance was sixty miles. The principal orator of the day was "Long Jim Wilson" of Keene, the most noted lawyer of the Granite State at the time.

Mr. Gale married in 1850 Miss Harriet M. Moore of Brattleboro and to them two sons were born, Charles E. and John W. Gale, both of whom live in South Spencer.

The name of Asher Spencer, the old-time stage proprietor and postmaster, was once as familiar to the people of the valley as that of Chester W. Chapin, his lifelong friend and collaborator. Both were prominently identified with the stage line between Brattleboro and Hartford, which was an important link in the "Telegraph," so-called, a line running from Canada to New Haven, thence by boat to New York, the trip being made with relays of four and six fleet horses in about sixty hours, traveling night and day. Mr. Spencer was born in Westminster August 9, 1802; at the age of twenty he left the farm and went to Greenfield, where he began his stage-driving career with Isaac Newton. He ran from Greenfield to Athol seven or eight years and finally succeeded to the proprietorship which included the route to Brattleboro. He married February 10, 1837, Miss Elizabeth Johnson of Greenfield. In 1841 he removed here and formed a copartnership with Daniel Kingsley, under the firm name of Spencer & Kingsley.

Daniel P. Kingsley was a native of Greenfield, born June 14, 1808. He began staging on the Northampton and Worcester turnpike; about 1835 he went to Springfield and took an interest in the stage line between that place and Albany, with Simeon Leland. He came to Brattleboro

about 1845, after the Boston & Albany Railroad was built, and in company with Asher Spencer ran stage lines from here to Greenfield and Walpole, living in the house afterwards owned by Philip Wells and General Phelps. He married Mary, daughter of Stephen Dutton of Dummerston, born March 16, 1808; died July 18, 1851. He finally went to Springfield in the hotel business, and died October 23, 1886. A son, George D., born in Brattleboro in 1834, lived at the Mansion House in Greenfield from 1880 to his death in 1894.

Spencer & Kingsley at once established an extensive livery in the rear of the old Brattleboro House and proceeded to buy out Lovell Farr's stage route between Brattleboro and Walpole. They also secured the route on the east side of the Connecticut to Montague by the way of Hinsdale, Northfield and Grout's Corners. S. M. Waite was a night clerk of Spencer & Kingsley.

The stage driver was a man worthy of the responsibility laid upon him. He was not only responsible for the safety of his passengers, but the mail, money and other valuables were entrusted to his care. Brakes had not come into fashion, and the trips down Vermont's steep hills and mountains over rough roads would often be full of adventure when the horses were going at full speed. Ten passengers were the usual limit for a stage.

Some of the most expert reinsmen were employed, among them Charles Wood, whose superior horsemanship gave him wide fame, and favored him with the privilege of purchasing horses for Barnum, Forepaugh and other noted exhibitors, also bringing him profit in the care and supervision of famous studs. In this old-time coterie of drivers were the following named horsemen who stood *par excellence* in their profession: Harvey Gill, Amos Pond, Sidney Morse, B. F. Davis, A. U. Chase, Thomas Miner and Medad Squares.

It was customary in those days for the townspeople to flock to the old stage house to see the mail come in. The coaches were very showy for the times, and it is even related that the cracking of the whip on a clear day could be heard nearly a mile. Spencer & Kingsley's establishment was the most extensive north of Springfield, about two hundred horses being required. "Uncle Asher," as he was familiarly known, bought the Judge Whitney place on Main Street (residence of Mrs. George Dowley) and was the first to open Walnut Street to public use, the whole territory in that vicinity at that time being part of his estate and used for pasturage.

Bridge & Weeks owned the line from Brattleboro to Bennington, which connected with the Baker & Walker system for Troy and Albany. In 1840 a triweekly stage left Brattleboro at 8 a.m. Tuesday, Thursday and

Saturday, arriving in Bennington at 6 p.m. Leaving Bennington the next morning at 6 a.m., it arrived in Saratoga, via Cambridge, at 6 p.m. The distance to Bennington was forty miles and to Saratoga forty. The fare was $4.40. The old Bridge tavern, four miles east of Wilmington, was then a popular hostelry, where a good meal was to be had while changing horses. The old building, remodeled, is now a comfortable tenement house on Pearl Street, brought here by Deacon Estey.

Mr. Spencer was not only a good contractor, but he was also a valued citizen, whose rugged honesty and fidelity to his many friends, coupled with his quiet demeanor and natural aversion to anything like notoriety, were everywhere recognized.

After his staging days, Mr. Spencer, being a lifelong Democrat, was appointed postmaster June 3, 1858, in Buchanan's administration, with William S. Guild, clerk, his appointment being secured by Chester W. Chapin. He held the office about three years and was succeeded by George Kellogg. This was the only public office Mr. Spencer would accept. He was an associate of Landlord Paul Chase, Charles Chapin, W. H. Rockwell, Hugh Henry and Madison Sloat. He died September 4, 1873.

Birge & Dickinson, John R. Blake & Company and John H. Wheeler did a general merchandise business (see p. 494); also G. & C. Lawrence (see p. 554) and Calvin Townsley & Son (see p. 506). With the exception of Mr. Wheeler's, liquors were sold in these stores, at that period principally old Santa Cruz rum, new rum, Holland gin, and brandy. It was as much taken for granted that a customer could buy New England rum in any quantity, from a drink to a barrel, as that he could buy flour, or sugar, or cotton cloth. Each of the three hotels had a public bar, twelve or fifteen feet long, with a bartender who did nothing except serve drinks, and on special days he required the services of several assistants.

About 1842 Edwin M. Hollister began the manufacture of sewing silk, silk culture being an important industry until 1857.

Other merchants were A. E. Dwinell, dry goods; W. P. Cune, dry goods; Woodcock & Company; Dutton & Clark; Ranger & Thompson, jewelers; Williston & Tyler, hardware; William E. Ryther, printer.

The Ranger & Thompson firm dates back to 1817, when Isaac Thompson set up business in a one-story wooden building on the east side of Main Street, where he was succeeded by his son, Daniel B. Thompson, who died in 1876, aged seventy-six. Of him Bethuel Ranger came to learn the watchmaker's trade in 1836, a lad of fourteen, and bought an interest in the business October 1, 1843, the firm becoming Thompson &

Ranger. In 1842 the house was pulled down and Mr. Thompson set up his business in "Hall's long building," where Hooker Block now stands. In 1851 the store was returned to its former and present location.

Henry H. Thompson, son of Deacon Daniel B. and Sarah (Hammond) Thompson, and grandson of Isaac Thompson, who came in 1811 from Litchfield, Connecticut, was born March 21, 1848. He graduated from the High School in 1866, and immediately afterwards entered the employ of his father's firm, upon the death of his father becoming a partner. On the death of Mr. Ranger, Henry Thompson was sole proprietor. His son, Alfred H., carries on the Thompson business. Henry H., like his father, was deacon of the Centre Congregational Church, and was for many years treasurer of the ecclesiastical society and superintendent of the Sunday school. He died November 15, 1911. Of special interest is this business which has been carried on by four generations of the same family in the same location for more than one hundred years.

N. B. Williston established the hardware business in 1835. Eleven years later, April 1, 1846, Charles F. Thompson came from Salem, Connecticut, at fifteen years of age, to be the clerk and boy-of-all-work for the firm, which was Williston & Tyler, and was admitted a member of the firm in 1853. In the early times the store carried a great variety of goods which are now entirely foreign to this line of trade. One of these was logwood in its original form, rougher and harder to handle than cordwood. This was ground in the company's mill and converted into dyestuff and sold to various woolen mills, either for cash or exchange goods. A large part of the hardware sold when Mr. Thompson began here was imported by the firm itself. The firm of Williston & Tyler brought the first thousand carriage bolts into town to sell. Bolts which afterwards sold for one dollar a hundred then sold for four or five times that sum. The firm dealt in drugs and medicine as well as hardware and groceries, and Doctor Grau, a physician of wide repute, first introduced the practice of putting up prescriptions.

The manufacturers at this period were Salisbury & Company, iron founders; Jacob Estey, lead pipe and pumps; A. Barber, Goodhue, Chapin & Company, leather; Hines, Newman & Company, machinists, and the Brattleborough Typographic Company, paper. Palm-leaf hats were turned out by the thousands.

The lawyers were Asa Keyes, J. D. Bradley, L. G. Mead, Charles G. Walker (who removed to Detroit) and Samuel Elliot.

The town representative was Lafayette Clark. The postmaster was F. H. Fessenden and Russell Goodenough at the West Village. The town clerk was Stephen Greenleaf, who was succeeded in 1844, after more than half of a century of service, by Lafayette Clark. The selectmen

were Samuel Root, Paul Chase and S. F. Goodenough. Marshall Miller of Newfane was county clerk.

The physicians were John L. Dickerman, F. J. Higginson, W. H. Rockwell, John Wilson, Reuben Spaulding, Willard Arms, J. Paige and O. J. Martin.

The clergymen were Charles Walker, Congregational; Corban Kidder; Addison Brown, Unitarian; John English, J. C. Foster and William S. Ballou.

The following are represented in the list of advertisements in a village paper: N. B. Williston, dealer in drugs, medicines, paints, groceries, dyestuff and hardware goods; Blake & Company, who sold broadcloths, English and American piece goods and iron and steel; Hall & Townsley, who dealt in dry goods and stovepipe; Birge & Dickinson (Zelotes), whose store was opposite Chase's stage house and who sold almost everything; Birge, Brackett (Horace) & Company, watchmakers and jewelers; Joseph Steen, who conducted the Brattleborough Book Store and also paid cash for rags; D. B. Thompson, who, in a page advertisement, enumerated about everything from patent lever watches to shoe buckles and thread; Charles C. Frost, who was in the shoe business and did not pretend to "compete with the cheap work of the day, regardless of quality"; D. M. Burwell, who was a tailor and also carried a "full line of stocks, collars and bosoms and a good assortment of trimmings"; Nathan Miller, who made harness, saddles, caps and trunks; S. W. Spooner, who announced that the subscriber had taken the stand formerly occupied by A. G. Allen, where he would keep an assortment of cabinet furniture and chairs, "also beds, mattresses and feathers, good, bad and indifferent, with which he hopes to feather his own nest as well as those of his customers"; A. E. Dwinell, who sold dry and staple goods "at the very lowest prices for cash or most kinds of produce"; John S. Sargent, who was a machinist and was at his shop "at all reasonable hours"; Bemis & Willard, who advertised that they were blacksmiths and had opened business in their "new stone shop on Pleasant street"; A. & F. Van Doorn, who made high-grade cabinets and chairs; P. Simonds & Company, shoe dealers; Luther Weld, who made cast steel rifles, fowling pieces, rifle pistols, cane guns, etc.; Willard Frost, who conducted a boot and shoe store "six rods north of the creek bridge, Brattleboro"; Eleazer Farnsworth, maker of "waggons" and carriages, who informed his customers that he was at the "old stand"; Miller & Lincoln, who painted carriages in addition to their manufacturing business; Frederick Franks, tailor; Nichols & Ryther, publishers of *The Vermont Phœnix,* who advertised the job printing of the paper.

In that issue of *The Almanac* twenty-two local advertisers used space,

a fact which would indicate that the business men of that time knew the value of advertising.

### The Political Campaign of 1840

During the famous campaign of 1840 Brattleboro was a storm center. Here a young men's "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" club was organized, of which Frederick (afterwards Governor) Holbrook was the president. Frequent meetings were held, many glowing and patriotic speeches were made, not only by local speakers, but by several orators from outside the state. These meetings were generally held in Wheeler's Hall, but when the crowd was too great for this hall they were held in the church on the Common. General Wilson of Keene, a famous orator in those days, came occasionally to address local audiences, swelled by a large attendance from neighboring towns. The club had many good voices that sang political songs with telling effect. To Frederick Holbrook, one of the best singers in the Connecticut Valley, were assigned the solos, the crowd always joining in the chorus with a heartiness that would well-nigh lift the rafters of the old church.

The young men's club was the originator of the idea of holding an outdoor mass meeting on Stratton Mountain, and secured Daniel Webster as the orator of the day. Mr. Webster came by stage as far as Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, where he was met by a delegation in a barouche and conveyed to Brattleboro. A prancing cavalcade of horsemen from Brattleboro's wide-awake club met the celebrated speaker about four miles out on the Hinsdale road, where they opened ranks, Mr. Webster saluting the open column with bared head. His swarthy face and overhanging eyebrows made a strong impression. "I was never so impressed by a human being," said Governor Holbrook. "He seemed to us troopers more like a god let down from above than mortal man." On arriving in Brattleboro Mr. Webster was served with a trout supper at the American House after he had addressed a large crowd in the Goodhue grove in the afternoon, at which Colonel Townsley presided and with whom Mr. Webster probably spent the night at the old Hunt house, corner of Main and High Streets. Burnham says:

He was introduced by Judge Whitney to the throng that had collected in the grove to hear him, as follows:

"Ladies and Gentlemen: The Defender of the Constitution."

As died away the cheers of the multitude, the sound of cannon and strains of music, we felt, though all these demonstrations might be proper from our citizens in deference to this distinguished visitor, Judge Whitney, in the use of those last five words, had paid Mr. Webster the highest compliment of them all.

The following morning the party took a very early start for Stratton, taking along with them a crowd of more than one hundred people, together with a log cabin on wheels.

A large tent was pitched on the summit of the mountain, in which the dinner was served, Mr. Webster being the guest of the Brattleboro club with others from adjoining counties. It was a perfect day, July 6, warm but clear, and this was the largest convention held up to that time in Vermont. With a perfectly still atmosphere, Webster's sonorous voice could be heard plainly by the vast audience, which repeatedly cheered the speaker.

Town Clerk William S. Newton related how he, with scores of other young men from their farm homes, came to Brattleboro on the fifth of July, 1840, to see Daniel Webster. It was a great day, and Mr. Newton remembered how Lovell Farr, the old stage man, drove the carriage in which rode Mr. Webster and Mr. Townsley through the main street that all might be given an opportunity to show their enthusiasm. Doctor W. R. Ranney of Townshend presided at the Stratton meeting and Hiland Hall was one of the prominent men of the occasion. Judge Dorr Bradley loaned his saddle and bridle to one of Webster's escorts, and they were not returned. Judge Bradley subsequently advertised for the lost articles in this way: "As to the bridle, I am not pertinacious, but should be pleased to have the party concentrate their honesty on the saddle."

## CHAPTER XLIV

## BRATTLEBORO VIOLINS: WILLIAM A. CONANT

In a quaint, white-painted cottage on Canal Street, in front of which stand three or four shapely maples, lived William A. Conant, a descendant of Roger Conant, who came to America in the ship *Ann* in 1623. An unpretentious but interestingly jolly old gentleman, Mr. Conant won more than local celebrity as a practical violin manufacturer, and was believed to be the oldest living representative of his trade in the United States when engaged in the manufacture of these instruments. Although a respected resident of the town from 1829, when he moved from Massachusetts, his life work was so quiet and unostentatious as hardly to attract the attention of even his townspeople, comparatively few of whom understood the degree of proficiency to which he attained in the manufacture of violins and violoncellos.

A single room in his tidy home furnished him a workshop. In 1841 Mr. Conant began the manufacture of 'cellos for John Woodbury, whose music store was in Steen's bookstore on the present site of the Brooks House. Eighty-four of these instruments were made and sold to the trade in Boston and New York, which secured to the maker quite a reputation for excellence of workmanship. After a time he began to make violins, and, as his books show, three hundred and twenty-six of these instruments were sold to Woodbury and Burdett. Not till 1876 did he begin numbering his violins, so that he was not able to tell exactly how many of them had been put on the market; still it was his belief that he had made as many as seven hundred violins all told. The old manufacturer took commendable pride in referring to a celebrated violinist who was asked by a leading city music dealer to select the best-toned instrument from four, two of celebrated French and two of Conant's make. Placed in a dark room, the musician was not permitted to examine the finish of the instruments until he had given his decision, which was decidedly in favor of the Conant make.

Mr. Conant tuned his own violins, though he could not play a tune, and he was often importuned by local musicians and others to string and tune their violins. The wood for the manufacture of these instruments came from the Green Mountains. It was selected stock, very few trees being fit for use. The top or belly of the violin was of old-growth

spruce, it being selected for its softness and fine grain. Only one side of the tree was fit for the manufacture of violins. After a suitable tree was found, only the north side was selected, as the south side grows faster and the sun draws the gum to that side, so that the wood is coarser. It is not especially the grain of the wood, said Mr. Conant, that makes a violin good. Some are made of coarse grain and others fine, "but it is what I call the temper of the wood that gives the best tone to the instrument. I don't suppose I could find one log in all of the millions floating down the Connecticut fit for violins, as they are all second growth, cut near the river, where the first growth has long since been destroyed. In Europe the German pine, or deal, is used altogether for violins, but I don't use it." The sides, back and neck of the violin were made of curly maple. He never worked his wood until it was at least seven years old. A friend in Norwich, Connecticut, brought him some wood from the pulpit floor of an old church which was taken down, with the expectation that the age of this stock would impart tone to the instrument. From this two violins were made, but they proved no better than those made from wood obtained on the mountain. "Perhaps," said the manufacturer humorously, "had he made his selection from the singers' seat, the result would have been different." It is conceded that it is the vibrations of the wood that impart the tone to the violin, and while a good violin invariably improves with use, it makes a vast difference who handles a violin, as discords harm a good instrument. Also a violin if laid aside goes to sleep, and it often requires a master like Ole Bull to wake it up and "bring it to." It took something like six weeks for Mr. Conant to make a thorough violin. After they have been put together they are varnished, rubbed down and strung. The bow he did not make, that part of the instrument being a trade of itself; most of them were made in France.

William A. Conant was born November 30, 1804. November 30, 1827, he married in Lowell, Miss Harriet E. Salisbury, who was born April 9, 1805, and died August 3, 1890. Mr. Conant died in Brattleboro February 13, 1894.

Children:

William Henry, died in 1875.

Harriet M., married John W. Emmons, who died in 1904. He was employed more than fifty years in *The Vermont Phœnix* office, and later as compositor in the offices of the New York *Herald, Sun, World,* and the Harper publications. She died September 14, 1905, aged seventy-three.

Mary Ann, married June 25, 1852, Doctor A. L. Pettee; died March 5, 1895, aged sixty-one. Children:

Minnie.

Doctor Frederick G. Pettee, born in Wilmington September 10, 1853, studied dentistry with his father; practiced in Bridgeport and New York, and returned to Brattleboro in 1883; was in partnership with his father five years, then practiced alone until October, 1902, when he formed a partnership with his son, Doctor A. Louis Pettee, making the third consecutive generation of this family in the same profession in this town. He married January 1, 1875, Eugenia M., daughter of Benjamin F. Bingham. He died in May, 1915. Children: A. Louis, graduated from the dental department of Baltimore Medical College in 1900, married Miss Florence Thorn and has a son, Thornton; Ralph B., born December 1, 1883, married Miss Eva Sanders and has two daughters, Dorothy C., Evelyn B.; Frederick Clinton, died December 10, 1912.

Charles S., born March 31, 1836; married 1859, Miss Charlotte Davis, who died January, 1888; married, second, Mrs. Harrington of South Londonderry. He died January 3, 1920.

Frank, of Boston.

Herbert, died in 1881.

Ella M., born in 1847.

Emma, Mrs. Arey, of Boston and Los Angeles.

## CHAPTER XLV

## THE BAPTIST CHURCH

The Baptist Church—Origin—Development—Numbers in 1840—Pastors and their record—Deacons—Woman's Missionary and Aid Society—Sunday School—Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor—L. W. Hawley—J. Edward Hall's class.

Some of the earliest settlers were Baptists, and there was Baptist preaching at an early date. In 1771 an aged Baptist by the name of Whipple came to West River from Groton, Connecticut, and he occasionally held meetings in his own house, and sometimes preached in Guilford and Halifax. He was evidently a Yorker, for in 1783 there is a record of a tax sale of three and three-fourths acres from the northwest corner of his farm, because he would not pay the Vermont land tax laid in 1782. He died here in 1789, aged ninety-seven, and is buried in the Sargent burial place, over West River.

In April, 1772, Deacon Jonathan Pierce came from Norwich, Connecticut. His daughter, Esther, was probably the first person baptized in the town, the ordinance being administered by the Reverend Ebenezer Bailey of Westmoreland, New York. This first baptism was in the Connecticut River near the village. Subsequently Reverend Mr. Bailey baptized several others in the West River neighborhood, while he and Reverend Beriah Willis and Reverend Richard Williams of Guilford occasionally preached. There was also Baptist preaching from time to time at the house of Deacon Pierce a few rods south of the cemetery, where he lived and died, and where, a little farther south, he was buried.

In 1817 there was an awakening in the southeast part of the town, under the labors of Reverend John Wilson of Guilford, and some ten or twelve persons were baptized by him in Broad Brook, near the entrance into the Connecticut River. These converts united with the church in Guilford, and some of them were enrolled among the earliest members of the Brattleboro church.

In 1833 Reverend Joseph M. Graves, agent of the Vermont Baptist Convention, gathered twelve persons together for services in the little schoolhouse on the Common.

In March, 1840, Reverend Emerson Andrews commenced a series of revival meetings in the Methodist Chapel, then standing on Canal Street.

The text to his first sermon was, "Plough up the fallow ground." In this sermon Mr. Andrews declared his indifference or independence in regard to sectarianism, but plainly stated his belief in the necessity of immediate repentance, regeneration or new birth. "If," said he, "you have evidence of sins forgiven, it matters not whether you are Methodist, Baptist, Orthodox, Congregationalist or Episcopalian." The Methodist society was at this time in a feeble condition. The magnanimous declaration of Elder Andrews aroused the vitality that was yet remaining in that society, and caused it to welcome him with open arms. Deacon Wood and some other members of the Congregational Church gathered at these meetings, and used their abilities and influence to sustain Elder Andrews and forward the work according to program.

The novel, startling titles Mr. Andrews gave out for sermons he was to preach the next evening, as, for instance, "Tomorrow evening I shall preach the looking-glass sermon"; or, "Tomorrow night I will preach the funeral sermon for the first one of this congregation who will die," caused the house to be well filled every evening for four or five weeks. The result of these efforts was soon apparent in the professed conversion of several persons, who were persuaded to be baptized by immersion. Some communicants of that faith, residing here, united with the new converts and, under the lead of Elder Andrews, organized the first "Baptist Church of Christ in Brattleborough East Village," April 2, 1840. The whole number was but twenty-three members at this time.

Elder Andrews left his charge in a short time after occupying Wheeler's Hall, the third place of worship, and Reverend Joseph Freeman was chosen as pastor April 24, 1840. The public recognition was upon May 6, 1840, the membership at this time being ninety-four. Mr. Freeman resigned his pastoral charge after a service of about four months, owing to ill health.

August 28, 1840, Reverend Moses Field accepted a call of the society to be their pastor. The church was admitted into the Windham County Baptist Association at its annual meeting in the following autumn. The first church building was erected on Elliot Street, completed in the autumn and winter of 1840-1841 and dedicated the following spring, March 3, 1841. It was fifty-seven by forty-two feet and cost about $2700.

September 27, 1842, Reverend Moses Field gave in his resignation, on account of ill health, which was accepted. He was born in Chester May 11, 1805; died at West Haven March 30, 1870. "An able preacher, sympathetic pastor, highly esteemed by the community."

His successor, Reverend J. C. Foster, supplied the pulpit from October 2, 1842, to December 11 of the same year, and he was ordained pastor January 14, 1843.

There was a short time of extreme sectarian bitterness towards the Baptists, such as can hardly be appreciated now, and when Parson Walker of the Congregational Church met Mr. Foster one day, he said, "I welcome you as a citizen, but not as a minister of the gospel." It was almost persecution that the Baptists of that time had to endure from everyone but the Methodists.

### Members of the Baptist Church in 1840

April

Rollin Snow,
James F. Estey (joined the Congregational church),
Amanda Hadley,
Betsey E. Lincoln,
Sarah E. Gill,
Sophia Gill,
Caroline M. Hyde,
Marion W. Hadley,
Cynthia Barrett,
John B. Miner,
Sarah Gill,
Lucinda Herrick,
Jemima Leavitt,
Roxana Barlow,
Esther Dearborn,
Hannah Wilcox,
Charles Dickinson,
Lucretia Briggs,
Mary Reed,
Jane Squires,
Freeman M. Bean,
George Bills,
Isaac Hines,
Lucius H. Crane,
Charlany Goodnough,
George E. Fuller,
Frances L. Gill,
Samuel Bullock,
Harriet L. Bullock,
Loana H. Crane,
Amanda M. Dearborn,
Richard Gill,
Sarah C. Reed,
Fanny Newman,
Jacob Estey,
Elizabeth S. Bart,
Samuel Sykes,
Warren Briggs,
Abraham B. Simonds,
Clarissa Salisbury,
Nancy Holton,
Adaline H. Bean,
Jefferson Burnham,
Elvira Hines,
Fanny M. Crane,

May

Sophia Sykes,
Priscilla E. Eels,
Charles A. Pullin,
Income Jones,
Amy Jones,
Royal G. Wood,
Eunice Wood,
Philip Liscom,
James Streeter,
Nancy H. Gladden,
Alanson Norcross,
George S. Norcross,
Lydia Norcross,
Purshi Ford,
Anna Norcross,
George Eels,
Priscilla Eels,
Elmira Harvey,

| | |
|---|---|
| Benson Jones, | William Bragg, |
| Phoebe Newton, | Samuel Norcross, |
| Adaline C. Wood, | Maria Norcross, |
| Elizabeth Briggs, | Helen Wheeler, |
| Philena Liscom, | Diana Wheeler, |
| Laura Streeter, | Maria Wheeler, |
| June | |
| Peter Dearborn, | Elizabeth Dearborn, |
| Laura Pratt, | Sophia Stoddard, |
| Ozearl Stoddard, | Hannah Whitney, |
| Lucinda Peck, | |
| September | |
| Abigail Hadley, | Desdemona Estey, |
| Clarissa Jones, | |
| October | |
| Moses Field, | Sarah R. Field, |
| Chloe Brown. | |

The first pastor's salary paid was $300, with the stipulation, if it could be raised; $197.37 was actually paid the first year, $23.50 of which was paid in stoves, $8 in wood, $3 in a clock and $60 in rent. A parsonage was erected on Green Street in 1847 at an expense of $1800.

In 1852 the meeting-house was repaired and reopened.

June 6, 1856, Reverend Mr. Foster resigned his position, to take effect July 1. June 13 the church accepted his resignation. This is the longest pastorate in the history of the church. Mr. Foster ministered to it for nearly fourteen years. Some of the publications of Mr. Foster have had an extensive circulation, one, a tract on "Baptism and Communion," to the extent of several hundred thousand copies. He was recording secretary for the Northern Baptist Education Society fourteen years, treasurer of the Massachusetts Conference of Baptist Ministers thirty-one years, and for three years a member of the Board of the Missionary Union.

Joseph Coggin Foster was born at Milford, New Hampshire, of a good English family, in 1818. He was a printer's boy in youth until his conversion, when he was baptized by Reverend Mark Carpenter, and, determining to devote himself to the ministry, took a college course at Colgate. He was twice married; first, in 1843, to Miss Ann Abigail Eaton, of East Weare, New Hampshire, who died in 1864; and second, in 1866, to Miss Julia Ann Gould, a teacher of reputation. One son, by the first marriage, survived him, W. E. Foster, one of the eminent men in his profession, and the originator of many plans now in general use, and since 1875 librarian

of the Providence, Rhode Island, Free Library. Mr. Foster preached the dedication sermon for the Baptist Church here in 1870.

August 24, 1856, Reverend Paul S. Adams was invited to the vacant pastorate and commenced his labors November 2 of the same year. The last Sabbath in January, 1859, he closed his ministrations. He was succeeded by Reverend Mark Carpenter February 13, 1859; he resigned December 4, 1864, making nearly six years of devoted and successful pastoral labor.

Reverend Alden Sherwin succeeded Mr. Carpenter, coming January 4, 1865; he resigned April 7, 1867. The seventh pastor of the church, Reverend H. H. Peabody, came September 1, 1867, to supply the pulpit six months. March 4, 1868, he was ordained, and was dismissed December 6, 1868.

The congregation worshiped for the last time in the old church building in January, 1868, when Mr. Peabody preached. On the first Sabbath in February of the same winter, the new church was occupied in the basement, as the principal room was not finished. Mr. Peabody, at the expiration of six months, was ordained as pastor of the church. At this time the total number on the church record was four hundred and twelve.

December 28, 1870, the new church was finished at an expense of $50,000. The following years were years of revival, and at the close of Reverend Leonard J. Matteson's pastorate, June 6, 1869, two hundred and sixty-four had been baptized and one hundred and twenty-two received into the church by letter.

In 1872 the brick church at West Brattleboro was purchased and repaired by the Estey family, Reverend Charles A. Votey, 1873-1879, organizer.

Succeeding Mr. Peabody were the following ministers with their dates of service:

Reverend L. J. Matteson, June 6, 1869, to September 18, 1875.

Reverend Horace Burchard, October 1, 1875, to October 25, 1879.

Reverend George B. Gow, May 1, 1880, to December 30, 1882.

Reverend F. E. Tower, June 6, 1883, to November 1, 1886. He died February 13, 1916.

Reverend F. J. Parry, January 1, 1887, to April 1, 1895.

Reverend Levi D. Temple, September 1, 1895, to October 1, 1898.[1]

[1] Reverend F. E. Marble, Ph.D., December 4, 1898, to September, 1902. During his pastorate the free pew system was adopted, the First Baptist Society was disbanded and the church incorporated in 1899.

Reverend George B. Lawson, October 24, 1902, to October 25, 1908.

Reverend John R. Gow, D.D., October 30, 1908, to April 1, 1913.

Reverend George E. Tomkinson, September 5, 1913, to ——.

From a history of the First Baptist Church given during its seventy-fifth anniversary, in April, 1915:

On September 5, 1875, Reverend Horace Burchard received a unanimous call, and carried on the work with distinguished success. A new field was opened in Putney and occasional services were held there. Reverend Mr. Burchard died during the night of October 24, 1879. During his pastorate one hundred and twenty-five were received into the church by baptism.

Reverend Doctor George B. Gow came to the leadership of the church May 1, 1880. His ministry terminated December 31, 1882. He was spoken of as a man of splendid ability and great force of character. Doctor Gow took a great interest in community affairs. It was during this pastorate that the work in Putney was organized, in September, 1880, as a branch of the Brattleboro church. This field was particularly under the fostering care of Deacon Jacob Estey, and over three years later, in February, 1883, letters were granted to sixty-nine members to form an independent church.

Reverend F. E. Tower was the next minister, serving the church from June, 1883, to November, 1886. He made a special effort to reach the young people and with good results.

He was followed by Reverend F. J. Parry, whose pastorate of more than eight years, from January, 1887, to April 1, 1895, was the second longest in the church's history. The conspicuous event of this period was the enlargement of the church edifice at a cost of $28,000, the women contributing about one-fourth of the amount. It was at this time that the present chapel, with its admirable arrangements for Bible classes and social gatherings, was built. The remodeled church was dedicated December 18, 1889. It was during the pastorate of Reverend Mr. Parry, on February 10, 1890, that the young people were first organized as a Christian Endeavor Society.

Reverend Levi D. Temple was pastor from September 1, 1895, to October 1, 1898.

The church was born in a revival and has always been evangelistic; it has always contained a strong body of earnest, faithful laymen, maintaining a vital interest in the larger activities of the denomination, among those who have been actively identified with organized missionary work being Mrs. Julia Vinton and family in Rangoon, Burma, the late General Julius J. Estey, Mrs. Estey, Doctor Henry D. Holton and Henry Bond. Reverend Guy C. Lamson, D.D., of Philadelphia, who was baptized and ordained in this church, is missionary secretary of the American Baptist Publication Society. The earnest work and opportune assistance of the women of the church represented by the Woman's Missionary and

Aid Society have been invaluable; the Bible School, under the leadership of Deacon L. W. Hawley, has taken a place in the front rank of schools in the country.

Eight are now living who first united with this church fifty or more years ago, their names and the dates of their reception being: Mrs. Olive M. Sargent, 1849 [died 1919]; Mrs. Sylvia A. Banks, 1860; Mrs. Abby E. Fuller, 1860; Miss Frances J. Elliott, 1860; Asa S. Field, 1860 [died 1919]; Mrs. Elizabeth B. Davenport, 1862; George W. Fuller, 1864 [died 1920]; Mrs. Lucy A. Cox, 1865.

The Woman's Missionary and Aid Society was organized March 17, 1865; reorganized March 22, 1892.

The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor was organized February 10, 1890; reorganized September 16, 1893.

### Deacons of the Baptist Church

November 2, 1844, Jacob Estey, Alonzo Hatch; February 4, 1852, Asa Wheeler, Benson Jones; January 28, 1853, Lucius Wheeler, Israel B. Estey; from January 20, 1854, to March 13, 1864, the office was held by Jacob Estey, Asa Wheeler. Following the resignations of Asa Wheeler and Jacob Estey, there was a period of over thirty-five years when the church did not have deacons. During this interval, the duties devolving upon deacons were discharged by a Standing Committee. At the time of the incorporation and reorganization of the First Baptist Church of Brattleboro, which took place July 7, 1899, deacons were elected once more and the church has had such officers since that time.

### The Baptist Sunday School

The Baptist Sunday school was organized in 1840, in what was then known as Revere Hall, in the building where Cox & Company's store afterwards stood. The first superintendent was Reverend Joseph Freeman, the pastor of the church. The first lay superintendent was Jacob Estey, who took charge of the school in 1842, during the pastorate of Reverend Moses Field, who succeeded Mr. Freeman. In 1846 Isaac Hines succeeded Mr. Estey, when the school numbered ninety, and the superintendents since then have been as follows: 1850-1852, Doctor James A. Farwell, with one hundred; 1852-1854, Doctor O. R. Post; 1854-1856, E. E. White; 1856-1858, Doctor O. R. Post; 1858-1860, C. L. Brown; 1860-1863, Charles Raymond; 1863-1868, A. G. Nourse, with one hundred and thirty-five; 1868-1871, G. E. Higley, two hundred and sixty-five to five hundred; 1871-1872, O. B. Douglas, four hundred and sixteen; 1872-1875, G. E. Higley; 1875-1876, A. A. Cheney; 1876-1877, J. E.

Jacobs; 1877-1879, S. H. Warren; 1879, J. J. Estey; 1886, L. W. Hawley. The school reached its largest membership in 1875, when the number was six hundred and thirty-eight.

What a layman can do for his church has been exemplified in the life of Luther W. Hawley. He came to Brattleboro in 1870 and soon took a position in the Estey Organ Works' office.

A man of versatile talents, he consecrated them, his strength and time out of office hours, to the upbuilding of Christian life and character in this community. In the prayer meeting, where he has been a constant attendant, as a teacher for forty-nine years, as superintendent of the Bible school thirty-four years, as deacon fifteen years, he has proved a spiritual leader.

In 1872 he was authorized by the church to go to near neighborhoods and surrounding districts to preach, hold prayer meetings and conduct Sunday schools.

He organized and conducts the Bible school orchestra.

Mrs. Hawley, who was Miss Laura K. Taft of Taftsville, Vermont, has been a helpmeet to him in his religious activities; she has been a teacher in the Bible school forty-seven years. Their works will follow them.[1]

J. Edward Hall[2] came to Brattleboro in 1872 to take a position with the Estey Organ Company. He was invited to take charge of the music in the Baptist Church, directing the choir and presiding at the organ for many years. He was an excellent musician of the older school, could teach a singing school, play the piano, reed organ or pipe organ and sing acceptably the first tenor in a male quartet, and was a composer of music, having written a large number of gospel hymns and songs.

For more than thirty years Mr. Hall was a faithful teacher in the Sunday school. A class of women numbering fifty or more members for many years gathered every Sunday under his leadership and within a few years themselves adopted "The J. E. Hall Class" as their name.

Among the most zealous workers for the church in an earlier period were Doctor Farwell, Doctor O. R. Post and Mr. Bela N. Chamberlain.

[1] Children: Charles T., graduate Worcester Polytechnic Institute and the law department of George Washington University; Jessie L., graduate New England Conservatory of Music; Luther W., graduate Worcester Polytechnic Institute, 1908, and the law department of George Washington University.

[2] In January, 1873, Mr. Hall married Miss Josephine Lyons, a student in Glenwood Ladies' Seminary, who died in 1909. He was born in Westmoreland, New Hampshire, November 19, 1845, and died November 18, 1917. Children: Rena W. Hall, lady principal of Tennessee College, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; Hortense A. Hall, teacher of kindergarten.

Of the present generation who have gone forth from this church to the larger field of Christian service may be mentioned Reverend Guy C. Lamson, who graduated from the Rochester Theological Seminary, and after a brief ministry in West Cornwall, became pastor of the Baptist Church in Montpelier, and was for one session chaplain of the House. He then moved to Hyde Park, Massachusetts, where he built up the church and so entered into the life of the town as to fill the position of selectman as the result of a lively fight for temperance. Later he accepted the position of district secretary of the American Baptist Publication Society. After two years he entered upon a new field as missionary secretary for the same society, having his headquarters in Philadelphia and having charge of extensive missionary operations in regions west of the Mississippi River from Canada to Mexico.

## CHAPTER XLVI

## CENTRE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,

Centre Congregational Church—Church building—Pastors—Ladies' Association—Invested funds—Temperance—"The Cold Water Army"—Reverend George P. Tyler—Society of Christian Endeavor—Reminiscences of Charles F. Thompson.

The building on the Common was not moved intact, but was taken down and set up again. The last meeting in the old church was on March 2, 1842. The committee to take down the church and set it up were Colonel Joseph Goodhue, Ferdinand Tyler, Lovell Farr, George Sargent and Calvin Townsley. The deed of land dated June 13, 1842, is from Mary Goodhue, Joseph Goodhue and Wells Goodhue.

The remodeled church was rededicated January 11, 1843, and in the church records for that day is the first mention of the name "Centre Church." The music for the occasion was under the direction of Governor Holbrook, who for fifty years had charge of the church music.

A marked change in the rebuilt church was the closing up of just half the windows. The church on the Common, with double the window space, plain glass, no blinds and paper curtains, was flooded with an intense light. The church of 1843 had high, straight pews; those of the side rows, set against the wall, were short, and the middle row held more than half the congregation. There was no middle aisle, but two aisles separating the middle and side rows gave entrance to both. There were six pews in the front of the church on each side of the pulpit, at right angles to the main rows. The side gallery was much as now. The rear gallery extended all the way across the church, and was the singers' gallery. Chimneys projected into the church, one each on the north and south sides, just beyond the present fourth window from the pulpit. These projecting chimneys made necessary a short pew in the back row in both galleries, in order that the people might get past the chimneys. The pulpit was twice as high as at present. The spire rose from the ridgepole of the church, the front of which was a row of huge Doric columns, behind which was a porch, after the plan of our Home for the Aged.

In 1847 the church called and ordained A. Huntington Clapp, a graduate of Yale and Andover, to succeed Doctor Walker. Mr. Clapp was here six years, when an eye trouble required him to stop work. The

church voted him a four months' vacation with full salary, and then a year's leave, with part salary, in the hope that he would be able to go on with his pastorate. Not recovering sufficiently at the end of this time, he resigned, and the church surrendered a minister as deeply beloved as any that has served it. One hundred and two members were added to the church during his pastorate.

Reverend George P. Tyler, a graduate of Yale and Union Theological Seminary, succeeded Mr. Clapp in 1853. He was a Brattleboro boy, who had united with this church upon profession before he went away to college, and is the only minister reared up in the church who has subsequently served it, although Doctor George Leon Walker may almost be said to be a second of the church's own sons called to its leadership. Doctor Tyler was a "faithful, efficient pastor, with an original mind. He was most zealous in defense of the government during the Civil War."

The church having been moved down town, to the "orchard," so-called, "north of the Brattleborough Bank," it proved an unnecessary inconvenience to have it separated from the chapel, and in 1847 a committee reported that the Elliot Street chapel could be sold and one could be built in the basement, under the front of this room, for $300; but this solution did not appear satisfactory and the matter was dropped until 1854, when the Elliot Street chapel was sold, that the proceeds, and $150 extra, might be used to build a chapel in the rear of the church, the present ladies' parlors. Until this time a row of horse sheds had extended across the rear of the church property, the whole distance covered by the present parlors and chapel. Now that half the space was occupied by the chapel in the rear of the church, the men whose sheds were displaced used the basement of that chapel for horse sheds. The chapel was entered by a high walk, which began at the porch behind the great columns on the church front, and was joined to the baseboard on the south side of the church, where the mortise holes may be seen. The two obstacles to the satisfactory solution of the chapel question were the horse sheds, to which the owners held tenaciously, and the Vermont Savings Bank building, which stood between the church and the house now occupied by Mr. Clapp.

It was not until the pastorate of Mr. Mighill, who served the church from 1867 to 1875, that the bank was bought, the horse sheds all cleared away, and the present chapel, or main Sunday school room, built. Then the barn door still seen on the north basement wall of the ladies' parlors was opened and the basement of parlors and Sunday school room was used for horse sheds, as long as Doctor Dearborn owned the property north of the church, and permitted use of his driveway. The changes involved in all this cost $12,000.

It was in 1816, when the church had just been built in its original location on the Common, that the clock began its active career. John Holbrook bought it of his cousin, George Holbrook, who cast bells and made clocks in Medbury, Massachusetts, and gave it to the church. He and General Arad Hunt also gave the bell which then hung in the steeple. When the church was moved to its present place and repaired, the clock and bell came with it.[1] They were there when, in 1864, a whirlwind swept through the valley and tore off the steeple down to the bell and clock, smashing a hole in the roof, and landing the ruins in the space between the church and the Clapp house. This steeple rested on the church roof, and the ringing of a new and heavier bell made a vibration in the building that had brought discussion as to taking down the steeple, when the tornado took it off, just above the clock. Then the west end of the church was extended forward the distance between the present vestibule doors and the nearest window. (It is not certain whether the roof was extended, or simply the porch back of the columns taken into the church.) The clapboards show where the new part was joined on to the old. At this time the old columns were removed, and the steeple built up from the stone foundation in front of the church, leaving the front as we now have it. Some felt that the front was not beautified by the change. It gave a solidly built steeple, topped by the same weather-vane and letters that surmounted the spire of the church on the common. The old bell had become cracked in the course of years, and about this time it was replaced with the present one from a Troy foundry, though trial was first made of a deep, mellow-toned one from the original Medbury factory, but it was thought to be not quite a match for the new Baptist bell.

The pulpit of mahogany was large, massive and well proportioned. A long sofa was back of the pulpit, with two mahogany-backed chairs on each side; two similar chairs stood on either side of the communion table, which was below the pulpit.

A gallery extended the entire length of the rear of the church where the organ was placed opposite the pulpit,—and curtains hung on upright posts obscured the choir.

Reverend Nathaniel Mighill of East Cambridge was a graduate of Andover, of Union Theological Seminary and of Andover Theological Seminary. A significant step in his pastorate was the first districting of the parish, in 1869. It was resolved that while the church did not wish to diminish individual responsibility, certain persons should be appointed in different sections of the town, to watch out for newcomers who were

[1] Jacob Marsh, the old sexton, had charge of the clock many years; then Thompson & Ranger succeeded to the position of clock-keeper.

Congregationalists, or attendants upon no church, and make them feel "at the earliest practicable time and in the most thorough possible way, that they are among brethren and sisters." This was the beginning of that districting of the parish that has continued, and brought greater efficiency in parish work.

Mr. Mighill had fine ability and culture, and a beautiful spirit. He was called by some "the apostle John." Some strenuous doctrines that had been heard from Parson Tyler were missed from his sermons, and one of the good women leaving the church a Sunday morning said: "O dear, I have sat for six years under that man. He preaches love, love, nothing but love. I have heard nothing of the justice and vengeance of God and the everlasting punishment of the wicked, and my soul is perishing for lack of spiritual food."

Doctor George Leon Walker supplied the pulpit for two years after the departure of Mr. Mighill and was probably the ablest preacher who has ever served the church.

The next pastor was Reverend George E. Martin of New Haven, Connecticut, his first pastorate being with this church. He was asked to supply one year from July 1, 1878, and on July 9, 1879, he was ordained and installed. It was during his pastorate that the Ladies' Benevolent Society, of which Mrs. Sarah B. Harris was president, bought, in 1882, the Steere & Turner pipe organ for $2800. It was built from specifications drawn by Doctor Martin. The choir loft was changed from the rear to the front of the church. Doctor Martin was dismissed by a mutual council September 6, 1883, and went to the First Church in Brockton, Massachusetts.

Doctor Charles O. Day served the church nearly fourteen years. In 1888, during his pastorate, the church interior was decorated, the present pews were substituted for the old ones, the present windows put in place of plain glass, and other improvements made, footing up to $10,000 in all. Mr. Day brought about the consolidation of the ladies' societies into one simple and effective association.

The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor was organized February 28, 1889, with thirty-two active and two associate members. George L. Dunham was the first president; Miss Helen M. Fletcher, vice-president; Louis A. Gregg, corresponding secretary; L. A. Fales, recording secretary; S. C. Johnson, treasurer.

The ecclesiastical society has had three successive organizations. First, in 1814 it was the Brattleborough Village Meeting-House Society, which subscribed funds and built the church. This built, its pews were sold like any other real estate, as was the custom of the day, and the owners became the proprietors of the meeting-house. These proprietors organ-

ized August 27, 1818, as the Brattleborough East Society, for the purpose of settling and supporting a minister. After the moving of the church this society found itself in the possession of a building in a different part of the town, of a chapel on Elliot Street and a parsonage; properties not contemplated in the original organization of the society, whose rights and powers might have been exceeded, it was thought. Hence the Brattleborough East Society was reorganized January 16, 1843, on a basis providing for more varied activities. Possibly it will need to be reorganized once more, for one of the articles of 1843 states, "We further specify and declare that the religious instruction taught in said house forever henceforth, shall be the Calvinistic doctrine as now understood and taught in said Brattleborough East Society."

There has been an interesting development in the way of raising funds for parish expenses. The original church became the property of its pew owners, who held deeds of the pews, which they transferred like any other possession. John Holbrook owned seven floor and one gallery pews in the Church on the Common. Francis Goodhue owned five floor and four gallery pews. The Brattleborough East Society retained twelve floor pews, from which it realized a yearly rental of about $50. Pewholders were assessed for repairs on the church; but parish expenses were met by a voluntary subscription. If a pewholder did not pay his assessment within thirty days from the time when it was levied, his pew was put up for sale at auction, on thirty days' notice, as a mortgage is foreclosed today. When the church was moved from the Common the cost of rebuilding was assessed upon pew owners, and the society sold its pews to make up the deficiency.

One of the large things in the life of the church was the sale of seventy-eight and two-thirds pews by individual owners to the society, for one dollar each, in 1863. That is, the pews were donated to the society.

There was no entry of expense for fuel until 1846, when there was an item for wood, oil and repairs of $26.23. As oil cost about $10 a year, there would not be much left for wood, after paying the repair bill. Doubtless wood was given to the church. A furnace was put in in 1846, and a few years later it was voted to remodel it "so as, if possible, to get warmth without the inconvenience of a smoky atmosphere."

The pastors of the Centre Congregational Church have been:

Reverend Alexander H. Clapp, October 14, 1846, to November 15, 1853.

Reverend George P. Tyler, November 16, 1853, to 1856. One hundred and ninety-four members.

Reverend N. Mighill, October, 1867, to 1875.

Reverend George L. Walker, to January 1, 1878.

Reverend George E. Martin, July 1, 1879, to September 6, 1883.
Reverend Samuel H. Lee, 1883 to 1885.
Reverend Charles Orrin Day, December 16, 1885, to September 22, 1898.[1]

### Ladies' Association

Up to 1847 the society was in charge of two committees, with a secretary and treasurer. The first president was elected at the reorganization in 1847. The following ladies have served as president during the century:

Mrs. William Fessenden
Mrs. Wells Goodhue
Mrs. A. H. Clapp
Mrs. Edward Kirkland (Frances Robinson)
Mrs. George P. Tyler
Mrs. Uriel Sikes
Mrs. Anson Barber
Mrs. Frederick Holbrook
Mrs. Nathaniel Mighill
Mrs. Charles F. Thompson
Mrs. B. D. Harris
Mrs. Henry Burnham
Mrs. N. I. Hawley
Miss Mary Wells
Mrs. Sibbel Fessenden
Miss Jane W. Fessenden
Miss Sophia W. Fessenden
Mrs. Willard Frost
Miss Rebecca Peck
Miss E. D. Smith
Mrs. F. A. Whitney
Mrs. E. L. Parker
Mrs. C. B. Rice
Mrs. Edward Kirkland (Mary Slate)
Mrs. H. F. Houghton
Mrs. H. H. Thompson
Mrs. Fremont Hamilton
Mrs. George H. Clapp
Mrs. E. L. Waterman
Mrs. H. E. Bond
Mrs. George C. Averill
Mrs. F. A. Wells
Mrs. Charles H. Thompson
Mrs. H. F. Houghton
Mrs. George W. Holbrook
Mrs. F. A. Wells
Miss Kate Selleck
Miss Genevieve Slate
Mrs. G. C. Averill
Mrs. H. H. Thompson

### Invested Funds of the Church

| | |
|---|---|
| John Holbrook Fund: For current expenses, | $1000 |
| Sarah Holbrook Fund: For parsonage maintenance, | 3000 |
| Sarah Goodhue Chapin Fund: For Sunday school library, | 2000 |
| For needy of the church, | 5000 |

[1] Reverend Harry R. Miles, June 1, 1899, to October 12, 1908. Reverend Roy M. Houghton, January 1, 1909, to February 1, 1916. Reverend Richard H. Clapp, March, 1916, to 1919. Deacons have been George H. Clapp, Henry H. Thompson, Oscar T. Ware, 1896; Ansel I. Miller, 1901; George M. Clay, Joseph G. Stafford, 1906; Edward C. Crosby, 1913; Henry F. Jordan, 1915.

| | |
|---|---|
| William P. Cune Fund: For Sunday school, | $1000 |
| Mary Ann Goodhue Fund: For support of preaching, | 1000 |
| Susan B. Salisbury Fund: For needy of the church, | 200 |

### Temperance

(From *The Vermont Phœnix.*)

"The Cold Water Army" had a very interesting celebration in this village on Saturday (July 29, 1843). The children of both sexes composing this army, assembled at the chapel in Elliot Street, where they formed into a procession. The Young Ladies, who formed an escort to this Army, met at Mr. Sikes' Temperance House to the number of eighty-six. Several young gentlemen went with a band of music to the house of Mr. Sikes, and escorted the young ladies to the Chapel; the procession being formed proceeded thence under the direction of Colonel A. J. Hines, as Chief Marshal, to Main Street, passing down to the bridge over Whetstone Brook, thence up Main Street to the beautiful grove back of Colonel Goodhue's house, where an interesting address was delivered and appropriate songs were sung by Mr. Gough.—The children and the young ladies carried banners expressing in significant terms their zeal and determination to persevere in the good cause till the triumph of Temperance is complete. We believe that nearly all the children of the village are enrolled in the "Cold Water Army." Our young ladies show a commendable zeal in the cause, and deserve much credit for the aid they are lending in carrying forward the great work of reform. Thanks are due to those young gentlemen who turned aside from their labors to escort the young ladies on this occasion. Our only regret is, that a larger number had not volunteered in this agreeable service. While the young are enlisted in this service; while our young men and young women, and our children, are thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Temperance reform, we feel assured that the triumph of the friends of temperance draweth nigh. The cause is a good one; it is a noble, patriotic, philanthropic cause, and every one, who is a friend to his country or to his race, cannot but wish it success. What a change will come over the community, when every place where intoxicating liquors are sold, shall be purged of that poison! What a change in society, when not an individual shall be found "to put an enemy to his mouth to steal away his brains!"

### Reverend Doctor George P. Tyler

Doctor Tyler was born December 10, 1809. He grew up here, attending the village schools. In his youth he was for a time in Boston in the store of his elder brother, General John S. Tyler, who enabled him to take a college course at Yale.

Graduating with honor from Yale, he studied for the ministry

at the Union Theological Seminary of New York. Doctor Tyler was married to Miss Elizabeth Atwater Trowbridge May 12, 1841, and shortly after he was installed pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Lowville, living there thirteen years. He then accepted a call to the Congregational Church at Brattleboro, his old home, was installed November 16, 1853, and remained there until 1869.

From Brattleboro he went to Lansingburg to be pastor of the Olivet Presbyterian Church. He occupied this position, holding services in a building on Second Avenue until 1873, when he resigned. From this time until 1883 Doctor Tyler supplied pulpits in various churches, among them being the Oakwood Avenue Presbyterian Church and the Memorial Presbyterian Church of Troy. His connection with the latter was especially successful. He was again designated to be pastor of Olivet Presbyterian Church, Lansingburg, where he preached until the close of his active life as a minister, June 4, 1891. In this year he was afflicted by the loss of his wife, after a happy married life of more than fifty years.

He was pastor emeritus of the Olivet Presbyterian Church and was president of the board of trustees of the Lansingburg Academy. The degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by Middlebury College, Vermont. He had as a cousin Mrs. Nathaniel Hawthorne. In the letters of Mrs. Hawthorne, published in the November *Century,* 1894, she alludes pleasantly to "George" as her favorite cousin:

Thinking now a moment of his characteristics, one thing which attracts attention was his remarkable simplicity and sincerity. He had no doubleness. It is impossible to attach the idea of *finesse* and indirection to him. He was straight out, direct and single-minded in all that he did and said. He was, moreover, a man of very unusual freshness and originality of mind. His perceptions of truth were clear and penetrating and his powers of illustration vivid and illuminative.

Doctor Tyler died January 18, 1896.

"In Doctor Tyler's death the close of a long and beautiful career was reached—a career in which the qualities of virtue, learning and refinement shone brightly and whose end was a deep sorrow to all who knew him."

Of the two children of Doctor Tyler, a daughter, Frances Bradford (Mrs. John G. Mairs), survived him. She died December 9, 1907. Children of Mrs. Mairs: George Tyler Mairs, married Miss Helen A. Foley; Elizabeth Atwater Mairs, married Charles Edward Merritt.

### Reminiscences of Charles F. Thompson

The annual meeting of the Centre Church was a family gathering this year, all the friends of the society and congregation, as well as church

members, being invited. A large audience gathered and the occasion was of marked interest. A collection of views showing the growth of the village was grouped about the pulpit, and was carefully examined. It began with a painting of the town, as it was about 1830, in the possession of Governor Holbrook.

The main interest of the meeting centered in the historical address of Deacon C. F. Thompson, whose personal and official connection with the church for over forty years enabled him to recall and narrate, as no one else could, the leading events of the past. To present a complete view of the changing conditions of the church's life, or to describe, or even mention, all of the prominent workers, was impossible in the time available; but careful summarizing, and strong and clear characterizations gave an interesting and impressive account of a large part of the history. The main portions of the address are as follows:

The Centre Church was founded in July, 1816, with fourteen members. Reverend Doctor William Wells, a man of advanced views for his day, but one of whose characteristic texts was, "If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?" was the first pastor until 1818. Reverend Jonathan McGee, under whose ministry occurred the greatest revivals in the history of the church, was minister until 1833. The records of other pastors are in the lives of those they served.

Certain general facts about this church are these: It was founded upon consecration and prayer; it has been a church very liberal in benevolent and missionary giving; it has had on the average unusually long pastorates, and has not been seriously or permanently divided since the formation of the Unitarian Church. Very few liberally educated men have been among its members, the strong characters who laid the foundation and built the walls having been mainly energetic, practical, competent, self-made men.

Coming to personal descriptions, the first name, deservedly so for every reason, is that of Deacon John Holbrook, the leader, defender and supporter, the van and rear guard of the young church, and its only deacon until the appointment of Deacon David Wood in 1833. Deacon Holbrook, with Mr. Hunt, whose name, or initial, with his own, was inscribed upon it, gave the first bell, always rung in the old times from midnight until one o'clock on New Year's morning. The second bell, the clock (in connection with Mr. Joseph Fessenden), and a fund of $1000 for support of preaching, were also his gifts.

Deacon David Wood and his wife, both of them reliable and devoted Christians, joined the church in 1819. In their house the first midweekly prayer meeting was held.

Later on, and beginning now in the field of personal recollection, comes the name of Joseph Steen. He was born in 1797 and died in 1881. He joined the church at twenty years of age. He had a pious mother, and, although reckless as a boy, became a rugged and earnest Christian early in life. In his prime he had a fine figure, and a strong though homely face. He was a rough diamond, staunch, efficient, loyal to the church, naturally fond of controversy, a worker all his life in the Sunday school as teacher and superintendent, always at the Friday night meeting. He was eminently a man of prayer. His early education was meager, and his expressions both in prayer and remark might not always be agreeable to those of more culture, but behind all there was always genuine honesty, a real and earnest piety. He was liberal to the extent of his ability. His education became more complete as each year rolled along, and as he was a bookseller and a great reader, he came to be called a "walking encyclopedia." He was a great friend of missions and, with many personal eccentricities about which stories are still told, was a pillar of strength in the church.

Nathan B. Williston, who was born in 1797 and died in 1883, was one of the strongest members the church has had; a grand man, eccentric in some things, but humble, liberal and noble. He never took part in, but was always present at, the prayer meetings, saying, with his peculiar pronunciation, that though he did not consider Friday night as "sacred" time, he thought church members should go to meeting. He was a great student of the Bible, and the true testimony is borne of him by the open Bible upon his memorial window. It could be said of him as of a certain young Chinese native missionary, "There was no difference between him and the Book." He was a man of prayer, as those found who lived in his home. There, too, his little pleasantries within the home circle flashed with wit and wisdom, like very diamonds. His gifts, both at home and for missions, have never been equaled in this church by anyone. To the man with the subscription paper he would answer, "Say what you think all will give and I'll put it in." He was treasurer of the society for many years, and always paid the minister promptly. His work for the church lives on, and his prayers are recorded in heaven.

Samuel Dutton died in 1863, having been for many years a trusted member and a liberal supporter of this church. He was always at prayer meeting, ready to offer prayer, constant and upright in life, always responding to calls for gifts, except for singing, and deeply interested in the prosperity of the church. During quite a revival in 1836, when word was brought to him on one occasion of the conversion of a prominent man, although so plain, quiet and unruffled ordinarily, his tears and

few expressions of joy revealed at that moment the true sentiments of a deep and tender heart.

Edward Kirkland, Esquire, who joined the church by letter in July, 1844, and who died, after twenty-two years of membership, in 1866, was probably the man of most education, as he was certainly one of the most efficient, of the men who have built up the church. He at once took a high position, was rarely absent from prayer meeting, and was a special friend of foreign missions, which he was wont eloquently and forcefully to urge upon the church, keeping himself better informed upon the subject than anyone else. He was for several years superintendent of the Sunday school, took a live interest in all the affairs of the church and was preëminently a strong and good man.

Franklin Holbrook Fessenden, who was born in 1811, joined the church in September, 1831, and died in 1863, was a very godly man, a man who put his hand to the plow and looked not back. He was for three years deacon, and raised the money for the first organ. He was active in the sometimes unwillingly given service of asking for money needed for good work, a service which he cheerfully rendered and nobly honored.

Deacon Daniel B. Thompson, who died in 1876, having been a member of the church for forty-nine years, was a man ready for every good word and work, a man of prayer, always at prayer meeting, ready to give to the utmost of his ability and to do it joyfully.

Asahel Clapp, Joseph G. Root, Hannibal Hadley, Ferdinand Tyler and Deacon Barber are some of the strong men, among others, who should be spoken of as beloved and faithful workers in this church.

A marked source of spiritual power in our history yet remains to be mentioned—the preëminent character and prayerfulness of our godly women. For many years the organized circle, with constitution and special requirements for admission, known as the ladies' prayer meeting, was maintained. At one time sixty names were on the roll. The heart of the spiritual life of the church was in this meeting. It is one of the distinctive things in the history of the church. Prominent among those good women was Mrs. John Holbrook, already mentioned, for forty-five years a member, whose generous donation of $500 went far to provide the parsonage.

Mrs. Patty Fessenden was a woman of the finest and gentlest and noblest personality, born to be a queen, loved, admired and looked up to by all, whose decisions were always awaited and affectionately accepted. The circle of ladies in which she thus stood was marked not only by piety but by a dignity, nobility and courtliness of manner that could not be forgotten. Mrs. Elliot should be specially recalled. Mrs. Sarah Goodhue and her sister, Mrs. Dorcas Goff, were remarkable for their piety and

character. Mrs. Goodhue maintained to the last her keen interest in the church, and her kindly, beautiful nature is well symbolized in the perfect window in her memory, pointing always upward. Her character as a Christian was many-sided; her every side was a gem. Her prayers for the church were unceasing, and "her children rise up and call her blessed."

Other cherished names are those of Mrs. Harriet Holbrook, earnest, beautiful and discreet; Mrs. Elizabeth Cune, for whom a personal love and admiration only makes more clear the strength and trust of her consistent Christian character; Mrs. Gracia Hollister, whose character combined loveliness and strength in a remarkable degree; Miss Fanny Goff, somewhat eccentric, but with a heart full of kindness and love, and with a mind of great ability and retentiveness; Mrs. Deacon Barber, devoted, caretaking, a woman of judgment and oversight; Miss Susan B. Salisbury, who lived to advanced years but kept a young and interested heart.

Mrs. Sarah Goodhue Chapin was almost the first to make any of those welcome gifts which sometimes so help on the best work of the church, and her munificent and wise bequest is now one of those never failing springs which no winter's cold can freeze and no summer drought can quench, but one always flowing, a perpetual blessing to God's needy ones.

These make but a part of that cloud of witnesses, who, in heaven, are near us, watching us in sympathy, and waiting for us to join them yonder. Their prayers are now come up before God like sweet incense.

It seems as if the Christian's prayer
For peace and joy and love
Was answered in the very air
That wafts its strain above.

## CHAPTER XLVII

## THE THIRD MEETING-HOUSE IN WEST BRATTLEBORO
1845

The entire expense was estimated at $2750. To meet this it was decided to issue meeting-house stock, one hundred shares at $27.50 each, with the understanding that two of these shares might control one pew, the pews, however, to be appraised, and choice of location left to auction sale. The number of pews was to be fifty-eight, of which fifty would be controlled by individuals, and the remainder left to the disposal of the society. The work of building began in the summer of 1845 and was finished in midwinter, 1846. Snow stood upon the scaffolding around the steeple before the work was done. The workmen labored from daylight till dark in the long summer days, with journeyman's wages at one dollar a day and apprentice's wages at ten dollars a month. In the fall and early winter they would be upon the ground before it was light, and celebrate their advent by ringing the cracked bell which stood near. The entire expense of construction and furnishing, including recasting of bell, stoves, foundation, grading and papering, amounted to $2738.61, leaving a slight balance, from which a dividend was paid to the subscribers.

This house, with pews unpainted, uncarpeted and uncushioned except as it was done by individual owners, with stoves near the gallery and pipe running the entire length of the room, was used for more than twenty years in this condition. In 1867, under the lead of Deacon Clark Jacobs, a liberal giver to this and all subsequent movements, a chapel was built in the rear of the church. Previous to this date all the social meetings had been held in the Academy buildings, a right secured to the church by the original subscribers. In 1869 the church was thoroughly renovated at an expense of $1350, $1000 of which was raised by subscription, and $350 was assessed upon the pews. A choir recess was constructed back of the pulpit, the stoves were taken out and new pews put in their places; a furnace, carpet and cushions were provided; the walls were repapered and the house was painted outside and in. In the winter of 1876-1877 the spire was blown off, and was replaced the following spring at an expense, including paint and other repairs, of $350, a sum which was

raised by a tax upon the pews. In this condition, substantially, the building has remained.

Since the building of the third house in West Brattleboro the pastors have been: Reverend Charles H. Merrill, April, 1845, to February 2, 1888; Reverend James H. Babbitt, February 2, 1888, to June 29, 1900.[1]

[1] Reverend Luther M. Keneston, December 1, 1900, to September 1, 1908; Reverend Edwin J. Lewis, March 17, 1909, to December 4, 1911; Reverend Henry Lamb, May 12, 1912, to November, 1915; Reverend Arthur V. Woodworth, May 14, 1916.

## CHAPTER XLVIII

## THE ODD FELLOWS

The "Application for a warrant" for Wantastiquet Lodge, Number 5, is dated July 3, 1846, and is signed by six brothers, certified as holding proper cards, as follows: John H. Willis, Henry Burnham, John B. Miner, H. D. Brackett, Thomas C. Lord, Frederick Franks. The lodge was instituted August 3, 1846 (original charter dated July 13, 1846), by Albert Chase, Deputy Grand Sire, who says he was "assisted by D. D. Grand Master W. T. Davis, of Greenfield, Mass." He further writes in his report:

There were present about fifty brothers from Greenfield and Colrain, Massachusetts, and Winchester, New Hampshire. After the organization of the lodge the hall was publicly consecrated: and in the evening there were twelve gentlemen initiated. They all received the degrees. Starting under such favorable auspices and the merits of the new order set forth by as able a representative as (Reverend) Brother Case, no wonder that Number 5 possesses the proud history of the past forty years. The first officers were: John H. Willis, N.G.; Thomas C. Lord, V.G.; Horace D. Brackett, secretary; Frederick Franks, treasurer. In the decline of the I. O. O. F. in Vermont during the decade following 1857, Wantastiquet Lodge stood firm. The old ledger contains an item, not often found on the pages of early lodges, showing that this lodge renewed its charge books (marked second-hand) August 26, 1863, price one dollar each. This might indicate an early memorizing of the work. This lodge has the honor of furnishing the first historian of the order in the state, Timothy Vinton, P.G.M. and P.G.R.

The organization of the lodge took place in a room either in the old Revere House building or in the building next adjoining it. The lodge continued to meet there for several years and then had quarters for some time in Grand Army Hall.

The next home of the lodge was in quarters over the Vermont National Bank and again in quarters on the third floor of the Hooker building.

In 1905, on the eighty-sixth anniversary of Odd Fellowship, the lodge dedicated enlarged quarters in the same building, the tremendous growth in membership having necessitated the enlargement of their quarters.

Not only is Wantastiquet Lodge one of the four oldest in the state and the largest in point of membership, but it is one of the wealthiest.

The Tyler building was bought in 1892 for about $14,000. The lodge paid $6000 in cash and borrowed the balance. In 1904 the property was free and clear of incumbrance.[1]

The officers of the lodge and of affiliated organizations, Oasis Encampment, Number 5, Dennis Rebekah Lodge, Number 1, the first in the state, and Canton Palestine, Number 3, P.M., have been notable for their faithfulness to their trusts and their willingness to continue long in office when the duties were exacting and painstaking.

Oasis Encampment, Number 5, was instituted April 9, 1868, by J. P. Sanders, Grand Sire.

Not long after, interests identified with Brattleboro Odd Fellowship brought about the institution of the first Rebekah Lodge in the state by having Dennis Rebekah Lodge instituted February 9, 1869.

Canton Palestine, Number 3, P.M., the military department of the order, was organized later, but, like the other local organizations of Odd Fellowship, was always strong.

[1] The lodge bought of Edgar H. Davenport in April, 1912, the Wesselhoeft Water-Cure building on the north side of Elliot Street on the corner of Church Street. This property had a frontage of 180 feet on Elliot Street and an extreme depth of 125 feet. The price was not made public, but it was understood to have been about $16,000.

RESIDENCE OF
ROYAL WOOD

RESIDENCE OF
ELIHU H. THOMAS

REED'S CASTLE

RESIDENCE OF
WILLIAM H. ESTERBROOKS

FROST MANSION
ON FROST MEADOW

RESIDENCE OF
ANTHONY VAN DOORN

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

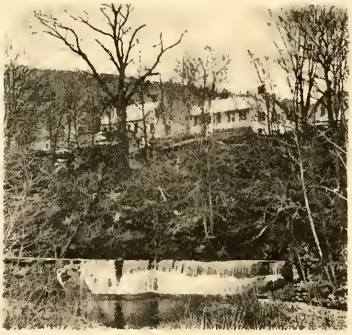
HOME OF CAPT. THUNDERBOLT

THE CANAL

CHAPEL OF THE PERFECTIONISTS

PUTNEY

WOOD FARM



ON THE BROOK ROAD

WEST BRATTLEBORO

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

## CHAPTER XLIX

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

In Trade—James Esterbrook—Major William H. Esterbrook. James Frost—Willard Frost—Charles C. Frost—John W. Frost. Uriel Sikes—Samuel Clark—Lafayette Clark—Anthony Van Doorn—Joseph Goodhue—Wells Goodhue—Henry F. Houghton—Houghton & Kuech—William Pitt Cune—Major Henry Smith—John H. Wheeler—Franklin H. Wheeler—John C. Holbrook—Gardner C. Hall—Aaron E. Dwinell—Colonel Paul Chase—Doctor Charles A. Chapin—John Hyde—Zelotes Dickinson—Asahel Clapp—Samuel Dutton—Calvin Townsley—Seth Herrick.

George Baty Blake—Selah Chamberlain—Doctor John Wilson, "Thunderbolt"—John Humphrey Noyes. Lawyers—William H. Cary—Elisha H. Allen, 1827—Honorable Asa Keyes—Honorable William C. Bradley—Jonathan Dorr Bradley—Judge Royall Tyler—Honorable Larkin G. Mead—Honorable Edward Kirkland.

Captain William S. Brooks—Francis J. Higginson, M.D.—Miss Anna Higginson, tribute by Doctor George Leon Walker—Mrs. Nathan Lawrence—George C. Lawrence—Charles G. Lawrence—James Fisk—James Fisk, Junior.

### The Esterbrooks

are one of Windham County's pioneer families, Warren Esterbrook settling in Brattleboro in 1779. Born at Warren, Rhode Island, June 29, 1748, he was thirty-one years of age when he came with his wife, Rosannah Haile, and a four-year-old son, James. For a short time he worked at the carpenter's trade in the then sparsely settled East Village, but soon moved to a farm in the southeast part of the town. He had a family of nine children, six boys and three girls, whose descendants have proved among the town's substantial citizens. He followed farming until afflicted with total blindness, which misfortune he patiently bore during the remaining twenty years of his life. He died June 29, 1838, aged ninety; his wife died April 26, 1813, aged sixty-two.

Their son, Major James Esterbrook, born in Warren, in 1775, married April 17, 1799, Polly, daughter of Colonel Daniel Stewart, and settled on the "Hadley Farm" near the family homestead. He engaged quite largely in the dairy business for a number of years, and became a conspicuous and popular figure in the local militia. He was the father of twelve children, all of whom grew to manhood and womanhood. He died March 5, 1856.

Children of Major James and Polly (Stewart) Esterbrook:

Maria, born September 7, 1800; married July 31, 1822, Rufus Pratt (see p. 670); died October 19, 1857.

Charlotte, born June 13, 1802; married April 10, 1825, William Bullock; died November 29, 1899. A daughter, Helen.

Daniel S., born April 17, 1804; married May 6, 1832, Betsey, daughter of Royal and Martha Roberts Gladden, born May 9, 1806, died 1901; he died September 19, 1869, aged sixty-five. Children: Oscar D. (see p. 673), Ann E.

Dorothy M., born January 27, 1806; married October 5, 1828, Solomon Fessenden; died May 27, 1878.

Nancy, born October 8, 1808; married Wesley Jacobs; died April 28, 1849.

Mary A., born November 6, 1810; married July 4, 1838, Harvey Houghton; died March 18, 1861.

James H., born August 10, 1812; married July 4, 1838, Miss Nancy A. French; died April 9, 1862; she died June 24, 1867, aged fifty-three.

Deacon William H., born July 31, 1814; married October 28, 1845, Miss Adaline A. Thayer, who died October 10, 1889, aged sixty-four; he died December 10, 1895. William H. Esterbrook learned the trade of tinsmith in the shop of Ashbel Dickinson. He became a partner in the firm of James H. and W. H. Esterbrook, established in 1837. The firm was in business in the Vinton building, corner of Canal and South Main Streets for twenty-seven years, when it was sold to Wood & Kathan. Children:

Ada, married May 17, 1870, George S. Dowley.

George S. Dowley, born in Wardsboro August 16, 1843, was the son of Darius L. and Anstis Baldwin Dowley. His father was then a farmer in the southwest part of the town. The family moved to Brattleboro and the son grew up in the village, receiving his education in the common schools. He left the High School to take a place in the railroad office, where he assisted in the bookkeeping and made collections. At that time the collections were made monthly and often the boy had in his possession from $4000 to $6000, which he carried to the office and which was then divided up and sent to the connecting roads. His alertness and his unusual capability for business attracted the attention of business men, and in 1863 Philip Wells, who was then cashier of the Bank of Brattleboro, went down to the freight office and offered him a place in the bank. This he accepted at the age of twenty.

In July, 1868, when he was only twenty-four years old, Mr. Dowley became cashier of the bank. He held the cashiership until

December, 1886, when he was chosen president, succeeding William P. Cune in that office.

Mr. Dowley for a long term of years was the Brattleboro town treasurer, county treasurer and treasurer of the village school district. He was a director in the Vermont Valley Railroad Company and a member of Governor Fuller's personal staff.

He died November 4, 1896.

Mr. Dowley left $50,000 to School District Number 2, $10,000 to the Free Library and $5000 to the Brattleboro Retreat.

Mary A., born July 14, 1848; married March 16, 1868, Lucius H. Richardson. A son, Charles, married November 8, 1898, Miss Vinnie E. Elmer. Children: Marion, Howard.

Emily S., born September 16, 1816; married September 20, 1836, Henry A. Gane, who was born in England and was apprenticed there seven years in the bookbinder's trade. At twenty-one he came to the United States, first to New Haven and later to Brattleboro, where he was in the employment of Holbrook & Fessenden's typographical company. He left Brattleboro in 1840, becoming a bookbinder on Cornhill, Boston.

He built a beautiful estate at West Newton, on his retirement from business. Their daughter:

Maria Elizabeth, born in 1841, received her education in the public schools of the West End of Boston and in Mr. Williams's private school in Somerset Street. She received a fine mental training and was especially devoted to the study of music. June 1, 1864, she was married to William Henry Dutton, one of the proprietors of *The Transcript* and son of its founder. Mr. Dutton died March 1, 1875, and February 16, 1881, Mrs. Dutton became the wife of Mr. Jerome Jones, head of the present Jones, McDuffie & Stratton. He died December, 1916; she died in June, 1908.

Cynthia J., born April 25, 1819; married January 5, 1843, Benjamin F. Tilden; died January 10, 1849.

George W., born December 2, 1821; married October 24, 1845, Miss Nancy A. Goddard.

Harriet E., born August 16, 1824; married Albert A. Cortis; died November 5, 1875.

### Frost Family—James Frost

James Frost, who was born in Rutland, Massachusetts, December 15, 1776, came to Brattleboro in 1779 and died February 21, 1857. He was a shoemaker, and became an extensive landowner in this place; married

Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Daniel Stewart of West Brattleboro, born October 16, 1782; died April 11, 1863.

Children:

Willard, born August 24, 1804; died August 12, 1879.

Charles C. (See below.)

John W., born April 19, 1814. (See p. 479.)

Henry J., died in Wooster, Ohio, August 19, 1887, aged sixty-eight. A dry goods merchant.

Eugene, born November 12, 1822; died March 17, 1905.

Colonel Edward D., born 1835; went to school here, and graduated from Dartmouth College in the class with B. D. Harris and R. W. Clarke. He taught school for a year in the South. He was a civil engineer, railroad constructor and manager of the Mississippi Central, which was constructed by him. He married, April 7, 1848, Miss Sophronia J. Butler of Stone Mountain, Georgia. He was a colonel in the Confederate Army. He died June 14, 1887, at McComb City, Mississippi; his widow died in Water Valley, Mississippi, March, 1891.

Fanny E., married September 1, 1835, Aaron E. Dwinell.

Helen C., married Mr. Miltmore; both were lost in the burning of the steamer *Erie,* on Lake Erie, in 1842.

Emily S., married November 10, 1846, Oscar Ormsbee of Circleville, Ohio; died March 26, 1868, aged forty-seven.

### Willard Frost

Willard Frost was born in the one-story house occupied for some years by his brother, Charles C., standing on the southerly side of Flat Street near the family mansion in which he died. He was educated at the village schools and at the Academy in West Brattleboro. He was apprenticed to learn boot and shoe making, and remained with his father in that business till April 1, 1831, when he succeeded to the ownership and management. His shop was in a two-story building which stood, as late as 1873, where H. M. Wood's store was. He was a man of more than usual intelligence and had an extensive knowledge of history. He was captain of the Brattleborough Light Infantry, 1825-1826.

He married July 25, 1836, Lydia, daughter of Henry and Lydia B. (Kilburn) Root of Craftsbury, Vermont, who died March 27, 1876. His daughter, Helen M. Frost, born November 6, 1842, married Major C. P. Dudley of the 5th Vermont Regiment; she died August 29, 1877.

### Charles C. Frost, the Learned Shoemaker

Charles Christopher Frost was born in this village November 11, 1805. Early in his teens he learned the trade of a shoemaker, and for several

years, or until his health failed, he worked at the bench, leaving it only to teach the village district school for a winter or two. In 1831 he established himself in the shoe business, spending there, in the quiet pursuit of his business, the last fifty years of his life.

At ten years of age young Frost noticed that the older schoolboys brought their sums for him to do and that in mathematics he was up to boys who were from five to nine years older than himself. He did not know what that meant, but his friends afterwards told him that they had discovered in him, from his first years, a considerable mathematical genius. When he was fifteen years of age his father became possessor of Hutton's Mathematics, which he had taken for debt from some West Point student. Young Frost looked at it with evident delight, and his father told him it should be his property if he could read it at twenty-one. At nineteen he had mastered the whole course. He went into astronomical mathematics, took up chemistry, learned very much of natural sciences in every department, and all the while attended to his business as a shoemaker.

From some neglect of his physical habits he superinduced mucous dyspepsia. No medical skill in his neighborhood seemed to relieve him. He went to New York to consult Doctor Willard Parker. While waiting in the anteroom, he admired intently a bouquet of flowers on the mantel, and was examining them when the doctor called him in. Doctor Parker candidly told him he could do nothing for him. "But," said the skillful and honest physician, "you can do very much for yourself. Are you fond of flowers?" "Very much so, indeed," said Mr. Frost. "Then make it a point to walk one hour in the morning, and one in the evening, looking for flowers."

He did so. His health constantly and rapidly improved. At first he could hardly keep on his feet during the hour, but he soon learned to walk many miles on the stretch. His scientific mind naturally began to study flowers in their scientific aspects. He began to be a botanist. He ordered Fries's book from London, paying $12 for it. He did not know until he saw it that it was written in Latin, of which tongue he was ignorant. He bought a Latin grammar, devoted himself to the language, and in six months could read his new book as well as if it was written in English. In the same manner he acquired German and French. He read scientific books equally well in four different languages.

Having studied mathematics for several years, with little or no assistance except from books, he finally made himself familiar with the most important works on algebra, geometry, calculus, etc. He turned his attention also to astronomy, geology, mineralogy, meteorology, in all of which branches of science he became very proficient. His researches

into that department of botany relating to the cryptogams, are especially worthy of notice, as in this department he was an authority for scientific men on two continents. He was for a time connected with the Smithsonian Institute as a reporter on storms, and discharged his duties most acceptably. In the meantime he kept himself "posted" on the great moral and political reforms of his age, with most of which he had strong, active sympathies. Sunday he rigidly devoted to public worship and the reading of works relating to morals, theology and religion.

Mr. Frost had habits of the closest observation and description. He made collections more or less extensive of minerals, insects, shells, grasses, mosses, ferns, lichens, fungi, and plants generally, and arranged them in a scientific manner. Most of these he collected with his own hands, not a few of them in early morning, before the usual hours of business; some on excursions made for the purpose, and others whenever business called him abroad, never omitting an opportunity to bring home any rare specimen which his quick, practiced eye might discover.

He was honored by being elected a member of different societies in America and Europe. He was author with Edward Tuckerman of a catalogue of plants growing without cultivation within thirty miles of Amherst College. The Frost Herbarium is at the University of Vermont.

He was for many years a member of the Congregational Church and up to the time of the beginning of his final illness had not failed of an attendance at church on Sunday for thirty-five years.

The degree of A.M. was conferred on him by both Dartmouth and Middlebury Colleges. He was a man of few words, and did not often appear in print, but when he did put pen to paper his style was a model of clearness, conciseness and strength.

In 1831 he married Roxanna Sargent, granddaughter of John Sargent, born August 12, 1806; died April 26, 1886.

Children:

Charles S., lived in Brattleboro until he was twenty-one, when he went to Wooster, Ohio, as clerk to his uncle, Henry J. Frost, a dry goods merchant; became cashier of Wayne County Bank, a member of the firm of Stebbs & Company, and Kanke & Frost, bankers. He was the first mayor of Wooster in 1869 and member of the city council. He was a good citizen and an honest man. He never married. Died January 7, 1904.

Wells S., born October 23, 1834; married Mary J., daughter of Dean J. Fenner of Irvington, New York, born July 12, 1840; died January 14, 1877; he died September 16, 1906. Children: Flora A., born, 1862; married April 30, 1895, William H. Proctor. Daughter, Vesta. Wells S. entered the employ of Frost & Goodhue, grocers, as clerk,

and was a partner from 1869 to 1880 in the firm John W. Frost & Company, later Frost & Proctor.

Henry B. S., died in early manhood.

### John W. Frost

John W. Frost was born April 19, 1814. He married, first, June 1, 1835, Mary Ryan, stepdaughter of Major Stephen Greenleaf. She died October 18, 1861. He married, second, 1864, Annie, daughter of Judge William Hall, who was born September 27, 1825, and died May 25, 1912.

Mr. Frost in his career and character was in many ways typical of the place. He was born at the old Frost house on Flat Street. He began his active life at the age of eighteen as teacher of the village school on the Common, but a year later he went into the Brattleborough Bank as clerk. He remained in this position about two years, went to Boston for a year, and in 1834 engaged in business at West Brattleboro as a member of the firm of Gregory & Frost, grocers.

After three or four years, returning to the East Village, he became a clerk in the store of Hall & Townsley; after this firm dissolved, he remained with Gardner C. Hall, until in 1846 he went into trade for himself, continued in it steadily for nearly thirty-five years, built up a large, flourishing business and won a repute all over this section of the state as one of Brattleboro's business men of integrity, whose word was always as good as his bond.

October 9, 1851, Colonel Francis Goodhue bought a half interest in the business and the firm became Frost & Goodhue. In 1869 Colonel Goodhue sold his interest to Wells S. Frost and until Mr. Frost's retirement in 1880, when he went to Peoria, Illinois, the house was John W. Frost & Company. Returning, Mr. Frost was also for a time engaged with J. F. Estey and one or two other partners in the meal and grain business; he was for several years president of the Valley Mill Company, with James Estey, superintendent, and Edward G. Frost, secretary and treasurer. He sold to William H. Minor January 1, 1882.

John W. Frost died June 13, 1896.

Children:

Elizabeth, born September 11, 1839; died October 9, 1916.

Emma S., married William H. Minor September 6, 1874. Children: Marion, married Lansingh Van Rensselaer, assistant general manager of Holophane branch of General Electric Company; William Frost, born December 22, 1880; married August 19, 1913, Helen A., daughter of Clement L. V. Kinney of Newark, Ohio.

John R., has lived with his uncle, Edward D. Frost, at McComb City, Mississippi, as storekeeper of machine shops in Chicago of St. Louis & New Orleans Railway, now Pueblo, Colorado.

Love A., married October 31, 1877, Gorham B. Goodell of Cheyenne, son of David Goodell of Brattleboro. David Goodell was born in Warwick, Massachusetts, May 12, 1814, married May 25, 1836, Miss Maverette S. Ballard, who died February 11, 1901, aged eighty-seven. He came to Brattleboro in 1835, and filled important offices to the satisfaction of the people, serving two terms in each branch of the Legislature, 1862-1863. He was a farmer, a successful raiser of live stock and a prominent member of the state and other agricultural societies. He died May 21, 1875. His son, Gorham B., born March 13, 1847, was educated in Brattleboro. He began his business career in Jay Cooke's bank in New York and remained several years with that institution; afterwards he went to Neosho, Newton County, Missouri, in the cattle herding business. He removed to Cheyenne, Wyoming, in 1872, and became a member of the stock firm of Sturgis, Goodell & Lane, one of the biggest in the state. For many years the business proved prosperous, but then came the years in the eighties when severe storms blotted out half the herds and the prices the following year fell one-half, which meant the financial ruin of most of those then engaged in the business. Mr. Goodell then went to Portland, September, 1891, and engaged in the milling and cattle feeding business. He died November 14, 1913. He was a man of warm heart and unflinching courage, who never murmured at fate no matter how strongly the tide set against him. Children: David, Gorham Lane.

Edward G., married, first, May 18, 1882, Miss Jessie B. Davis, who died December 10, 1892, aged thirty-seven. Children: Raymond M., born March, 1883, married, 1914, Miss Ruth Callahan; Stuart Eugene, born October 20, 1884, married, 1911, Miss Edna M. Marcy; Mary Elizabeth, born March 30, 1886, married, 1910, John C. Harvey; Edward Murray, born September 13, 1888, married, 1918, Miss Kathleen W. Thompson of Norfolk, Virginia. Edward G. married, second, October 22, 1910, Miss Harriet E. Wilcutt.

### Uriel Sikes

Uriel Sikes came here from Northampton, as a hatter's apprentice, about 1811. He soon began manufacturing hats in the firm of Phillips & Sikes, and lived on Flat Street near his factory. He was landlord of the American House and proprietor of the Vermont House from about

1820 to 1834, when he moved to Hartford, Connecticut, living there eight years.

He built the residence on Main Street, owned at last by his grandchildren, Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Thompson, and in 1843 kept a temperance hotel there called "Sikes Temperance House." He married, 1808, Miss Elizabeth Edwards of Northampton, baptized November 20, 1787, who died May 11, 1873. He died January 31, 1874. The fourth generation of descendants were in his house at the time of his death.

Mr. and Mrs. Sikes were a remarkable couple, retaining their intellectual faculties to the end, living exponents of the Puritan training, sentiment and belief,—simple in tastes and manners, honest, industrious, sincere, kindly, devout in attention to religious duties. She did housework almost to the day of her death. With limited means, they were always peaceful and content. He was very musical and played the bass viol in the early Church on the Common. After his wife's death he used to sing psalms and hymns to keep up his courage.

Children:

Elizabeth, born September 18, 1809; married July 13, 1829, Charles H. Cune, a merchant of Brattleboro, who was born November 26, 1798; died February 14, 1851; she died April 27, 1885. The name was originally McCune. Children: Elizabeth, born December 15, 1834, attended Reverend Addison Brown's School, the Brattleboro High School and Glenwood Seminary; married May 15, 1855, Charles F. Thompson; Frank G. McCune, of Columbus, Ohio; John H. McCune, of Newark, Ohio. Mrs. Cune always lived with her daughter Elizabeth Thompson. Coming from an old and sturdy New England family—the Edwardses of Northampton, of whom Jonathan Edwards was the most distinguished representative—she possessed those traits of character which characterized so many of the New England men and women of half a century ago—a strong will, a clear-cut intellect and an unswerving fidelity to duty. She was for more than half a century a member of the Congregational Church in Brattleboro. Her religious convictions, early formed, were of that earnest, solid and enduring nature which give an unchanging belief in the realities of the unseen world and produced a consistent consecration of her entire life to service to others. (Frederick C. Edwards, a bookbinder here from about 1840 to 1880, was of the same Edwards family.)

Mary L., born October 10, 1826; married March 15, 1847, George B. Kellogg. (See p. 711.)

Reverend Lewis E. Sikes, born October 19, 1810, in Northampton; prepared for college at the Brattleborough Academy; graduated

from Union College, Schenectady, in 1841; studied theology at Andover and New Haven; preached in Townshend, Vermont, Illinois, Michigan and Kansas; left, at his death in 1892, a wife and three sons.

### Clark Family—Samuel Clark

Samuel Clark, for many years a prominent and highly respected citizen, was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, in that part of the town which is now Columbia, February 28, 1777. His father was Samuel Clark, son of Timothy Clark of the same town, whose father, with a Mr. Dewey, purchased a tract of land of the Indians, which tract was called, down to a late date, the Clark and Dewey purchase.

Through his mother, Sarah Cushman, he was a lineal descendant of Robert Cushman, who came to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1621, and who, though not a clergyman nor even a "Teaching Elder," prepared and delivered the first sermon preached in New England that was printed.

The family, of which he was the ninth, consisted of seven sons and four daughters. Till he was eighteen years of age he labored on his father's farm in Lebanon. Then, after attending a high school for about four months, he went to Massachusetts and for about three years was engaged in teaching school, and was a clerk in country stores in Bernardston, Greenfield and Leyden. He then removed to Dover, Vermont, where he resided for some six years, engaged in mercantile business.

September 1, 1800, he married Susan Johnson, who was born in September, 1778, in Ellington, Connecticut, daughter of David Johnson of Dover, Vermont. In 1804 he removed to Guilford, where he prosecuted his business successfully for nine years. In 1813 he went back to Dover, which town he represented in the State Legislature in 1814. In 1815 he took up his residence in West Brattleboro, and for about fifteen years carried on mercantile business there.[1] In 1820-1821, and also 1825-1826, he was the representative of the town in the Legislature; 1829-1830, a member of the council of the state; in 1833, first assistant judge of the county court; in 1836, a delegate from this town for revising the Constitution. While in the Legislature, he was chiefly instrumental in obtaining the charter of the Brattleborough Bank, of which he was for twenty years following a director. For thirteen years he was one of the trustees of the Asylum for the Insane, and for thirty-five years was an active member of the board of trustees of Brattleborough Academy, ever manifesting a lively interest in the institution by his large contributions for building

[1] Honorable Austin Birchard engaged himself as clerk to Samuel Clark for two years from April, 1815. He married April, 1819, Roxanna, daughter of John Plummer, Junior, of Brattleboro.

and other purposes, and by his faithfulness in promoting the welfare of the school.

His religious life is supposed to have commenced during the year 1833, at which time, in company with many others, he joined the Congregational Church in West Brattleboro, then under the pastoral care of Reverend Jedediah L. Stark.

He was, in his sphere, a strong man, fitted by nature and by the wise and diligent use of his energies to exert an influence in society. Though possessed of strong feelings, his judgment was sound and his opinion was much valued by his neighbors. Prudence and sagacity were marked traits in his character. Another pleasing trait was his readiness to make amends for anything done under the impulse of excited feelings, which he was led afterwards to look upon as wrong. In all matters, however, involving moral principle, or that seemed to him of superlative importance, he was firm and unyielding; and he brought all the energies of his strong and impetuous nature to bear upon the business of maintaining and carrying out his convictions. His interest in the welfare of the church with which he was connected was deep and unabated to the last. He left to the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions a bequest of $5000.

Children:

Lafayette, born at Dover, Vermont, June 7, 1801.

Amandrin, died June 19, 1849, aged forty-seven.

Stanford Russell, married Miss Eliza L. Adkins. Children: Stanford, Susan E., Doctor Charles S.

Doctor Charles S. Clark, born July 28, 1846, attended the Brattleborough Academy and the Williston Seminary at Easthampton. He was also a student at Norwich University in the year 1862, and graduated at Eastman's Business College in 1865. His Harvard dental course began in 1868.

He married September 3, 1870, Miss Rebecca C. Clark, who died May 9, 1915.

He practiced dentistry in Woodstock in 1869, and came to Brattleboro in 1871. He was trustee of the Brattleborough Academy from 1879 and a director of the Vermont National Bank from 1901; he was deacon of the Congregational Church at West Brattleboro for thirty-four years. He died March 15, 1916, aged sixty-nine.

Children:

Lafayette Franklin, born September 19, 1871; graduated at Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst; resided at Des Moines, Iowa; afterwards at Oskaloosa.

Florence Rebecca, born June 15, 1873; graduated at Mount Holyoke; died June 14, 1913.

Doctor Charles Ernest, born February 21, 1875; graduated at Dartmouth College and University of Michigan; medical missionary in Sivas, Turkey.

Reverend James Stanford, born November 22, 1876; graduated at Dartmouth College and Hartford Theological Seminary. He has had parishes in North Bennington, Vermont, and in Madison, Maine.

Robert Cushman, born October 3, 1878; graduated at Dartmouth College; married Miss Katherine Perkins.

Mary Ellery, married Professor Wesley E. Nims; resides at Warren, Massachusetts.

Susan Louise.

Samuel Edward, born May 15, 1886; graduated at University of Michigan; a civil engineer; resides in Detroit. He married Miss DeGraux.

### Lafayette Clark

Lafayette Clark came to West Brattleboro with his father in 1815. After he became of age he entered his father's store, where he remained as clerk and later as partner until 1831. Though of a modest and retiring disposition, his townsmen learned to appreciate his sterling qualities and sound judgment, and for many years he was made prominent as an officer of the town and as a member of the community in which he lived. He represented the town in the Legislature in 1842-1844, was town clerk from 1844 to 1862, and was selectman and lister several years. For seventeen years he was town treasurer, for a time trustee of the public money and for forty-five years justice of the peace. He was one of the trustees of the Windham Provident Institution for Savings, now the Vermont Savings Bank, from its commencement until 1869, and from 1864 to 1868 its president. From 1869 to 1878 he was a director of the Vermont National Bank of Brattleboro and the last four years of this time its president.

For many years he served as clerk of the Congregational Church at West Brattleboro, of which he was a member and an earnest supporter. He took an active interest in the welfare of Brattleborough Academy, was a member of the board of trustees about fifty years, and about forty years clerk of the board. In every position to which he was called, he proved himself worthy of trust and honor, an efficient and faithful public servant and a sincere friend.

In private his life was remarkably noble and unselfish, and none regarded him with more honor than those nearest to him and those who turned to him for counsel or help.

TIMOTHY VINTON

DOCTOR JOHN WILSON
"THUNDERBOLT"

GRAVE OF DR. WILSON

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

BAPTIST CHURCH WEST BRATTLEBORO

RESIDENCE OF LAFAYETTE CLARK

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

April 16, 1828, he married Mary, daughter of Doctor Russell Fitch of West Brattleboro, who died August 1, 1886. He died August 22, 1881, aged eighty years. A daughter, Mary E., married April 30, 1874, Hiram F. Weatherhead.

### Anthony Van Doorn

Burnham says, "Anthony Van Doorn was the son of a West India sugar planter, who had studied for one of the professions but did not complete his studies." He was born in Bristol, Rhode Island, October 14, 1792, where he passed the most of the early part of his life. In the spring of 1815 he removed to West Brattleboro and established himself as a cabinetmaker. November 7 of the same year he married Miss Betsey Hubbard of Groton, Massachusetts. About this time his father, Moses Van Doorn, a tailor by trade, who had previously for a time resided in Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, removed to Brattleboro, where he spent the remainder of his days, dying in 1825. Here with increased facilities, together with large experience and rising ambition that forced him to stand abreast with the growing demand of the time, he continued the manufacture of furniture and conducted the business with such extraordinary energy and thrift that he soon ranked among the first manufacturers of the kind in the state. At different times he had associate partners for a brief period, namely, William Conant, one year; at another time his brother, Frederick A. Van Doorn, who went to Rochester, New York, in 1843, and whose wife, Matilda, died December 27, 1873, aged seventy-five; and later his sons, M. T. and C. A., who continued until the business was disposed of in 1851.

Asa Field came in 1842 at the age of seventeen and learned the cabinetmaker's trade in five years of apprenticeship to Anthony Van Doorn.

Others benefited by the opportunity afforded by Mr. Van Doorn's success in manufacturing. The energy and perseverance of Chester L. Brown secured for him in 1844, at the age of seventeen, a situation with Mr. Van Doorn in the making and finishing of cabinet furniture. At the end of five years he was able to take a responsible position in an organ factory just started, which he held for twelve years, and in September, 1858, began in the furniture and undertaking business with John J. Retting. In another year Mr. Retting sold out, and Mr. Brown prospered so well that in 1875 he built, to accommodate his business, a block on the very spot upon which stood the shop where he went as a poor boy to learn his trade. He moved into this block in 1869 and associated with him his youngest son, Cyril F. Brown, who married Miss Nellie M. Farnsworth.

In 1849-1850 Mr. Van Doorn built on South Main Street the brick house of many stories still known as the Van Doorn house. Being blessed with a strong constitution and possessing more than ordinary mental

endowments, he was able, during all his business career, to contribute his share of assistance in carrying forward the enterprises of his time. His strong self-reliance and progressive spirit, with independence of action, not infrequently created a ripple in the arena of reform; but being actuated by genuine philanthropy and Christian principle his efforts resulted largely in the elevation of society. His religious faith was of the Puritan type, as held by the Congregational schools of the century. "If he had faults," he also had an unwavering trust in an overruling Providence, was not slack in his devotions, and was upright, generous, persistent and unflinching in resolution in all his undertakings. He was among the first to engage in Sunday school work in this town and performed so prominent a part, with such energy and zeal, that he has been aptly styled "the father of the Sabbath schools." He was accustomed during his last years to visit Sunday schools in various places in the state, before which he spoke with considerable acceptance. He regularly contributed substantial aid to all the various branches of missionary work, and was a firm supporter of the Colonization Society, to which he was a regular contributor as long as he lived; at the same time aided runaway slaves in the abolition movement preceding the Civil War. He made a tour of nine months in Europe, which afforded him a great deal of satisfaction.

While on a visit to friends in Providence, Rhode Island, he died suddenly August 22, 1871. His wife died September 20, 1875, aged eighty-five.

Thomas Hill decorated furniture for Anthony Van Doorn in the fifties; he had previously engraved for the Typographic Company and painted miniatures. Born in Birmingham, England, he came to the United States in 1840 and settled in Taunton, Massachusetts, making his earliest painting in Boston, where he followed the profession of ornamental painting until 1853. In 1861 he went to California in impaired health and lived there, with times of study in Paris, until his death. His principal well-known works are, "The Yosemite Valley" (1867), "Donner Lake," "The Great Cañon of the Sierras," "The Heart of the Sierras," "The Yellowstone Cavern," etc.

Children of Anthony Van Doorn:

Mary Elizabeth, born in 1816; died January 3, 1896.

Moses T., born in January, 1821, at West Brattleboro, began his business career as clerk for Dutton & Clark, with whom he remained some six or eight years. From 1847 to 1851 he was engaged with his father in the furniture business under the firm name of A. Van Doorn & Sons. Afterwards for a time he was engaged in the meat business with Hannibal Hadley. As clerk for a time in the store

of F. H. Wheeler, he acquired his first knowledge of the crockery business, and in 1859 he established, in what was afterwards known as Devens Block, the well-known house of M. T. Van Doorn & Son—his son and only child, Elbridge H., who was born in 1848, being received into partnership. Elbridge H. Van Doorn married November 18, 1875, Mary H., daughter of Alfred Couch of Philadelphia. A daughter, Bessie, married October 18, 1894, Henry H. Crosby. A daughter, Betsey.

In 1877 the firm established a branch house in Greenfield, which was soon sold to Charles A. Van Doorn; and in the following year a branch house was established at Rutland with J. E. Tilson as resident manager. In December, 1847, Mr. Van Doorn married Miss Sophia L. Simonds of Brattleboro. He united with the First Baptist Church about 1874 and was one of its most prominent and devoted members, serving as trustee, teacher in the Sunday school, etc. As a man and a citizen he was regarded with universal respect—a pillar both in church and community. Though repeatedly urged to accept public office he persistently refused, but found his greatest pleasure in the society of friends and family and the daily duties of business life. He died November 12, 1885, at the age of sixty-four years and ten months.

Harriet, born January 17, 1823; married July 6, 1848, John S. Brown, who was a wood carver and had a furniture shop. For ten years—1863-1873—he was in Windsor and North Thetford, but returned to Brattleboro and entered the employ of the Estey Organ Company. He died February 11, 1908; she died March 8, 1916.

Charles A., born January 3, 1825, married Miss Sarah M. Brown; married, second, July 5, 1869, Miss Addie C. Baldwin of Chester. A daughter is Mrs. W. A. Burton of New Bedford, Massachusetts.

He went to Alabama on account of his health and engaged in the furniture trade in Eutaw and Montgomery, Alabama, for the ten years preceding the war. He was also interested in the raising of horses and cattle. Not being in sympathy with the South, his mail was confiscated for three and a half years, during which time his parents in the North heard nothing from him and supposed him dead. He was taken prisoner and forced to take up arms on the side of the Confederacy and was in the service two or three years, but finally was made prisoner by Union soldiers and released.

Returning from Alabama to Brattleboro, he and his second wife went to Concord, New Hampshire, but after the death of his father they returned to Brattleboro to live with his mother, and were here seven years, he being employed by the Estey Organ Company; they

then went to Greenfield, where for more than twenty years Mr. Van Doorn conducted a crockery store. He retired from business on account of ill health in 1901 and returned to Brattleboro. He died May 27, 1906.

He was a man of excellent business judgment and integrity and was an active member of the Baptist Church in West Brattleboro.

### Joseph Goodhue

Joseph Goodhue, son of Francis, was born October 27, 1794; he married November 2, 1815, Sarah, daughter of Eli Edwards of Northampton, who was born March 10, 1796.

For many years as a merchant here he was much respected for his business qualities and unswerving integrity. Although considered a most cautious man he was a large investor in the first railroad enterprise, the Vermont & Massachusetts Railroad, of which he and his son Francis were directors from its inception.

Colonel Goodhue, as he was called from being in command of a regiment of militia, held various town offices, and was on the first committee of the old Church on the Common for its removal and enlargement in 1847, he and William Fessenden heading the subscription list with $400 each; he was also on the building committee.

At the time of his death, August 23, 1861, his children were all married, settled mostly in Brattleboro, and with their families constituted a very important and influential part of the community.

Mrs. Goodhue had beauty, a vivacious temperament and a sympathetic nature which made a winning personality. Always taking a lively interest in her friends and acquaintances, their joys and sorrows, she was the central figure in a neighborhood of children and grandchildren who grew up around her. None of these characteristics suffered by age, when her mirthfulness and bright conversation were as a magnet drawing to her young and old. She was an active member of the Congregational Church, and one whose help to the poor or suffering could always be depended on.

Mrs. Goodhue died at her residence in Brattleboro November 11, 1883, in the eighty-eighth year of her age.

The farm now owned by the Retreat estate, which Francis Goodhue gave to his son, consisted of the southern half, perhaps more than that, and the beautiful hills and woods which stretch westward from the house and barns.

The northern part of the meadows and uplands belonged to the estate of Reverend William Wells, on which his family lived for three or four generations.

MRS. JOSEPH GOODHUE

MRS. CHIEF JUSTICE ROYALL TYLER

MRS. FRANKLIN H. FESSENDEN

MRS. NATHAN LAWRENCE

THERE WERE GRAND-MOTHERS IN THOSE DAYS

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

BRATTLEBORO VERMONT IN 1856

Land purchased by Francis Goodhue, on Main Street, was in possession of the family for one hundred and three years.

Children of Joseph Goodhue:

Mary Ann B., born August 14, 1816; married August 25, 1834, William P. Cune; died April 3, 1900. Their children:

William G., born December 17, 1835; died April 3, 1842.

Mary Goodhue, born October 11, 1841; married September 17, 1863, Francis E. Draper; died May 11, 1879. A daughter, Julia, married December 6, 1894, I. Chauncey McKeever of New York City. Children: Edith M., Marianne, Mary Frances.

Julia Hall, born February 25, 1844; married November 8, 1866, Major William C. Bartlett, U. S. A., son of Professor William H. C. Bartlett of West Point; died December 21, 1867.

### William Pitt Cune

William Pitt Cune, son of William McCune, who came to Brattleboro about 1767, born July 16, 1807, was first a clerk of Francis Goodhue & Son and later was in business alone. He was in the dry goods business in New York under the firm name of Cune & Edwards about 1843, George Jones, afterwards editor of *The New York Times,* being a clerk of the firm. On his return Mr. Cune entered into partnership with Colonel Joseph Goodhue, and finally with Frank S. Brackett, the firm being Cune & Brackett. This firm dissolved in 1872 after a partnership of twenty years.

Mr. Cune was trustee and on the board of investment of the Vermont Savings Bank from 1863 to 1878, and was director of the Vermont National Bank twenty years; for nine years, from January 1, 1871, he was president of the First National Bank. He died September 20, 1890.

William Pitt Cune's business abilities were widely recognized, but his unpretentious and quiet nature prevented his kindly and more human qualities being known outside his family circle and their connections.

Harriet S., born September 10, 1817; married January 13, 1835, Frederick Holbrook. (See p. 788.)

Lucy W., born July 27, 1819; married December 12, 1837, Chauncey A. Hall, M.D., of Northampton; died June 3, 1859; he died May 8, 1856.

Francis, born August 26, 1822; married October 26, 1847, Mary E., daughter of Captain William S. Brooks of Brattleboro; she died August 10, 1901; he died February 8, 1910. (See p. 683.)

Sarah F., born May 3, 1827; married, first, November 14, 1849, Albert

H. Bull of Hartford; married, second, November 12, 1873, Edward R. Chapin, M.D. (See p. 431.) She died in Paris May 26, 1886.

Mrs. Chapin left by will $5000 to the American Society for Home Missions; $5000 to the deacons of the Congregational Church, Brattleboro, for the poor of the parish; $2000 to the deacons to be used as an income to purchase books for the Sunday school library.

Albert H. Bull was born August 21, 1804, in Hartford, Connecticut, where for several years he was a successful druggist. He retired from business and resided in Brattleboro.

Mr. Bull was a man whose innate refinement and culture were expressed in his person as well as in his tastes,—"a gentleman" in appearance, manners and speech. He had a love of beauty which was cultivated by a study of the art treasures of Europe, and he made a considerable collection of steel engravings after some of the English masters. He occupied a large portion of his life of apparent leisure in beautifying his environment in a variety of ways.

For seventeen years he and Mrs. Bull spent their summers at Old Orchard Beach, Maine, where, laboring with his own hands and employing assistants, he laid out a park lot of forty acres, covered with a pine growth and owned by the Old Orchard House, in walks and avenues, rustic seats and arbors, adding materially to its attractions as a summer resort. In winters at his home in Vermont he painted signs for the names of the walks and shady nooks, "Fisherman's Hut," "Parsons Lodge," etc., and many other similar names that seemed to him appropriate to the various localities. His work was a purely disinterested one, and he could only have been prompted by his love of the beautiful.

To the Brattleboro library he made a donation of $2000 to be paid in annual installments of $100 each, for the purchase of books.

He died at Old Orchard July 29, 1869.

Frank S. Brackett, when a boy in his teens, came to Brattleboro, from Guilford, and for some years was clerk for Birge & Dickinson; leaving here for a time, he returned as clerk for Cune & Goodhue, which position he kept until 1851, when he became partner of the firm Cune, Brackett & Company, O. E. Austin being the third member; afterwards it was Cune & Brackett. He died December 22, 1878.

F. Alonzo Whitney at seventeen came to Brattleboro from Marlboro and learned the clothier's trade with Cune & Brackett; he succeeded Mr. Cune and after the death of Mr. Brackett conducted the business alone until 1888, when Young & Knowlton became his successors.

Henry F. Houghton, born in Newfane, when a mere boy began his mercantile career at Williamsville. His firm having dissolved, he was in Marlboro two years engaged in trade as a merchant and holding the office of town clerk. In 1857 he and John Blake came to this town and bought the dry goods business of Cune & Brackett in the store which he afterwards occupied as a member of the firm Houghton & Blake, Houghton & Snow, Spencer (Porter Spencer, who retired from the firm in April, 1877) & Company and Houghton & Kuech, with intervals when he had no partner. For a time he and Blake conducted business jointly in this town and in Rochester, Minnesota. Thus it appears that though he lived only to a little past middle life he was among the oldest merchants in the county.

He died June 4, 1884, aged fifty-eight.

Mr. Houghton was a quiet and unassuming man, devoting his life in the main to his family and friends. Integrity, temperance, an intelligent interest in books and public affairs, fidelity to friends, deep affections, patience under intense suffering and an unfaltering trust in a Supreme Power—these all characterized his life and made it worthy of respect and imitation.

He married, first, Miss Maria Jane Westcott, who died December 4, 1863, aged thirty-two. They had a daughter, Emma F. He married, second, Mrs. Laura Smith. Their daughter, Florence Mabel, was born July 28, 1869; died February 7, 1913.

### Wells Goodhue

was born December 19, 1802, at Swanzey, New Hampshire, and was ten years of age when he came here with his father in 1811; he graduated at Norwich University in 1823, and came back to Brattleboro to engage in trade with his father.

He was married about 1828 to Miss Laura A. Barnard of Lancaster, New Hampshire, who was born March 24, 1809, and died December 5, 1873.

Mr. Goodhue passed the most of his life in Brattleboro. He bought the Holbrook house on Main Street in 1857 of Major J. J. Crandall and sold it in January, 1873. He was a careful, prudent man, and never manifested any desire for office, though he was a man of excellent administrative ability and sterling honesty. His quiet, sagacious comments and remarks to those with whom he was familiar, respecting public movements and passing events, gave evidence of much reflection and discrimination, but his dread of contention kept him out of the arena of public debate. His wealth constantly accumulated by real estate transactions and judicious management of his capital. He was director of the old

bank and on its reorganization as the Vermont National Bank continued as director. He was elected president of the first bank here, chartered in 1821, and reconstructed in 1863. Much to the regret of those most interested in the institution, he could be retained in said office but a short time. A few months after his resignation he died, December 18, 1874, at the home of his only daughter, Mrs. Draper, near the city of New York. Mr. and Mrs. Goodhue had three children:

Lucy B., born in 1830; married November 5, 1850, Reverend George B. Draper of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, New York City; died March 16, 1903. Children: Frederick Goodhue, died June 28, 1914, Walter, Reverend Frank, Laura, and others.

Julia, born September 23, 1833; married September 21, 1864, Thomas H. Walters of New York; died October 1, 1867. A son, James W.

Charles W., born November 2, 1835; married Miss Helen Grosvenor Eldredge of Pomfret, Connecticut; died March 4, 1891. Children:

Bertram Grosvenor, born in Pomfret, Connecticut, April 28, 1869; educated at Russell's Collegiate and Commercial Institute, New Haven, and at Trinity, Hartford. He married April 8, 1902, Miss Lydia T. Bryant of Boston. Children: Frances B., Hugh G. Mr. Goodhue studied architecture under Renwick, and became partner of the firm of architects, Cram & Wentworth, in November, 1891, the firm being (later) Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson. They have been the architects for reconstruction and additions to the United States Military Academy at West Point and have designed many cathedral churches, St. Thomas's Church and St. Bartholomew's, New York City, Exposition Buildings at San Diego, California, collegiate and public buildings. Many book decorations and types, notably "The Altar Book," have been made by Bertram Goodhue. He has also been an extensive traveler. He is a fellow of the Boston Society of Architects and the American Institute of Architects, and a member of the New York Architectural League, Calumet Club, New York, and Tavern Club, Boston.

He is the author of "Mexican Memories," a contributor to magazines and to "Spanish Colonial Architecture in Mexico" by Sylvester Bangs, ten volumes.

Harry Eldredge, born in Brooklyn March 11, 1873, was educated at Holderness School, Holderness, New Hampshire, and at the Boston Art Students Association. He married Miss Mary Louise Wright of Cincinnati. Beginning as clerk in a business house at sixteen, he was later for ten years with Horace J. Phipps & Company of Boston, and is now in business for himself in The Harry E. Goodhue Company, manufacturers of stained glass. He has studied and

practiced the principles of making stained glass as it was made in the Middle Ages—mixing his colors directly into the glass while in a fluid state. Perhaps his finest window is in Emmanuel Church, Newport, Rhode Island.[1]

Edward, paymaster in the navy.

Wells.

## Major Henry Smith

Major Henry Smith was associated with the social and political history of this town and county for half a century, beginning with 1820. He belonged to that circle of the olden times known as the "ruffled shirt gentry." His father was Windsor Smith of Hadley and his mother was Miss Elizabeth Robbins of Wethersfield, Connecticut. Major Henry Smith was born in Hadley November 23, 1792; he married Miss Ruth P. Dickinson, born March 30, 1790, who died March 2, 1863, aged seventy-two. He died August 7, 1866.

Major Smith's strong intellectual face, invariably pleasant, and his dignity of manner, were distinguishing characteristics, and he was spoken of as the handsomest man of his period. No social event was thought to be complete without his attendance, together with that of his friend and associate, Colonel Chase, his contemporary in the hotel business. He was prominent in Masonic circles and a good auctioneer.

He held a number of public offices of trust and responsibility, among them that of high sheriff, judge of probate, 1843-1844, justice of the peace; in 1848 he was appointed postmaster, serving until the following June, when he was succeeded by Franklin H. Fessenden. He was for several years a director of the Vermont Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Montpelier, and for a long period the company's local agent. He again bought the old tavern of Colonel Chase, which he kept through the prosperous staging days. His genial nature and generous hospitality won for him valued friendships from all parts of New England.

Late in life he made a public confession of his Christian faith and many of the old settlers of Brattleboro remember the solemn occasion when he, the then white-haired, venerable and always honored man, stood up with two young men and united with the church.

Major Smith was an affectionate father, and provided well for his family, but later in life the depreciation in Vermont & Massachusetts Railroad stock, losses by indorsing for friends, with other losses, left him dependent. Nevertheless he left a more priceless record, alike honorable and just, a character above reproach among those with whom he was wont to associate.

[1] Mrs. Harry E. Goodhue is the only woman maker of stained glass in the United States.

Children:

Henrietta Augusta, born October 31, 1813; married December 20, 1832, General Franklin H. Fessenden; died April 2, 1884. (See p. 238.)

Henry Robbins, born July 4, 1816; died June 25, 1855.

Elizabeth Dickinson, born November 26, 1817; died at Menasha, Wisconsin, May 10, 1903.

Ann Maria, born August 20, 1819; married, first, September 9, 1841, James T. Craig of Louisville, Kentucky, who died June 3, 1852, aged thirty-five; married, second, August 24, 1860, Reverend Nathan T. (or James) Monroe of Bradford, Massachusetts. She died July 16, 1892. A son was Henry S. Craig, chief of civil engineers of the Pittsburgh Division, Pennsylvania Railroad. He died March 7, 1883, aged thirty-three.

Jane Robbins, born August 8, 1821; died February 17, 1826.

Harriet Booth, born September 6, 1823; married May 6, 1852, William H. Simpson of New York; died November 22, 1895.

Erastus, born June 11, 1827; married May 20, 1860, Miss Sylvia Dana of Boston; died February 13, 1875.

Elisha D. Smith, married October 24, 1850, Julia A., daughter of Spencer Mowry, banker, of Woonsocket, Rhode Island. He was clerk in a wholesale store in Boston between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one. For a short time he was in business in Woonsocket, where he found his wife; they traveled west on their wedding journey and settled in Menasha, Wisconsin. He established there the Menasha Wooden Hardware Company, amassing a large fortune, which he expended liberally for the good of mankind. He was a valuable citizen, although he refused the mayorship of Menasha more than once. He was an ardent Republican, was trustee of Ripton College, assisted other colleges and academies, and served on the American Board of Foreign Missions. A free public library to Menasha, gifts to thirty-four churches and many parsonages were among his benefactions. He traveled extensively. He left $5000 to found a Home for the Aged and Disabled in Brattleboro. He died July 7, 1899. Mrs. Smith died August 9, 1901. Children: Charles R.; Henry S.; Jane, married Elmer Smith of Menasha, Wisconsin.

### John H. Wheeler

John H. Wheeler was one of the oldest and most successful merchants of Windham County, a man whose business qualifications and sterling integrity inspired confidence beyond the community in which he lived. He was for more than thirty years in active life in this town.

He was born in Lincoln, Massachusetts, March 5, 1796. He came to Brattleboro before 1822 and had a clothing store in the Blake building. His was the only store where liquor was never in evidence. He erected Granite Block in 1835. A hall for public assemblies, "Wheeler's Hall," was over his shop. His wife, Lucy F., born February 1, 1800; died September 16, 1879. He died August 26, 1848.

As superintendent, his services were valuable not only for the time, but also in helping to shape the permanent policy of the public schools. A practical Christian, he went about doing good wherever he knew there was poverty or distress.

### Franklin Hoar Wheeler

Franklin Hoar Wheeler was born in Lincoln, Massachusetts, April 3, 1807. He came to Brattleboro in 1822 to work for his brother. In 1838 he built a house on Spring Street. From 1841 to 1849 he was of the firm Wheeler & Pratt. (See p. 671.) When that firm was dissolved Mr. Wheeler made a new partnership which continued until 1859. From 1866 to 1876 he was in New York with his brother-in-law, Wright Pomeroy. He lost his hearing in middle life, and during his last years lived quietly at home, dividing his time between reading and gardening, being an expert gardener. He married May 3, 1836, Miss Elizabeth Pomeroy of Newfane; she died July 31, 1881, at the age of sixty-six. He died October 13, 1902, aged ninety-four. They had five children, three sons and two daughters, those who survived their parents being:

Mary E., born in 1845; married October 28, 1869, James Dalton (see p. 590); died December 25, 1916. He died December 7, 1901. Their daughter, Stella Pomeroy, born July 30, 1870, married August 19, 1896, Richard M. Dodge, professor of geography in the Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, and has children: Stanley, Margaret, Philip Edward.

Frank P., graduated at Cornell; married, 1874, Mrs. Frances Trimingham Keyes. Lives in Chicago.

### Reverend John Calvin Holbrook, D.D.

Reverend John Calvin Holbrook, born in this town, was two years a student at Hopkins Academy in Hadley, Massachusetts (1818-1820), under Reverend Dan Huntington, father of Bishop Huntington of central New York; one year under the tuition of Reverend E. H. Newton and two years a cadet in Captain Partridge's Military Academy, Norwich, Vermont, at the most prosperous period of that institution, 1821-1824, graduating in 1825. He took an active interest in military matters; and

served as aid-de-camp to the general in command of Vermont Militia, Brattleboro district, 1828-1834.

He was a clerk in the bookstore of Messrs. Holbrook & Fessenden, 1824-1828.

He became a member of the Congregational Church under the ministration of Reverend Jonathan McGee. After a few years he succeeded his father in the book publishing and paper making business, and became a member of the firm of Richardson, Lord & Holbrook in Boston, and removed to that city but returned to carry on the work in Brattleboro. The Brattleborough Typographic Company[1] was incorporated in 1838 with Reverend John C. Holbrook president, but his want of business acumen involved the fortune of his father, who signed notes for the son until they both failed. From about this time his action seemed wholly under the control of a high ideal. Business was mainly desirable that he might have the ability to forward his religious and beneficent plans. While prosperity attended him, he assisted several young men in fitting for the ministry.

In the days of his youth his mind was much exercised in regard to the great West, for he believed the time not distant when she would control in our national councils. Therefore, not only the welfare of the Union, but of the world, demanded that the ideas of religious and political freedom, inculcated by the fathers of New England, be early implanted in the growing communities of the West. Before 1840 he removed to Davenport, Iowa. While there he became pastor of the church in the city of Dubuque, and in 1842 was ordained. Here he labored eleven years and was instrumental in building up one of the strongest churches in the state. In 1853 he removed to Chicago to establish and edit *The Congregational Herald* and to establish the New England Congregational Church, now one of the leading churches of the city and state. After three years of labor he was recalled to the pastorate of his former church in Dubuque, where he labored eleven years longer.

Being solicited to undertake the raising of an endowment fund for Iowa College, he removed to Boston, and, in a little more than a year, collected upwards of $40,000 for that purpose. While engaged in this work he was called to become pastor of the old Congregational Church in Homer, New York. During his ministration of six years in Homer, 1864-1870, he was induced by the American Missionary Association of New York City to visit Great Britain and address meetings held for raising funds for the education of the lately liberated slaves of this country. He collected and sent home $30,000 for this object. He also visited

[1] Edward Kirkland, Esquire, had an agency for the Brattleborough Typographic Company in Louisville, Kentucky, from 1838 to 1842.

the principal parts of Great Britain and the continent, corresponding with *The Boston Recorder,* and occasionally *The Congregationalist* and *New York Independent,* as well as *The Dubuque Daily Times.*

From Homer he was called to the pastorate of the Congregational Church in Stockton, California, in 1870, and after two years there was chosen by the General Association of New York State, in 1872, secretary of the newly formed Home Missionary Society and removed to Syracuse, where he subsequently resided in the discharge of the duties of this office. He was pastor of West Street Church in Portland, Maine, 1882-1883.

Mr. Holbrook was married in 1829 to Miss Cynthia S. Tuttle of Windsor, Vermont, by whom he had four children, all of whom died young; she died in Davenport, Iowa, January 14, 1842, aged thirty-five. He married, second, Miss Ann L. Clark of Platteville, Wisconsin; she died at San Francisco November 20, 1896. They had no children, but adopted and brought up as their own, two sisters, both of whom married and settled in Stockton and Dubuque.

While living in Brattleboro Mr. Holbrook was chosen deacon at the same time his father was in that office in the same church (an unusual circumstance) and was superintendent of the Sunday school. In Boston he was a member of Doctor Lyman Beecher's church, and for a time the clerk of it.

While in the West he aided in founding Iowa College, 1863-1864, and was one of its trustees. In Chicago he also coöperated in originating and founding the Chicago Theological Seminary and was one of its directors, and for a time vice-president of the board. In 1863 the honorary degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by Williams College, of which Doctor Mark Hopkins was president. After 1856 he was a corporate member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He was one of the originators and members of the historic Albany Convention of Congregationalists and was several times delegate to the National Council of that denomination.

In Brattleboro he manifested much interest in all public improvements, and was active in the projected railroad from Brattleboro to Troy. He was also appointed, by the governor of Vermont, commissioner to superintend the expenditure of $3000, granted by the Legislature to procure a preliminary survey of a route for a railroad from the south line of the state, north on the west bank of the Connecticut, which was accomplished by Professor Twining of New Haven, Connecticut, and which prepared the way for the present Connecticut and Valley Railroads.

He was one of the four original trustees of the Vermont Asylum for the Insane, under the will of the founder, Mrs. Marsh.

He died August 1, 1900, in Stockton, California.

He published several historical works and sermons, among them, "Prairie-Breaking, or Sketches in the Experience of a Western Pastor." "The Recollections of a Nonogenarian" (1898) was an autobiography of his life.

### Gardner C. Hall

Gardner C. Hall was born in Brattleboro in 1795, but he started on his business life in Putney; from that town, at that time (1829-1830) larger than Brattleboro and with considerable wealth among its inhabitants, as a center, his general merchandise store became the source of supply for the whole county. Besides a large wholesale and retail trade in dry goods, hardware and West India products, delivered by his own flatboats that came up the river from Hartford, Connecticut, he engaged in the manufacture of linseed oil, cotton, iron, etc.

To begin life as a clerk to Gardner C. Hall gave a certain guarantee of character above that under any other merchant, and many a man in later life attributed his success to the training received in this famous old store. William F. Brooks, Horace Brooks, George J. Brooks, George W. Goodrich, Aaron E. Dwinell, John W. Frost and William S. Newton were of the number. Mr. Hall's ability, energy and good judgment were fortified by an integrity without compromise.

Burnham says that "one of the interesting events of the old times was the arrival of one of Hall's [Hall & Townsley] flatbottom ships, laden with twenty or twenty-five tons of merchandise. The large white sails, swelling up the rapids, along the shore of tall trees and banks of summer verdure, were assisted by hard-handed swift watermen, who on arrival at the landing, were sure to gratify their weakness for the contents of the back-store of their patron."

He contributed to every public enterprise that appealed to his judgment and principles, giving freely of his time as well as money. A prominent member of the Unitarian Church, he was one of the most generous in aid to the erection of the first meeting-house of that society. An opponent of the Democratic party (from Jackson to Pierce), a devoted Whig, he was chosen representative from Brattleboro to the State Legislature in 1845.

In 1826 he built a brick dwelling-house on Main Street where the Baptist Church now stands. His handsome fortune, which he used so largely to advance the prosperity of his native town and her institutions and for the relief of the unfortunate, was swept away by reverses in his later days, but he always received the respect and regard of his townsmen as one of their most distinguished citizens.

He married, ——, Julia Ann, daughter of Colonel Thaddeus and Jemima (Loomis) Leavitt of Suffield, Connecticut, a sister of Mrs. Jona-

than Hunt, who was born January 27, 1806, and died May 29, 1880. Mr. Hall died March 22, 1856.

Children:

Henry Leavitt, died November 17, 1846, aged nineteen.

William, died December 10, 1850, in Wetumpka, Alabama, aged twenty.

Addison B. (See p. 750.)

George C. (See p. 748.)

John Leavitt. (See p. 750.)

Jennie M., married October 6, 1866, Harry E. Dodge of Brooklyn, New York. They had a son, Harry.

A grandson of Colonel Thaddeus Leavitt was John G. Leavitt. He married November 2, 1866, Miss Mary Van Nostrand, born at College Point, Long Island, May 19, 1846. After his death she came to Brattleboro to live with her children, Harry, born June 13, 1868; John, born June 21, 1871; Elizabeth Van N., married August 11, 1900, Doctor Daniel H. Calder.

### Deacon Aaron E. Dwinell

Deacon Aaron E. Dwinell, born in Grafton, Vermont, married September 1, 1835, Fanny E., daughter of James Frost. He died October 31, 1869, aged sixty-five years.

When a young man he was employed as clerk in a dry goods store in Bellows Falls. He came to Brattleboro as clerk for Gardner C. Hall, and after a few years went into business for himself, having a small dry goods store on the site of the Town Hall. A brick block which he erected was afterwards occupied by Thompson & Ranger, and here Mr. Dwinell carried on his mercantile business until he went into the furniture business in a shop where he sold furniture and coffins, on the west side of Main Street, near the Whetstone Brook. He also erected a dwelling house, in which he resided several years, near the Common, and where afterwards Mrs. Howland had her school. He was living in the Sikes house, where the Federal Building now stands, when his store was swept away by the great flood, which, occurring at a time when he was in feeble health, hastened his death. He was deacon of the Congregational Church and chairman for many years of the school committee—a useful and respected citizen. He left four interesting daughters:

Children:

Helen F., born in 1846; married August 28, 1865, James Ballard of Tarlton, Ohio.

Lucia H., married, 1875, Edward Chase of New Britain, Connecticut.

Alice S., went from here to teach music in Gallipolis, Ohio, and married

there, September 5, 1871, Paul Henking of Verona, Italy, where they lived thirteen years; she died in Springfield, Ohio.

Etta, married November 25, 1875, George Wilson of Springfield, Ohio.

### Colonel Paul Chase

Colonel Chase was born in Guilford, Vermont, April 11, 1792. He grew up in his native town and married there Gratia, daughter of Doctor Dana Hyde. After they came to Brattleboro he was high sheriff of the county for twenty years, the number of times he was reappointed being "the least indication of the satisfactory manner in which he discharged the duties of his office"; he was colonel of militia and proprietor of the old Stage House twenty years; with Major Henry Smith was agent for the old lottery organization. He was a member of, and ardently attached to the principles of, the Masonic fraternity. He died April 24, 1857. Mrs. Chase died December 27, 1875, aged eighty-two.

Chase Street and Chase Cascade were named for Colonel Chase, who resided at one time on the site of the Cutts house and owned land thereabouts. The old Chase house[1] on the Common was moved to North Street in 1871, occupied by Mrs. Crandall who kept it as a boarding house, Mrs. John Leavitt, and finally by Edward W. Frost.

Paul Chase was distinguished for manliness, a commanding personal appearance, and remarkable urbanity of manners, the outgrowth of uniform kindness of heart and generosity to the claims of others. His wife, Gratia, of unusual beauty of person, was no less distinguished for all the graces and loveliness of life that adorn the character of a Christian lady.

Children:

Lucy, married, first, —— Deming; married, second, October 10, 1842, Dorrance Davis of Hartford; died June, 1876, at Irving-on-Hudson at the home of her son-in-law, Henry Cannon.

Edwin H. Chase, born July 15, 1819, early became a clerk in his father's hotel; then engaged in the clothing trade with Jarvis Crandall in the forties. In 1851 or 1852 he was proprietor or manager of the Revere House and also of the Brattleboro House. In 1854 he opened the Pierrepont House, Brooklyn, New York, with his cousin, Frederick Whitney, and later engaged in the wholesale whiskey trade in New York City with S. T. Suit. About 1866 he moved to Louisville, Kentucky, and carried on an extensive distillery in Bryantsville, Kentucky, with his son, Charles E., and Augustus S. Jerome,[2] whose wife, Eliza Isham Jerome, died in Brattleboro May

[1] It was taken down by George Dunham in 1912.

[2] Mr. Jerome left by will $2500 to St. Michael's Episcopal Church.

10, 1896. He sold out his interest in Louisville to his son Charles in 1896. From 1877 his summers were spent in Brattleboro, and in 1882 he bought the Park House for a summer residence. After 1897 he lived here continuously until his death, October 31, 1901. Mr. Chase inherited the urbanity and mellow personality of his father. March 21, 1842, he married, first, Evelyn, daughter of Ashbel Dickinson, born April 29, 1824; died April 3, 1870. Children:

Emma F., born January 12, 1843; married Washington Manley, who was born in Philadelphia, the son of Reuben and Charlotte Manley. His father was a broker. The son was educated at Tours, France, and Phillips Academy, Exeter. He was with his father in business and was a member of the Stock Exchange. He died June 30, 1895, aged sixty-two. Mrs. Manley died December 10, 1908. Children: Evelyn Chase; Louise, married W. S. Gray, a lawyer of New York.

Charles E., of Louisville, Kentucky, married October 16, 1872, Miss Julia R. Stockwell of Louisville, who died November 28, 1882.

Edwin H. Chase married, second, March 21, 1872, Miss Sue A. Cowan of Kentucky, who died in 1910. Their daughter, Allethaire, married June 19, 1895, J. Harry Estey. (See p. 638.)

Harriet Hooper, born about 1827; married January 22, 1849, Alfred Gaudelet of Paris, France. They lived in Providence, Rhode Island, until 1870, when they moved to Boston. Mr. Gaudelet died in 1875; she died December 13, 1901. They had four children: Louise A., who is Mrs. William Amory of Boston; Mrs. John Peters of Boston; William Gaudelet; Howard Gaudelet.

### Charles A. Chapin, M.D.

Charles A. Chapin, M.D., was born at Orange, Massachusetts, July 10, 1803, but his father, Judge Oliver Chapin, removed to Brattleboro almost immediately after his birth.

Doctor Chapin was fitted for college by Reverend Doctor Coleman, and graduated from Harvard University in 1823, when twenty years of age. He went through the usual course of studies for the medical profession under the direction of the celebrated Doctor Bigelow of Boston, and commenced the practice of medicine in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1826. He married May 8, 1827, Elizabeth B., daughter of Nathan Bridge, Esquire, of Charlestown, Massachusetts. She died March 28, 1828.

Doctor Chapin married, second, January 6, 1830, Miss Sophia Dwight Orne of Springfield, born March 6, 1810; died February 14, 1880. She was a woman of unusual vivacity, cheerfulness and mentality, and the center of a brilliant social circle.

In 1831 he removed to Brattleboro, and soon gave up the practice of medicine, thereafter devoting himself to business and public affairs. He was a member of the Legislature in 1833, was for a long time deputy sheriff and the most active officer of that kind in the county. He was United States marshal during the administration of President Pierce, and for twenty-five years he was the favorite moderator and presiding officer at town meetings and other public gatherings. For many years he was one of the directors of the Vermont Mutual Insurance Company. Until infirmities forbade, he was the very acceptable and efficient engineer of the fire department; also a director of the Vermont Valley Railroad Company when their road was being constructed, in 1850, and at the same period a clerk of the company. He was one of the first members and organizers of the Unitarian society.

Doctor Chapin was an active, energetic and influential man in this community for nearly forty years, and whatever was given him to do was always well and faithfully done. During a period of several years after resigning his medical practice, his advice in counsel was deemed of importance by the profession. Nature was lavish in giving him excellence of form and feature and a commanding presence. Quick of apprehension, high-spirited, honorable in his dealings with men, possessing all the advantages which education, social culture and position give, his strength and weakness were those of a man of the world. He died January 6, 1876. Children by the first marriage:

Elizabeth Alice, born February 28, 1828; married January 7, 1847, Joseph Clark; died October 4, 1876. Children: William Orne Clark, who died September 29, 1876, aged twenty-six; Alice; Charles W.; Oliver C.

By the second marriage:

Lucinda Orne, born December 31, 1830; married January 7, 1851, Josiah Wheelright of Boston. Children: Sophia D., died 1891; Caroline B., died 1892; Josiah.

Oliver Howard, born July 15, 1832; married May 25, 1871, Miss Louise M. Lynch; died April 28, 1883. Their son, Charles W., married Miss Gertrude Griffiths of Manchester, England.

Mary Wells, born September 27, 1834; married December 29, 1854, Charles Warder of Philadelphia, who came here to the Water-Cure; he was born September 28, 1835, and died March 18, 1867. She died January 27, 1916. In personal attractions, mentality and culture, Mrs. Warder had the quality of the Chapin inheritance to the full, and in giving herself with a remarkable loyalty to her family, to the church and to the town where she passed her long life.

William Orne, born March 10, 1837; died January 3, 1895. He was

born in the old Chapin house, corner of Main and High Streets, and began his business life as clerk in a store in Boston. During the Civil War he and George Salisbury were clerks to the sutler of the Fourth Vermont Regulars, were taken prisoners and confined in Libby Prison. Later and for some years he was confidential clerk in the office of the Erie Railroad, New York. He retired from business and lived at the Brooks House from that time until his death.

Charles Jones, of St. Louis, born August 31, 1846; married February 2, 1876, Miss Jennie Skinner of Oswego. Children: Mary Warder, Orne Wheelright, Charles Howard, Marguerite I.

### John Hyde

John Hyde, a native of New York, served in the War of 1812. He came to Brattleboro from Bolton, Massachusetts, about 1828. For twenty-six years he had the care of Prospect Hill Cemetery.

He married Julia D. Whiting, born April 11, 1793; died February 27, 1861.

He was a man kindly and genial. He died October 31, 1876, aged eighty-one years six months.

Children:

John.

Frances Whiting, born October 27, 1816; married August 13, 1843, R. G. Hardie; died January 16, 1901. They were the parents of Robert Gordon Hardie, the artist. (See p. 970.)

Caroline M., died September 22, 1868, aged forty-eight.

William Hyde, born June 14, 1802, in Lancaster, Massachusetts; married March 3, 1828, in Lowell, where he was with Bent & Bush, hatters, Eliza P. Hovey, daughter of E. P. Hovey of Dracut, Massachusetts; she was born July 11, 1800; died April 11, 1883. He died July 23, 1890. He came to Brattleboro in 1830 and was with his brother John, who had a hat store and factory; R. G. Hardie, who had also come from New York in the same year as John Hyde, was with them in business after a time, the firm being Hyde & Hardie. William Hyde retired in 1860. He was a man of strong and original opinions—of absolute integrity. He led a quiet life illuminated by extensive reading. Children:

Mary Ann, married August 22, 1851, M. W. Chittenden of Williston, Vermont, and Galesburg, Illinois; he died January 3, 1882, aged fifty-eight; she died April 20, 1888, aged fifty-eight. Children: William, Arthur.

Eliza, born July 3, 1831. She taught ten years in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and in St. Louis; also in Brattleboro. December 22, 1864,

during the administration of Mr. Fessenden as secretary of the treasury, she entered the Federal Service, appointed by President Lincoln. Letters dated November 18, 1864, show her application for clerkship accompanied by a letter from Charles K. Field informing Secretary Fessenden that Miss Hyde was "capable, bright, alert, and efficient." Beginning with a salary of $800, it was increased to $1200 in 1884; in 1889, to $1400; in 1916, to $1600. On the fiftieth anniversary of her clerkship in the division of issue in the office of the comptroller of the currency, and at the age of eighty-three, Secretary McAdoo sent her a letter of congratulation. She remained in that office four more years. For forty years she was never absent without pay; for thirty-five years she was never absent on account of illness; for thirteen years she gave the government a portion of her annual leave. She died March 6, 1919.

Angeline B., married November 22, 1858, Lucius Henry Buckingham of Boston; died October 14, 1912. Children: Mary, Eleanor.

J. Warren Hyde, died at Vicksburg, Mississippi, in the service of his country, July 25, 1863, in the twenty-seventh year of his age. (See p. 780.)

Josephine, born in 1839; died August 31, 1899. She was a woman of many accomplishments, notably in music, English literature and the modern languages. She was for some years a teacher in the High School in Brattleboro. She also gave private instruction, and for one year was a governess in a wealthy planter's family in Santiago de Cuba. She had an intimate and formative relation with the character of her pupils, besides being a stimulating teacher.

### Zelotes Dickinson

was born April 30, 1807; he married February 25, 1834, Susan, daughter of Joseph Henry Phelps of Halifax, born March 27, 1810; died September 28, 1837; married, second, June 22, 1840, Mary Jane, daughter of Colonel Asaph and Mary Newton Smead of Greenfield, Massachusetts; she was born October 10, 1817, and died January 1, 1898. He died October 28, 1854.

He was of the firm Birge[1] & Dickinson, general merchants. The slate quarries at Guilford were opened by him and he formed a company for operating them.

[1] John Birge had a woolen factory, which was destroyed by fire in 1843, was rebuilt, a part of the building occupied as the Rule Factory—was later carried on by Ripley & Fowler. John Birge was born May 27, 1780; died April 21, 1859. His wife, Hannah, died April 23, 1850, aged sixty-nine.

Mr. and Mrs. Dickinson lived in a house on the site of the Lawrence Water-Cure; they were in New York two years in the early fifties, where Mr. Dickinson was a commission merchant and agent for the National Oil Stone Company, 94 Wall Street. On their return to Brattleboro, they moved to the house next north of the Centre Church.

Their son, Frederick Zelotes, was at one time in business with Eddy & Hopkins (J. Alonzo), the firm being Hopkins, Dickinson & Company, bronze hardware works, and again with Hall & Bradley, manufacturers of paint and white lead.

He married Miss Harriet Miller of New York. The Cutts place was their summer home from 1892, until they purchased the "Bliss Farm" in 1899. In 1904 "Beechwood," the former residence of Mrs. J. N. Balestier, was added to their estate.

### Asahel Clapp

Asahel Clapp came from Winchester, Massachusetts, about 1831. He was a carpenter by trade, but in later years directed his attention to horticulture and landscape gardening. He laid out the ground surrounding St. Michael's Episcopal Church. He married, first, Miss Annie P. Wilder, who died March 7, 1844, aged thirty-nine. A daughter, Janette (Mrs. Starr). He married, second, Miss Susan Wilder, who died June 19, 1861, aged fifty-two. A daughter, Jane M., died August 7, 1874, aged forty-one. He died July 26, 1871.

George H., was born April 20, 1846. He attended the graded schools and the High School, and in the early sixties began a clerkship in a stationery and book business, conducted by Welcome Felton on the present site of the Vermont National Bank. Soon after Mr. Clapp entered the employ of Mr. Felton, the firm changed to Felton & Cheney, and on April 1, 1869, Mr. Clapp bought out Mr. Felton's interest, the firm then becoming Cheney & Clapp. The big fire of 1869 completely wiped out the west side of Main Street, including the business house of the young stationers. The firm then moved to the store over Pratt, Wright & Company, where it remained until the Crosby Block was completed, when it was again moved to permanent quarters. The partnership continued until April 1, 1885, when V. O. Jones bought out Mr. Cheney's interest, the firm becoming Clapp & Jones. Mr. Clapp has never run for or been elected to any public office, and has never joined any fraternal order. For many years he has been a member of the Centre Congregational Church, of which he is now senior deacon. He is a fine musician, having played piccolo and flute with the Brattleboro Military Band for forty-five years, and he was its business manager for thirteen years. Mr. Clapp married

Clara A., daughter of Daniel and Emily Rugg Towne of Sullivan, New Hampshire. The house in which he lives was built by his father. It is located near the street directly north of the Episcopal Church property. The house, when built, was in many respects a model, as it was equipped with furnace and bathroom, both of which were unusual in those days. Children of George H. Clapp: George W., born July 2, 1876; Emily R.; Arthur L.

Arthur B., born January 20, 1851, member of firms Randall & Clapp and A. B. Clapp & Company and proprietor of the Wilder Farm Products Company, in connection with his large farm interests, was president of the Brattleboro Trust Company and of the S. A. Smith Company. Died April 3, 1921.

### Samuel Dutton

Samuel Dutton was born in Boston September 27, 1801; he removed to Hillsboro, New Hampshire, with his parents; was in trade in Unity with Thomas Leverett, and came to Brattleboro about 1832, being in partnership here also with Thomas Leverett. Their business was burned out and he formed another partnership, with Joseph Clark, in hardware and drugs, which continued until June, 1853.

He was postmaster from 1853 to 1858, and again in business as grocer with Henry Glover until he died, February 11, 1863. He was president of the Vermont Savings Bank from 1858 until his death, a selectman, a lister and an old-time Democrat. A schoolmate of President Franklin Pierce, under whose administration he served, he and Doctor Charles A. Chapin were looked upon as President Pierce's local advisers in the distribution of the patronage of the locality.

"He was as modest as a woman," said one of his early friends at the time of his death, "yet a braver heart, and a more positive nature it would be difficult to find. Everybody respected him and his judgment."

His wife, Sarah, died December 9, 1832, aged thirty-one. February 16, 1836, he married Mrs. Sylvia French, who died August 16, 1886.

Children by first marriage:

Nancy Maria, married Noyes Streeter; she died April 16, 1896; Lucretia; Harriet; Adelaide. Children of Mr. and Mrs. Streeter: Adelaide, married Robert Gould; Edward; Josephine; Adeline.

By second marriage: George, died, aged fourteen; Caroline; Emma.

### Honorable Calvin Townsley

Colonel Calvin Townsley was born in 1796 and was a native of Walpole, New Hampshire. In early life he entered a store in Chesterfield, New Hampshire, in which he became a partner at about twenty-one. He after-

wards kept a public house in Newfane, from which place he removed to Templeton, Massachusetts, where he won an extended reputation as a landlord. In 1836 he came to Brattleboro and engaged in the mercantile business with Gardner C. Hall, under the firm of Hall & Townsley. About ten years thereafter Mr. Hall retired and the business was continued in the name of Townsley & Sons. In 1855 Colonel Townsley removed to St. Louis, where he was again engaged in managing a public house nearly to the time of his decease.

For many years he was one of the prominent citizens of Brattleboro and a leading man in the county and state. In the local and general politics of Vermont Colonel Townsley played an important part. He represented Brattleboro in the General Assembly, 1837-1838, was a senator from Windham County, 1839-1842, a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1850 and presidential elector in 1844. In 1848 he came within a very few votes of receiving the nomination for Congress for the congressional district of which this county formed a portion, being only unsuccessful by the election of a third candidate. The later years of his life were somewhat clouded by unsuccessful business transactions.

He married Maria, daughter of Chester Pomeroy of Newfane, and they lived, when he was prominent in business and politics here, in the house brought down from Newfane Hill by Mr. Pomeroy in 1833, known in Brattleboro as the Park House, taken down to give place to the residence of J. Harry Estey.

He died in St. Louis August 16, 1859, aged sixty-three.

A sister of Colonel Townsley was the wife of Merrill Reed of Newfane, and mother of Mrs. Roswell Field, who was mother of the poet, Eugene Field.

Children:

Stella W., married Obadiah H. Platt; died April 9, 1879; he died February 13, 1893, aged eighty-six.

Charles W., died November, 1863.

Henry.

### Seth N. Herrick

Seth N. Herrick was born September 20, 1819, son of Seth and Melinda (Coughland) Herrick and grandson of Jonathan, who came to Brattleboro among its early settlers. He was educated at the Brattleborough Academy. For the first fifteen years the family lived in West Brattleboro, —from 1834 for six years on a farm. After he was twenty-one he was in business in New York between three and four years, but returned to his native town and was associated with Hannibal Hadley in the meat business for a time.

He married Mary P., daughter of Samuel and Mary Prouty Miller, who was born in West Brattleboro August 23, 1823, and died August 20, 1908.

He was one of the original incorporators of the Brattleboro Savings Bank and treasurer for several years; a member of the board of investment of the Savings Bank and a director of the Peoples National Bank.

He was tax collector from 1862 to 1875; deputy sheriff and collector from 1861 to 1868; selectman from 1868 to 1888, except one year, and chairman of the board of selectmen sixteen years; deputy sheriff and collector from 1870 to 1884; high sheriff in 1869-1870; represented the town in the Legislature, 1866-1867. He died May 11, 1895, aged seventy-five.

### George Baty Blake

Founder of the Banking House of Blake Brothers, Boston.

George Baty Blake, the youngest of the nine children of John Welland and Abigail Jones Blake, was born May 19, 1808. His mother died in 1808, within a few months after George's birth, and his father in 1818.

George, thus early left an orphan, during a portion of his infancy was placed with and cared for by Stephen Greenleaf and his family, living at the West Village, and in after years he held their memory in grateful remembrance. Subsequently he lived at the homestead until the age of thirteen. His eldest sister, Anna Sophia, who in 1814 married Henry Cabot, son of Honorable George Cabot of Boston, had charge of the household during George's childhood until she went to Boston upon her marriage and there lived until her death in 1845. Mrs. Cabot is well remembered in Boston society of the time, for her personal charms and her social graces.

After the death of his father, George was for a few years particularly under the charge of his eldest brother, John Rice Blake. These brothers, the eldest and the youngest of the family, long survived the other children, and were for twenty years or more partners in the banking business, which George undertook about the year 1850, in Boston, and to which the energies of the remaining years of his life were largely given.

Although George's father had been a man of very considerable wealth for the time, at his death the family were left quite poor, so that when Mr. Dickerman, a dry goods dealer from Boston who chanced to see George, then a lad of thirteen, in Brattleboro, offered him a place in his store, the family gladly availed themselves of the offer, and the boy went to Boston. He lived at first with his sister, Mrs. Cabot, in Winthrop Place, Boston, and for two or three years received from his brother John and this sister $50 a year, which was the only help of the kind he ever received. He was in Mr. Dickerman's employ a few years and went thence to his brother-in-law, Edward Clarke, of Edward Clarke & Com-

pany, dry goods importers, and before he was twenty-one years of age Mr. Clarke took him into the firm as partner. From this time, in 1828, he was constantly going to England and the continent of Europe for the purchase of goods, making many acquaintances and some lifelong friendships. Among many others he thus came to know George Peabody, at that time a buyer of dry goods for his Baltimore firm and afterwards long resident in London, where for several years Mr. Blake had large business relations with his firm.

In these early years in England Mr. Blake made the acquaintance of Richard Cobden, the distinguished English statesman, then, in 1835, partner in a cotton printing establishment near Manchester, where he had built up a prosperous business. Mr. Blake at this time bought goods of Mr. Cobden and had a great admiration for the qualities which later won him such distinction as a legislator and political economist. Mr. Blake gave full adherence to Mr. Cobden's free trade views, and was always of the opinion that for any country custom duties were only to be justified by the need of revenue. He recognized, however, for the United States, that reform in this direction, in justice to large vested interests, must be somewhat gradual; but looked confidently to absolute free trade for all nations, and believed that in the not distant future the United States, under a free trade policy, would be cotton manufacturers for the world.

Mr. Blake, after leaving the firm of Edward Clarke & Company, formed a copartnership for the importation of dry goods with Mr. William Almy, under the firm name of Almy, Blake & Company, and during this time and subsequently was constantly crossing the Atlantic for the prosecution of his business in buying goods through England, France and Belgium. He next formed a copartnership with David Nevins and Edward H. R. Lyman, under the firm name of George B. Blake & Company, also importers of dry goods. Mr. Nevins lived near Boston, carrying on a large manufacturing business, and Mr. Lyman in Brooklyn, New York, associated with his brother-in-law, Mr. A. A. Low, in the firm of A. A. Low & Brothers, merchants in the Chinese trade.

About the year 1846, Mr. Blake's health, which had always been delicate, failing him, he was obliged to give up active business, and in the spring of 1847 he bought an estate in Brookline, near Boston, where he lived the rest of his life, excepting during the winters of the last few years, which were passed at his house in Boston.

During the three or four years' interval in his active business career, Mr. Blake became a director in the Boston & Worcester Railroad, and took a most active interest in the affairs of that corporation, giving much of his time and energy to the development of its growing business. He was one of the very earliest to favor and promote the joining of this

railroad with the Western Road. In 1850 Mr. Blake associated himself with Mr. Addison Gilmore, president of the Western (now Boston & Albany) Road, and Mr. George Cabot Ward, son of Thomas G. Ward, Boston agent of Baring Brothers & Company of London, for the prosecution of a foreign and domestic banking business. The firm name was Gilmore, Blake & Ward. Mr. Gilmore dying very suddenly after the firm was established, the name was changed to Blake, Ward & Company, and later to Blake, Howe & Company. At this time his brother, John Rice Blake, came from Brattleboro and joined him as partner, the firm name being later changed to Blake Brothers & Company, the three eldest sons joining as partners about the year 1860.

One of the leading aims of Mr. Blake, throughout his business career, was to advance in every possible way the commercial interests of Boston. He was largely instrumental in securing and maintaining the regular visits of the Cunard steamers to that port.

During the Civil War he was always most warmly interested in the maintenance of the Union. Originally a Whig in politics, and voting for Henry Clay in the presidential election, Mr. Blake early sympathized in the views of Garrison, Sumner and the others who looked upon African slavery in the United States as a barbarism. With many other law-abiding citizens of Massachusetts, his sense of justice was shocked by the enforcement of the fugitive slave law in Boston in the returning of Anthony Burns into servitude. He endeavored to prevent this by offering, through a friend, to buy Burns of his owner, who then refused to sell his property at any price.

When the state of Massachusetts was rapidly forwarding troops for the suppression of the Rebellion, and incurring a large debt for bounties and other war expenses, the money market had become exceedingly active, so that the state, for providing money on their notes having a few months to run, paid as high as twelve per cent per annum. At this time it became necessary, for funding her bounty loan indebtedness, that the state should promptly secure some three or four million dollars. This was finally done by a sale to Mr. Blake, by Governor Andrew and his council, of two millions of five per cent sterling bonds, with a short option for another million and a half at the price agreed upon. Mr. Blake was then made, by Governor Andrew, agent for the state for the negotiation of this loan, which he was authorized to domiciliate for payment of principal and interest in London, with either of several firms selected by Mr. Blake and approved by the state authorities, foremost among whom were the Barings and Rothschilds. Mr. Blake went at once to London on this mission, but found the times most unfavorable for such negotiations, the Bank of England having suddenly advanced the rate of interest to ten per cent.

Finally he succeeded in inducing the Barings to take a joint interest in this purchase of two millions. Owing to the condition of the London money market, however, no bonds had been sold up to the time when the option to take the further amount was maturing. Mr. Blake, however, took the further responsibility of assuming the additional amount. He always felt that the deservedly high credit of Massachusetts was largely due to the strong sense and high integrity of Governor Andrew, insisting upon the payment of gold for the principal and interest of the state debt throughout the suspension of specie payment by the United States government.

May 24, 1833, Mr. Blake married his cousin, Anna Hull, daughter of Joshua Blake of Boston, a prominent and successful merchant doing business with the Mediterranean ports. They were married at her father's house in Winthrop Place, by the Reverend F. W. P. Greenwood of King's Chapel, at which church Mr. Blake then, and during his whole life, attended service, acting for several years as vestryman, and always taking a deep and lively interest in the church and its several clergymen. The children of this marriage were nine, of whom the two first born died in infancy, and the youngest of all, bearing the name of his paternal grandfather, John Welland, died in 1861, aged nearly fifteen years. The sons were for years partners in their father's firms in Boston, New York and London. This business is still continued by the sons and their associates selected by Mr. Blake, essentially as established by him.

Mr. Blake died at his home in Brookline August 6, 1875, his death resulting from a severe attack of paralysis at his office in Boston two days before. His wife had died two years previously, June 7, 1873, at the Brookline home and was buried in a vault under King's Chapel.

From *The Boston Daily Advertiser* of August 11, 1875, written by Gamaliel Bradford, we quote:

The recent removal by death of Mr. George Baty Blake from business circles, will turn back the memories of many men over the last fifty years of the commercial history of Boston. The youngest of nine children, of a highly respectable family in Brattleboro, Vermont, he came to Boston in 1821, with nothing but his own exertions to depend upon. Amid the numerous temptations which a city life offers to young men, he kept himself pure and his moral character free from reproach. His aspirations were high and were aided by an innate refinement, which distinguished him through life. His manners and bearing were always those of a gentleman, and nothing coarse or vulgar ever found favor with him.

Probably there is no society in the world where the English language is spoken in which Mr. Blake would not have borne himself with credit. Of his commercial sagacity there is no need to speak.

Mr. Blake delighted to select young men, to give them a chance of advancement and to feel that they owed their success to him. During an acquaintance of nearly thirty years, of which seventeen were passed in close and daily intercourse, one of them testified that he had never received from him a harsh or unkind word. To his inferiors in station he was uniformly kind and courteous. In his family relations he was affectionate, almost without limit, and as a father, at once indulgent and firm. If the tree is to be judged by its fruit, he needs no other monument than the character of the group of children who received his last adieus.

Without theological bigotry, Mr. Blake was decidedly a religious man. His attendance at church was regular and quite as much from pleasure as duty. His reverence for sacred things, though unostentatious, was real, and any man who acted from conscientious motives was sure of respectful treatment from him. He professed to be governed by a sense of responsibility to a higher power. His descendants will attach less value to the pecuniary inheritance which devolves upon them, than to the memory which they can thus cherish and hold in honor.

He left an estate of $1,500,000.

There were eight children of George Baty and Anna Hull Blake, all born and have lived in Boston. (See Appendix.)

### Selah Chamberlain

Selah Chamberlain, eldest son of Selah Chamberlain of Brattleboro, was born May 4, 1812, in a small farmhouse (which was destroyed by fire) in district Number 6, where Daniel M. Barber lived, on the road leading to Newfane.

The younger Selah Chamberlain's life was spent on his father's farm until he became of age and his education was received in the public schools of this town. He spent two years in a store in Boston and then went to western Pennsylvania, where he became a contractor on the Erie extension of the Pennsylvania canal, and afterwards of the Ohio & Pennsylvania and Wabash & Erie canals, and in 1845 of the canal improvements along the St. Lawrence River in Canada. He then came to Vermont, and formed the contracting firm of Chamberlain, Strong & Company, building the Burlington & Rutland Railroad and parts of the Lake Champlain Railroad. He next constructed the Cleveland & Pittsburgh road, which was completed in 1851. He also built and became president of the Minnesota Central and the Lake Shore and Tuscarawas Valley Railroads, the latter now known as the Cleveland, Loraine & Wheeling, and the construction of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad.

In 1871 he established a large banking house at Cleveland, under the name of Chamberlain, Gorham & Perkins. He also engaged in other enterprises, including the manufacture of iron.

Mr. Chamberlain was a self-made man and acquired his large fortune as the result of his own labors. He contributed large sums to religious and public works and to the Union cause during the war. He was for forty years a member of the Presbyterian church in Cleveland. He left two daughters. His father went from Brattleboro to live with his son in Cleveland, and his death took place there July 21, 1862. Selah Chamberlain, Junior, died December 27, 1890.

Other children of Selah Chamberlain, Senior, were: Joseph, the second son; Abigail, who married April 13, 1834, Doctor John Wilson, supposed to be the notorious highwayman, Thunderbolt; she married, second, John Plummer; another daughter was the first wife of John Plummer.

William B. Chamberlain, born 1816, had a store in West Dummerston at one time and was a merchant in New York City. He moved to Cleveland, Ohio, between 1835 and 1845, and was contractor on the Lake Shore and Tuscarawas Valley (Ohio) Railroads, and amassed great wealth. His family lived in Hannibal, Missouri.

He died May 1, 1872. He was the father of Jennie C. Chamberlain, a famous beauty, who married Captain Herbert Naylor-Leyland of England.

## Doctor John Wilson

"Thunderbolt" and "Lightfoot" were two of the most famous highway robbers of modern times, in Great Britain. Thunderbolt was a Scotchman, while Lightfoot was of unknown parentage, both living near the border between Scotland and England, where they were the terror of highways and of property owners.

They were obliged in the course of their reckless acts to flee from their native land, and they emigrated to this country under agreement, it was said, to separate and to reform. Lightfoot found an honest life wholly distasteful, soon fell into his old ways and, highway robbery in those days being a capital offense, was hanged in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Before his death he made a confession implicating his former accomplice, but Thunderbolt had disappeared and was never heard of again under that name.

According to the declaration of Lightfoot, after his arrival in America, he received a letter from Thunderbolt announcing that "he had pushed

off to the West Indies," where under a fictitious name, he was doing business in an honest way. Doctor John Wilson claimed to have passed a short time there, previous to his settlement in Vermont.

John Wilson was the son of a pious and respectable blacksmith of Muirkirk, Scotland. He and his brother Robert—the only children of whom we know anything—came to this country. Robert resided for a while in Boston, Massachusetts, but subsequently removed to the state of Connecticut; the other, John Wilson, came, as near as we can ascertain, some time in 1819 and remained a year or two, when he returned to England and came back with a cargo of roof slate; soon after that he settled in Dummerston, Vermont, coming from New Hampshire by way of the ferry, up the old road, and stopping at Peter Willard's blacksmith shop, which stood north of his house and west of the highway. It is said there is a small closet in some dark corner of the house, in which he would secrete himself when he was apprehensive of danger from his enemies abroad.

He is said to have built the schoolhouse near Samuel Wheeler's, where he taught during the winter of 1819-1820. He afterwards built a brick shop south of the building which was Wheeler's cider mill. He boarded a few years at Peter Willard's, teaching, and practicing medicine to some extent.

His personal appearance was naturally very elegant. His height just six feet and one inch,—precisely that of Thunderbolt, as mentioned by Lightfoot,—his shoulders broad, chest deep and expansive, indicating great physical power. He was a man of fine, florid complexion, dark eyes and hair, of high and commanding bearing. On his first coming to Vermont his deportment was that of a well-bred gentleman, whose manners had been polished and refined by long intercourse with the most polite circles. It is hardly possible that he could have acquired so great urbanity of address without familiarity with the best society in Europe. Still he was a most singular man. His peculiar habits were matters of frequent observation and remark among the inhabitants of the place and vicinity where he lived. The causes of his dislike were not then known, but for some time after his coming to Dummerston he manifested a great aversion to society, and seldom mingled in company. His time was for the most part passed in seclusion and study.

A man of fine literary taste, as shown by the style and tenor of his conversations, he was familiar with, and a most enthusiastic admirer of, the best English poets, and had stored his memory with the choicest selections from the works of many of them, particularly of Shakespeare and his favorite Burns, whom he was wont to style his "own sweet poet."

And his recitals of their finest passages often not only amused but interested the literary amateur.

In the History of Dummerston by Mansfield is a drawing from a portrait of Doctor Sewall Walker painted by Doctor John Wilson about 1821.

A pamphlet containing the "Confession of Michael Martin," under which name Lightfoot had lived in this country, made its appearance about the year 1822, producing considerable excitement, especially with regard to Thunderbolt, who was mentioned in the "Confession" as having abandoned the guilt and peril attending the adventures of a highwayman for some more honorable business, and that at one time he made a very profitable speculation by "passing himself off" as a traveling physician.[1]

When this "Confession" came out, suspicions that he was the person named therein as Thunderbolt, half uttered and half expressed, passed about the neighborhood of the Doctor's residence. These suspicions were doubtless grounded upon his very singular habits and the inscrutable mystery thrown around a portion of his life, which he never seemed inclined to remove.

After stopping two or three years in Dummerston, he removed to the town of Newfane, where he soon established himself in business as a physician and gradually acquired a considerable practice in that and the adjoining towns. Letters found in his possession at the time of his decease indicate that he had practiced medicine in his native village in Scotland and in Edinburgh, and that his professional skill was much respected. It is related of him that being one day on a professional visit, his eye fell upon the pamphlet of Martin's "Confession," and seizing it, he hurled it into the fire. In his practice he came by many to be very much esteemed for his skill and unremitting devotion to his patients.

In the year 1836 he removed from Newfane to Brattleboro, and built a dwelling house in a retired spot on the banks of the Connecticut, where he resided until the time of his death. He also erected, with Thomas Arnold, a mill for sawing timber where the old railroad depot is, to

[1] Confession of Michael Martin, or Captain Lightfoot, who was hung at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1821, for the Robbery of Major Bray. Also an Account of Doctor John Wilson, believed to be the Notorious Captain Thunderbolt. Royal 8vo. Brattleboro, 1847. Twelve thousand copies were sold and it went through four editions.

According to the autobiography of Michael Martin, a highwayman whose name was John Doherty, known later as Captain Thunderbolt, disguised as a Church of England clergyman, crossed his path when he was a young man, and induced him to enter on a criminal career. In July, 1816, when he was twenty-one Doherty baptized him "Captain Lightfoot," throwing a glass of brandy in his face, and giving him a long sermon.

which he applied steam as a motive power and which occasioned this advertisement in the weekly paper:

Steam Saw Mill

Any quantity of Custom Logs will now be received and sawed at short notice and on reasonable terms.

Mill and Circular Saws breasted.

Dr. John Wilson.

Brattleboro, Sept. 7, 1837.

Arnold disappeared, and the imperfection of the machinery and the expense attending its operation finally compelled him to abandon the enterprise, after having sunk several thousand dollars, supposed to have been acquired by his professional industry. About this time, in 1834, he married a highly respectable young lady of Brattleboro, Abigail, daughter of Selah Chamberlain. But the union was far from a happy one and was dissolved a very few years after by a bill of divorce granted the wife, on the ground of tyrannical treatment by the husband. During the pendency of the bill of divorce she is represented to have said that she would not live with him, for she knew he had been a robber or some such infamous character. The fruits of the marriage were one son. In a rather inferior carriage, accompanied by the little boy, he would visit in rural districts those persons who required his professional services.

Among the peculiarities of the Doctor was a very great dread of lawsuits. He at one time brought a suit for medical services against an individual living some twenty miles distant. The court day came. The defendant, with his counsel and witnesses, was present, prepared to dispute the claim. The Doctor came in, but on seeing the array of witnesses and preparations for defense he immediately called for the bill of costs, drew his pocketbook, paid it, withdrew the suit, and left the courtroom, protesting that though the charges were just, yet that was no place of justice for him.

While living at Newfane he associated quite freely with the members of the bar who were in attendance upon the courts which were holden at that place; and he appeared to be very familiar, not only with the laws and general politics of Great Britain, but also of the Continental Powers.

In those days of his residence at Dummerston quiltings were common occasions of pastime for the young. He sometimes attended those parties, which always ended with the dance. The Doctor was averse to dancing, which only proved, as he said, that people's heads were lighter than their

heels. But he could not always refuse to take part, and saying, in his own peculiar brogue, "I canna resist the bonnie lassie," away he would go. But in attempting to cut a "pigeon-wing," which was the fashionable flourish for the heels in those days, he invariably got a tumble, to the no small amusement of the ladies. These tumbles were undoubtedly owing to the effect of a cork heel he wore, of which no one was aware at the time.

He unfortunately contracted habits of intemperance, which grew upon him as age advanced; and during the latter part of his life both his physical and intellectual vigor became essentially impaired. There followed the gradual loss of professional business in the vicinity of his residence, and the gathering around him of a class of associates and retainers with which a mind like his could have felt but little sympathy.

After his separation from his wife he led a very solitary and singular mode of life. His house was seldom entered by any except himself and little son, who was his constant companion. Wherever you saw the Doctor, you might know the lad was not far distant. He employed no one to attend to his household affairs, but did himself whatever was done toward the domestic comfort of himself and boy. The neighbors rarely visited his house. As might be expected, his personal appearance and dress, for which in early life he was quite remarkable, became very much neglected.

At all seasons, in the warmest as well as the coldest days in the year, he might be seen with a large cravat, or cotton muffler, reaching to his ears, which he always took great care to keep drawn up high on the neck. It was also noticed that when in company he usually selected a position that would bring as many as possible of those present in front of him, as when he entered the sitting-room of a public house it was usual for him to choose a seat in the corner of the room. But after his death the mystery, both of the muffler and position, seemed to be revealed by the discovery of a large scar upon the back of his neck.

In the purchase of his boots and shoes he always declined making trial of their fit at the shop or store in the presence of others, but asked the privilege of taking them home for trial at his leisure. This also is probably accounted for by the defective foot upon which he wore the cork heel. If concealment had been an abiding passion in his life, it was emphatically strong in the hour of death. He refused to be undressed through his sickness, and by his own will he died with his clothes on.

After his death there were taken off, among other things, his pantaloons, three pairs of drawers and the large muffler.

The testimony of one of his neighbors—a man of undoubted veracity—was that in 1846 the Doctor told him his age was sixty-two, which would

make him sixty-three at the time of his death, March 22, 1847. Martin says Thunderbolt was between thirty and forty years of age in 1816; supposing him to have been thirty-two, in 1847 he would have been sixty-three —just that of the Doctor. The Doctor's brother, however, stated his age to be twelve years less than his own, which was about seventy—a very equivocal mode of stating it; besides he had every appearance of having seen as many as sixty-three summers.

A gentleman who attended upon Doctor Wilson almost constantly in his sickness says that during the dreamy state of mind into which he fell a while previous to his death, he dwelt upon the transactions narrated in Lightfoot's "Confession" and, after going on for a time in such an audible strain, would suddenly rouse himself, much excited, and inquire of him what he had been saying.

The scar upon the back of his neck, already mentioned, was some inches in length. Another discovered upon the calf of one of his legs, was about the size of a cent, branching off in one direction nearly an inch. This had all the appearance of having been caused by a musket ball, as described by Lightfoot in the case of Thunderbolt, which, he says, he extracted with his knife. And, to avoid limping, he had worn the cork heel, which enabled him to hide the defect by restoring the relative length of the limb. Bandages and wadded cotton were wound around this leg, to give it apparently the size of the other.

Suspicions of the Doctor's identity with Thunderbolt were considerably strengthened by exhibitions made upon the examination of his house after his death. Among other things found in his possession, were three old English double-barreled guns, three pairs of old English pistols—besides several odd ones—a number of swords, one of them a straight, sharp blade, quite rusty, the edge much hacked, with a basket hilt for the protection of the hand. It had the appearance of having driven a brisk business sometime, but where and when it does not say. There were found some eight or ten old watches of antique pattern—some of gold, others of silver; also a very large clasp knife that might have answered a good purpose for a cleaver. Some of these guns were not only charged at the time of his death, but his custom was to keep them so.

A diamond necklace which the Doctor exhibited to a friend of his some years before, has not been discovered, or if so, has not come to the knowledge of the public. The circumstances attending this singular exhibition were as follows: The gentleman to whom it was made was one of the Doctor's most intimate friends, whom he had invited to a convivial entertainment subsequent to the separation from his wife. After some conversation with reference to her, he presented the necklace saying, "Thank

God! there is a nest-egg she never discovered, worth seven thousand dollars, which she would be proud to wear." The question was asked how he came in possession of such a treasure. The Doctor replied that it was his mother's. His mother was the wife of an honest blacksmith.

## John Humphrey Noyes

John Humphrey Noyes was born in West Brattleboro September 3, 1811.

At a time when New England was passing through a great awakening in manufactures, farming, business, philanthropy and religion, there arose a man who turned his powerful mind, not to some scheme for making money as did so many others, but to a project which would help the Lord usher in His heavenly Kingdom. So he professed to believe, and so those who knew him best for many years also believed, for it is a significant fact that Noyes was regarded in the community to the end with high respect and reverence.

Noyes entered Andover Seminary in 1831, and soon became a member of a secret society of students, called "The Brethren," men of the stamp of the devoted missionaries, Lyman, Munson, Tracy and Perkins. It was the custom of The Brethren to practice mutual criticism, an ordeal Noyes introduced into the community. After a year at Andover the young zealot went to Yale to obtain in the Divinity School opportunity for a careful study of the Bible. He was there a year and a half. In New Haven he came under the influence of a noted revival preacher, who piloted him into what is known as perfectionism, or the doctrine of a sinless life. In the summer of 1833 Noyes's attention was arrested by the thought that Christ's second coming was accomplished in the lifetime of the apostles. This was clear to him from the words of Jesus to Peter concerning John, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" It follows that since the millennial reign of Christ has begun, the true believer lives without sin, and is permitted to enjoy some of the other perquisites of the heavenly state. Noyes adopted perfectionism with all his heart, and after he had been licensed to preach as a Congregational minister, he preached it.

It was a little uncomfortable for the professors and students at Yale to have among them a perfect saint, and it began to be whispered that Noyes ought to be tried for heresy, not because he was bad, but because he thought himself so good. He did not care to put them to the trouble, and resigned from the ministry and went to Putney, Vermont. The years that followed were attended by the falling away of friends, sharp opposition and bitter attacks, through which Noyes carried himself in the calm

assurance that he was right. In 1836 he founded a school in Putney, gathering the people to study the Scriptures. He married in 1838. Disciples gathered around him; his two sisters and brothers, except one, believed in him, and in 1843 Noyes entered into a "Contract of Partnership" with his Putney followers. Two years later the "Putney Association of Perfectionists" was formed. There were forty of these people in Putney at that time, and Noyes was in correspondence with small gatherings of perfectionists in other states. In 1845 Noyes made known to his saints his advanced ideas about the relations of the sexes, and the following year the society at Putney began to experiment in communal living.

About that time the other people in Putney awoke to the fact that a queer and undesirable society was growing up in their good town, and in 1847 Noyes thought best to escape the danger of a mob and go to Oneida, Madison County, New York. Forty acres of land were bought, and the emigrants found shelter in two frame houses and a log hut. They were poor, owed $2000, and for a time slept on the floor in the attic. The people that went from Putney were mostly farmers of small means, but others gathered with them—lawyers, ministers, doctors, teachers. All worked; Noyes labored on the farm and in the blacksmith shop. They made rustic furniture, raised vegetables and fruit. In 1855 Sewall Morehouse, a native of Brattleboro, who lived among the Oneida Indians as a youth, invented the best steel trap ever made to capture wild animals, and a manufacture of traps began in the Oneida Community which has grown into a factory to fashion traps to catch anything from a mouse to a bear. He was also the author of "The Trapper's Guide." In 1858 they began to preserve fruit; in 1866, to manufacture sewing silk, and later, silver plate.

Their holdings of land increased; in 1874 they had six hundred and fifty-four acres; today the company owns one thousand two hundred acres. There were many applicants for admission—two hundred in one year. In 1874 there were two hundred and eighty-three members, forty-five of whom were at the colony at Wallingford, which was started in 1850. The financial condition was slender at first, and the property inventoried in 1867 at only $67,000. The members were highly esteemed by their neighbors as honest and industrious, and so conscientious that a man would not think of borrowing a hammer. They made a large use of the press, publishing *The Free Church Circular* and various tracts.

A sinless life was the standard, though Noyes said that not all in the community had attained it. He said there must be holiness before there would be the freedom of love; there must be salvation from sin or the passions would overwhelm the society; that a community of women, chil-

dren and property was taught and commanded by Christ. Noyes taught that "complex marriage" should take the place of the ordinary method, and he formed an ingenious combination of polygamy and polyandry, discouraging the "exclusive and idolatrous attachment" of one man for one woman, since Christ said that "in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage." Whenever two young people in the community were seen forming personal attachments for each other they were frowned upon.

A "eugenic committee" gave short lessons to willing candidates, having a sharp eye to the physical and mental improvement of the race, after the best style of Plato's "Republic" and More's "Utopia." Noyes was a firm believer in scientific propagation, and carried out his high ideas on the subject by what he called "stirpiculture," or "composite marriage."

The perfectionists at Oneida held that there was "no difference between property in persons and property in things, and that the same spirit which abolished exclusiveness in regard to money, should abolish, if circumstances allowed full scope to it, exclusiveness in regard to women and children."

Noyes insisted on the religious training of the people, wishing no one to join the community whose spiritual life was not solid and well grounded. One of the leading means depended upon to maintain order and avoid difficulties was his system of "mutual criticism." There was a standing committee whose business it was to promote self-improvement by honest, faithful, unsparing truth-telling. A kind of court was presided over by the critic committee, so that if anyone was hungry to be told his shortcomings he could receive his heart's desire by the ladleful. One could be criticised by the special committee or, if he had a craving for a wholesale attack, he was taken before the whole community. When Nordhoff was there in 1873, he saw a man called Charles submit willingly to a kind of "third degree" process, which squeezed the sweat out of him like a clothes wringer. He was charged with using slang, with complaining of the tough beefsteak, of being haughty and talking unwisely to some women.

There were twenty-one committees to look after the affairs of the community. At the end of every year every member gave the finance board an estimate of the clothing he would need for the coming twelve months. Noyes required the women to wear short hair, short dresses and pantalets, and would not permit a man to smoke, chew, drink or swear. There was a horror of forms; the Sabbath had no special services, since in heaven all time is holy. Sometimes there were three meals a day, sometimes two and sometimes five. New members signed the creed and

agreed to work without wages. For years a doctor was out of place there, and many a wound was healed and disease cured by faith.

For more than thirty years this queer combination moved along. Noyes seems to have had a few good ideas, and one of them was the project of sending young men to Yale College. The return of these men fostered an inner ferment, which was met on the outside, in 1879, by strong opposition—partly political, since the community held the balance of power at elections, and partly moral. Noyes hastened to Canada, whence he never returned. The community was governed by a commission for a short time, but in 1881 the community idea was given up and a coöperative joint-stock company was formed, called the Oneida Community, Limited. The Mansion House is used by families who have a common dining-hall. The manufacture of silver tableware, which is so widely used and so popular, is by methods and machinery of the latest models of efficiency. There is also a large trap factory, the products of which are widely used. Two thousand people work in these factories and produce $5,000,000 worth of goods annually.

The directors make a careful study of the workers and officers with the desire to place everyone where he will be most efficient. Admirable entertainments are provided without cost to the employees; there is a good gymnasium, and provision is made for the feeble and aged. The president of the company is Pierrepont Noyes, a son of John.

Another son, Doctor Thomas N. Noyes, is secretary of the Oneida Community.

Bernard Shaw, in "Man and Superman," says of John Noyes, "The Perfectionists were mightily shepherded by their chief Noyes, one of those chance attempts at the superman which occurs from time to time in spite of the influence of man's blundering institutions."

Among John Humphrey Noyes's publications are: The Bureau: A Manual for the Help of Those Who Seek the Faith of the Primitive Church; *The Witness,* the official organ of the Perfectionists, published semimonthly, Putney, 1837-1840.

### Honorable Elisha H. Allen

Honorable Elisha H. Allen, son of Samuel Allen of Greenfield, Massachusetts, was born in Greenfield, his father, representative of that district in Congress, having also extensive interests in the Hawaiian Islands, where he had been chief justice. The son graduated at Williams College, was admitted to the bar in 1827 and began to practice law in Brattleboro. Here for two years his ability and brilliance gained a reputation long to be

remembered. His office was in the old Chapin Block, corner of Main and High Streets.

From Brattleboro he went to Bangor, Maine, where he became prominent in his profession and as a member of Congress. In 1840 he was delegate to the National Convention which nominated Harrison and Tyler, and on his way home to Maine passed through Brattleboro, where it chanced that the delegates from Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont met, and a grand ratification meeting was held in the old Church on the Common, Mr. Allen being the leading speaker; his speech became a tradition for its vigor and eloquence.

In 1828 he married Sarah E., daughter of William Fessenden, who died April 20, 1845, when he moved to Boston; from there, in 1848, he went to the Sandwich Islands as United States consul in General Zachary Taylor's administration. He remained there, becoming premier, and finally envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Hawaian Kingdom to the United States and was dean of the diplomatic corps at the time of his death in Washington, January 1, 1863.

Their four children were brought up in Brattleboro by their grandmother, Mrs. Patty Fessenden, sister of Governor Holbrook.

Children of Honorable Elisha H. and Sarah Fessenden Allen:

William F., married Miss Cordelia C. Bishop, who died September 23, 1912. He was collector of the port of Honolulu and was on the staff of King Kalakaua. He died in the Sandwich Islands February 5, 1906, aged fifty-four.

Elisha H., Junior, born in Bangor, Maine, July 18, 1836. He and his sister Sarah spent much of their youth in Brattleboro in the house of their great-uncle, Governor Holbrook. He was in business (dry goods) with J. W. Page & Company, afterwards Stone, Bliss, Fay & Allen, later Bliss & Allen, and finally E. H. Allen, Junior & Company. He retired from active business in 1880.

From 1872 to 1898 he was consul-general at New York from the Hawaiian Islands. He married Miss Julia Herrick, who died March 21, 1913, aged seventy-four. Their children were: Julia, married Wilbur Fisk; Caroline, married Edmund Dwight; Elisha Hunt, III, of the firm of Estabrook & Company, bankers in New York, married Miss Helen Hunt, who died April 14, 1917, aged thirty-six. Children: Robert, Holbrook, Appleton. Elisha H., Junior, died May 6, 1906, aged sixty-nine.

Ellen H., born in 1831; married, first, George Tiffany; second, —— Patterson; third, Chief Justice Harris of the Hawaiian Islands. She died at Honolulu July 14, 1881.

Sarah Fessenden, married January 31, 1860, Doctor William P. Wes-

selhoeft; died January 31, 1891. Children: Alice, married November 19, 1886, Arthur A. Haserick; Doctor William F., married June 30, 1887, Miss Emily Bradley.

Elisha H. Allen, Senior, married, second, Mary ——, from Maine, by whom he had: Mary; Frederick H., of the law firm of Allen & Cammany, married Miss Adele L. Stevens; children: Mary, Barbara, Joan, Julian.

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Graves Cary with their infant daughter, Elizabeth Cabot Cary, who became the wife of Louis Agassiz and the first president of Radcliffe College, were living here in 1821, Mr. Cary, a lawyer in the practice of his profession. (They removed to New York in 1822.) Fourth of July Orations by T. G. Cary were printed here in 1821.

### Honorable Asa Keyes

Judge Keyes was born in Putney, Vermont, on the thirtieth day of May, 1787. He fitted for college at the old academy in Chesterfield, New Hampshire, and was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1810. He was the principal of Chesterfield Academy for two years; read law in the office of the Honorable Phineas White of Putney two years, and in the office of the Honorable Ebenezer Rockwood of Boston, Massachusetts, one year, and was admitted to the Windham County bar at its December term, 1814. He commenced the practice of law in his native town, where he remained until he removed to Brattleboro in 1833. From the beginning his business was ever widening and increasing, and he continued in the discharge of the active and laborious practice of his chosen profession until about 1864, when he retired altogether.

He was a hard-working man, and in addition to attending to his large practice and numerous clients, he found time to serve the public in various offices of honor and trust. He was register of probate for the District of Westminster from 1814 to 1819 and in 1823; he was judge of probate of the same district in 1827 and was again its register from 1830 until his removal to Brattleboro in 1833. He was register of probate for the District of Marlboro from December 1, 1834, to December 1, 1837, also from December 1, 1843, to December 1, 1844, and again from July 21, 1862, until August 28, 1878, when he resigned by reason of the labors being too arduous for his increasing years. He was a justice of the peace from 1826 to December 1, 1878, when he declined a further election to that office, preferring that it should go to some younger and more active man. He represented the town of Putney in the Legislature in the years 1826 and 1827; also Brattleboro in the year 1835, and was one of the state senators for Windham County in the Legislature for the years 1855 and 1856.

JUDGE ASA KEYES

JUDGE ROYALL TYLER

REVEREND GEORGE P. TYLER

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

MISS AMELIA S. TYLER

THE TYLER SCHOOL

In early life he connected himself with the order of Free and Accepted Masons; he was ever an earnest advocate and supporter of the institution, exemplified its principles and teachings in his life and character, and at his death was probably the oldest Master Mason and Royal Arch Mason in the state. He was one of the first board of trustees of the Vermont Savings Bank (formerly the Windham Provident Institution for Savings), was continued therein until his death, and during the greater portion of the time was the most trusted legal adviser of that corporation.

He was the counsel of Mrs. Marsh, who, in her last will, made the bequest of $10,000 for the founding of the Vermont Asylum for the Insane. After her decease he procured from the Legislature the act of incorporation by virtue of which said bequest could be made available for the purposes designed by the donor.

Judge Keyes early became connected with the Congregational Church, but in 1869 he was confirmed a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, by Bishop Bissell of the diocese of Vermont.

In the public offices which he held he "bore himself erect," and discharged all his duties with diligence and fidelity. He possessed intellectual and moral qualities most essential and requisite to the best discharge of the duties of public trust—a clear and discriminating mind, an impartial judgment, sound practical common sense, a profound and instinctive sense of right and wrong, an inflexible integrity and an earnest desire for the truth, so that when he laid aside an official garment it was taken up by his successor untarnished, and "without spot or wrinkle or any such thing." Purity of motive and integrity of purpose, unsullied and unassailed, were alike the law and rule of his life, both in public and private action.

He possessed a mind in which the analytic powers and the reflective faculties were largely developed, and he was also gifted with a retentive memory. He was capable of fixed and continuous application of his mind to the examination and analysis of whatever questions he took in hand. It has been said of him that, in his younger days, when at the full zenith of his professional life, he would work all day and long into the night without rest or food, and seemingly with but little exhaustion of either his mental or physical powers. He possessed, in a remarkable degree, the power of condensation, and of arranging the various points or propositions under discussion, in the most clear and logical order, which enabled him to present them with clearness and force to the minds of others. He was not eloquent, but was always instructive, and secured the respectful attention of the court, jury and all who heard him. If he was not an orator in the ordinary acceptation of the term, he was more and better than an orator. He was a clear and logical reasoner. He was thoroughly read in both the common and statute law and his advice, when sought in

legal matters, always commanded just respect, and carried a corresponding weight and influence, for the reason that his opinions were not hastily formed or inconsiderately expressed, but only after careful and mature reflection.

He was exact and thorough in the preparation of his cases, and in the conduct of trials was watchful that no proper presentation of argument beneficial to his client should be omitted. His practice of the law was honorable and manly; he never sought advantage for his client's cause by the use of craft or cunning, so often resorted to by less scrupulous members of the profession. He never resorted to subtle and ingenuous sophistry to entrap and bewilder the triers. He abhorred and detested deceit and falsehood in others and disdained to use them himself. His argument of a cause to a jury was as cool, deliberate and dispassionate as his argument of a dry question of law before the court, and in this way he convinced their judgments and won his legal battles. He was extremely considerate of and kind to the younger members of the profession. He would encourage them in their business and aid them in the solution of some knotty question of law—which to them was a mountain, but to him was hardly a molehill—cheerfully and patiently, and thus he gained and ever retained the confidence, respect and love of all the younger members of the bar.

His duties as a husband and father, citizen and neighbor, were also faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled, and all who knew him will ever retain a loving remembrance of his kind and genial nature.

Judge Keyes married January 7, 1815, Miss Sarah Britton of Chesterfield, New Hampshire.

He lived in a small one-storied house, with extensive grounds in the rear, on the site of the Devens house. The street was named for him, Keyes Lane (now North Street). He finally moved into the C. Royall Tyler house on Tyler Street, sharing it with the Tyler family. Here he died, June 14, 1880, aged ninety-three years. At his death Judge Keyes was Vermont's oldest justice of the peace, the oldest Free Mason, the oldest lawyer, and the oldest living graduate of Dartmouth College.

Mrs. Keyes died October 29, 1859.

Judge Keyes had five children, but two of whom survived him, namely, Laura B., the wife of Honorable C. Royall Tyler of this town, and Eliza Green, a maiden lady, who for many years resided with her venerable father and ministered to his comfort and happiness; she died November 29, 1884. A son, Charles D., died in infancy.

Ellen D., married April 29, 1840, Doctor Frederick N. Palmer (see p. 605), born in Belfast, Maine, in 1815, who came to this town as a music teacher in 1836, entered the office of Judge Keyes and was admitted to the

bar in 1841. He was postmaster from 1845 to 1849. Soon after leaving the post office the Palmers moved to Bangor, Maine, where he studied dentistry; he afterwards studied homeopathy and practiced in Newtonville, Massachusetts, where his wife died, 1860 or 1861. Frederick Palmer was a man of charming accomplishments. Children: Sarah; a son, of Denver; Mrs. Valentine of South Framingham, Massachusetts.

George Britton, who read law in his father's office, was admitted to the bar in 1844 and practiced his profession in Brattleboro until his removal to California, leaving here in the winter of 1849 in company with three or four others, taking passage in the ship *Pharsalia* and arriving in San Francisco late the following summer. In 1852 he returned home for a visit, carrying his family back to California with him. He was elected county judge in Tuolumne County, but removed to Wilmington near Los Angeles about 1870. He married Julia M., daughter of Elihu H. Thomas of this town in 1864, who died January 7, 1878, in Wilmington, California. He had cultivated literary tastes and a kind and loving disposition. He died May 22, 1877.

### Bradley Family—General Stephen Rowe Bradley

General Stephen Rowe Bradley (LL.D.) was born in Cheshire, Connecticut, February 20, 1764, the son of Moses and Mary Rowe Bradley, and grandson of Stephen Bradley of New Haven, who served under Oliver Cromwell. Stephen Rowe graduated at Yale College in July, 1775.

He studied law under Tapping Reeve of Litchfield, Connecticut; his first appearance in Vermont was at Westminster May 26, 1779, when he was admitted to the bar of this state and appointed its clerk; he was appointed, October 22, 1779, one of the agents to present the case of the controversy of Vermont to Congress.

His controlling influence in legal, military and political affairs was felt in Brattleboro, as throughout the state.

"Vermont's Appeal to the Candid and Impartial World" was written by him—an able presentation of the right of Vermont to become an independent state. In June, 1780, he was appointed state's attorney for Cumberland County. He represented Westminster in the General Assembly in 1780, 1781, 1784, 1785, 1788, 1790 and 1800, and was clerk of the House in 1778, and in 1785 its speaker. From March, 1781, to March, 1791, he was register of probate for Windham County, and in 1783, a judge of the Supreme Court; he was one of the commissioners October, 1879, to settle the controversy with New York, and a delegate in the State Convention of 1791, which adopted the Constitution of the United States, and when the state was admitted into the Union he was elected the first United States senator for the eastern side of the state and held that office

until March, 1795. August 27, 1781, he was appointed a lieutenant of the first regiment of the Vermont militia, and on the fifteenth of October was raised to the rank of colonel. January 26, 1791, he was appointed brigadier-general of the eighth brigade of the militia of the state.

In 1793 Senator Bradley, in a speech in Congress said: "Kentucky and Vermont have been added to the Union and they consider themselves of as much importance as the thirteen original colonies, and desire to be represented in the flag. I, therefore, move that the flag be fifteen stars and fifteen stripes."

This motion was carried, to take effect May 1, 1795. This was our United States flag during the War of 1812, and "the Bradley flag" inspired the words of the "Star-Spangled Banner" by Francis Scott Key. It was in use twenty-three years, or from May 1, 1795, to July 4, 1818.

He again was elected and held the office of senator from March, 1801, to March, 1803. He received five elections as president of the Senate, and was president of the convention of Republican members of Congress and as such, January 19, 1808, summoned the convention of members which met and nominated Madison for President. He was opposed to the war with Great Britain, and counseled Madison against it, and was so dissatisfied with the national policy that at the close of his term, in 1813, he withdrew from public life.

He was a lawyer of distinguished abilities, and a good orator; he had an inexhaustible flow of wit, and a great amount of unaffected urbanity, and had a large acquaintance with mankind and an extensive range of historical knowledge. He was author of that part of the existing Constitution of the United States which requires that the Vice-President, like the President, shall be chosen by a majority of the electoral votes.

Owing to some disaffection with the people of Westminster he removed, in 1818, to Walpole, New Hampshire, "where he lived in ease, independence and honour," in the fine old house at the top of the hill on the right as one enters the town from the railroad station, until his death, December 9, 1830.

General Bradley was a great admirer of Peter the Great, and wished to name his first-born Peter, but his wife being determined against it, they agreed on the compromise of Czar, and so he was called William Czar Bradley.

### Honorable William Czar Bradley

Honorable William Czar Bradley was born at Westminster March 23, 1782.

He was a precocious child; he began to write poetry at six years of age; published his first prose work at twelve; the title ran thus:

HONORABLE WILLIAM C. BRADLEY

JOHN D. BRADLEY

RICHARDS BRADLEY

ARTHUR C. BRADLEY

WILLIAM C. BRADLEY II

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

THE RIGHTS OF YOUTH,
Composed, revised, and submitted to
The candid Reader;
By
William C. Bradley, Esq.,
Author of the Poem on Allen's and Tichnor's Duel.
Westminster:
Printed by John Goold, jun.
M.DCC.XCIV.

At nine he had read the Bible through seven times; was fitted for college at eleven, and entered Yale at thirteen. He was expelled from college during the early part of his course, on account of some mischief which he always said he never perpetrated, although he frankly confessed he "had done undetected mischief enough to deserve censure."

Nothing daunted at the disappointment he had met, and the cold treatment which he received at his father's hand, he resolved to become the learned man which the college had refused to make him. He entered upon the study of law at Amherst, Massachusetts, with Judge Simeon Strong; and after the appointment of Mr. Strong to the office of judge of the Supreme Court, he returned to his father's office, where, by his distinguished talent and zealous application, he acquired a large renown. At the age of seventeen, he was appointed to deliver a Fourth of July oration at Westminster, which was followed by an ode which he had composed. The success of this effort contained some premonition of the future greatness of the man.

He was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty, and having been refused permission to practice in the Supreme Court on account of his youth, so great was the respect he had won for his talents that he was appointed attorney for Windham County by the Legislature, which secured his access to the Supreme Court. This office he held for seven years.

At twenty-four he represented his native town in the State Legislature, 1806-1807; at thirty, he was a member of the Council, and at thirty-two was a representative to Congress.

After the expiration of the term for which he was elected, at the close of the War of 1812, he was appointed agent of the United States, under the Treaty of Ghent, for fixing the Northeastern Boundary. This work lasted five years, and was regarded by him as the great service of his life. He was afterwards elected to Congress for two terms, 1823-1827, which services substantially closed his public career. He was, however, a member of the State Legislature in 1850 and in 1852 and presidential elector

in 1856, casting the vote of his state for John C. Fremont, and he was a member of the State Constitutional Convention the following year. In 1856 he was made the bearer of the vote of Vermont to Washington, forty-three years after his first entrance into Congress. His retentive memory enabled him to give many reminiscences of the early days, and his great fund of anecdote and wit drew around him a large circle of admirers during his stay at the capital.

During the term in Congress to which he was elected in 1825, he had a rupture with the President on account of a breach of faith on the part of the latter, and transferred his allegiance to Jackson, the rising chief of the Democratic party. But the party which he now joined was, and continued to be, in a hopeless minority in Vermont, and though it gave him repeated nominations for Congress, for the United States Senate, and for governor, it could do no more than nominate him.

As the subserviency of the Democratic party to slavery became more and more marked, he withdrew from it, and identified himself first with the free democracy, was their candidate for election in 1852, and finally with the Republican party. He attracted a great deal of attention, both in the Legislature and out of it, and commanded the respect of men of all parties. Two of his speeches in the House were of considerable length and great ability. One of these was a eulogy on Daniel Webster, whose death took place while the Legislature was in session; the other was on the bill appropriating money for a monument to William French, the first martyr in the cause of American liberty.

Mr. Bradley was the colleague of Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Mallory and others in the palmiest days of the brightest intellects that ever graced our National Congress.

In the extent and variety of his learning he had few equals and hardly any superiors. His memory rivaled that of Macaulay, or Magliabechi, and what he committed to its trust it held with a tenacity that never failed. His knowledge extended to all departments of learning and literature, touching Plato on one side and Artemas Ward on the other. It would be difficult to say in what department of knowledge he most excelled, for he seemed as much at home in one as in another. Theological literature was his favorite study.

He was versed in Hopkins and Edwards, as well as familiar with the German writers of the liberal school. "Theology," he said, "is the noblest profession, law is second to it." He had an extensive acquaintance with the Sacred Scriptures, which he was in the habit of studying in the original languages. He often wrote out exegeses of difficult passages, giving his own views as to their interpretation. He also wrote out his religious

views, which are preserved among his manuscripts, in a neat and legible hand.

His memory and vast acquaintance with literature were ever serving him in unexpected ways. A visiting minister preached one Sunday in the old church at Westminster, and according to Mr. Bradley's custom his son was expected to give him a *résumé* of the sermon on his return home. He reported the text, "Father, the hour has come," and proceeded to report the matter of it. After a few words, his father, seizing a volume of Bossuet's Sermons from his library, at once found the sermon in the original. The minister had made a literal translation, expecting to escape being discovered. Mr. Bradley in characteristically strong language called him a "monster," "hypocrite" and "impostor"—and forthwith dispatched him from the town.

His conversational powers were such as are not possessed by one in ten thousand, even of educated men, and had there been a Boswell to take notes of his conversation, there might have been a score of volumes as entertaining and instructive as those in which the sayings of Johnson are recorded. Extreme deafness in his maturity was only a partial barrier to contact and fresh sympathy with the world around him.

The generation to which he belonged never tired of repeating his wise and witty sayings; one has come down to us. When a senator (in Washington), one of his colleagues, remarked that he never went to church, Mr. Bradley replied, "I have been taught never to turn a deaf ear to the Lord."

Few men are as happy in their domestic life as was Mr. Bradley. His granddaughter, in speaking of this phase of his life, says:

"When a mere schoolboy he plighted his troth for the first and last time; and that love grew with his growth, and strength, till at eighty-four years of age, the tenderness and devotion of this happy couple was like the blossom of the olive, rare and beautiful. The object of this lifelong love was Sarah Richards, daughter of Honorable Mark Richards, of Westminster, and she was wholly worthy of his love, in person and in character. She was petite and graceful, with a beautiful blue eye, dark hair, a gentle voice and a quick, light step. She was one of the old school of gentlewomen; had met Washington in her father's house at Boston, and mingled with the refined and courteous of that age. Her love and admiration for her husband was deep and sincere, and she was unconscious of the great influence which she exerted over him. He never failed to consult her on all important changes, and always paid great deference to her opinions."

He outlived all of his immediate family, having buried his much-beloved

and honored son, Jonathan Dorr Bradley, and his wife, within a year. He came to Brattleboro to live with his kindred, but on the occasion of the burial of his wife, returned to Westminster with her remains, and on no consideration could be induced to revisit Brattleboro, preferring to remain and die amid the hallowed scenes and sacred associations that clustered around his early and active life, and be buried with those he loved and among the people who had so long and often honored him and unto whom he had been a faithful servant and a useful fellow citizen. A few weeks before his death he remarked that he should die between the twentieth of February and the twenty-third of March, his eighty-fifth birthday (1867), and the prediction was fulfilled.

William Czar Bradley was one of the few eminent native Vermonters who have thought that Vermont is a good state, not only to be born in, but also to live in and to die in, and of the still smaller number who have achieved a great reputation without ever removing from their native town.

"It is not too much to say, all things considered, that he was the greatest man Vermont has yet produced."

From the funeral discourse of Reverend P. Frothingham, the text being "His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated." Deuteronomy xxxiv. 7:

"We have during the past week committed to the dust the mortal part of a remarkable man. Remarkable he was in many ways, in the power of his presence and the bulk of his brain; in the vast sweep and the wonderful command of his information and the hunger for knowledge, which no years nor weakness could still, in the independence of his thought and his tendency to superstition, in the ringing vigor of his voice and the wealth of fun, wit, story, history, thought and wisdom it conveyed; in the service as a public man to which he was called; in the place he filled in the regard of his fellow-citizens, and the gap he leaves behind in many hearts, at almost eighty-five; in what he did and what he did not do; in what he was and what he was not. So much was his weakness stronger than other men's strength, so much more was he in the evening of his life than the rest of us in life's high noon; so robust and vivid was his life even to the last, that he seemed rather to abdicate than to be driven from his throne."

## SELECTED FROM POEMS BY WILLIAM CZAR BRADLEY

### A Ballad of Judgment and Mercy

(Written by Mr. Bradley in Advanced Life.)

As at midnight I was reading by my lamp's fitful gleam,
I fell into a slumber, and behold I dreamed a dream;

This outer world had undergone a great and sudden change,
And everything around me seemed wondrous new and strange.

No sunlight, no moonlight, no starlight glittered there;
A mild and steady twilight seemed to permeate the air;
And there sat the blessed Jesus. No golden throne had he,
But was clad in simple majesty, as erst in Galilee.

Behind him Justice, Mercy, Truth safe guides in earthly things;
Their functions now absorbed in him, all stood with folded wings;
And the recording angel, with deeply sorrowing look,
Took in his hands and opened the all-containing Book.

There came a distant murmur, as of waves upon the shore,
While throngs on throngs unnumbered into the Presence pour;
By their instincts segregated here, nigh the close of time,
Rush the bad of every nation, of every age and clime.

They stop astonished, all abashed; and with attentive ear,
Though the angel's lips were moving, no accents could I hear;
Yet of that startled multitude, to each like lightning came,
His life's continued story, its mingled guilt and shame.

From all the records there disclosed, oh! who could lift the veil;
Or of the varied shades of wrong unfold the dreadful tale
Of kingly pride, plebeian spite, of violated trust,
Of mastering force, of hidden sin, hate, cruelty and lust!

Each has due allotment, and with agony of heart,
The vast assemblage vanished at the thrilling word, "Depart!"
There was no driving angel, and no extraneous force;
For conscience was accuser, and the punisher remorse.

When this I saw transacted, upon my face I fell!
The anguish of that moment, no human tongue can tell.
With throat convulsed, and choking, I gasped, and strove to cry,
"Have mercy, Lord! oh, mercy have! a sinner lost am I!"

To look upon that face again, how was it I should dare?
And yet I mildly ventured, with the courage of despair;
When that pitying eye fell on me, beaming mercy from above,
And I saw that smile ineffable of never-dying love.

By so sudden a transition, all stupefied I gazed,
When in my members trembling, rose bewildered and amazed;
But kindliest words of comfort the blessed Master spoke,
Which wrapped my soul in ecstasy; and sobbing I awoke.

### Ordination Hymn

(Written by Mr. Bradley, at the request of a grandson, to be used at the Ordination of a fellow student in theology.)

#### Part I.

When erst in Eden's leafy shade,
Man newly felt his Maker's breath,
Ere fair temptation's charms had made
This world a scene of sin and death—
No second tongue was needed then
To tell the Almighty's high behests;
The still, small voice could come to men,
And find an answer in their breasts.

But when debased, the torpid soul
God by his messengers awoke,
Amid the thunder's solemn roll,
The tempest's blast, the lightning's stroke,
Then rose the altars to his name,
And crowds the ritual splendor saw,
Heard prophets sing, and priests proclaim
The awful terrors of the law.

At length the Fullness from above
To earth the high commission bore,
And spoke to me of peace and love
As never mortal spoke before;
And conquering Death, the risen Lord
Gave forth his great and last command,
And bid his brethren spread the word
To every soul in every land.

#### Part II.

O thou most High! all good and just,
Look down from heaven, thy dwelling-place;
Behold thy servant take his trust,
And aid him with thy helping hand

To do thy work, to do thy will,
  To speak thy praise, to preach thy word,
Promote all good, repress all ill,—
  A faithful steward of the Lord.

Found him on thine Eternal Rock;
  Make him a shepherd of thy care,
Heavenward to gently lead his flock,
  And in his arms thy lambs to bear;
To walk upright in wisdom's ways,
  In which the blessed Jesus trod,
Until the "Well done!" comes with praise,
  Fresh from his Father and his God.

Written after the death of his son, Jonathan Dorr Bradley.

### Birth and Death

Imprisoned in a living jail,
  A lusty, kicking son of earth,
Ready to wake, and weep, and wail,
  My limbs are struggling to the birth,
    Let me pass.

Now, on my feet I tottering stand,
  Till, by enticements bolder grown
I quit the watchful mother's hand,
  And lo! I learn to go alone,
    Let me pass.

Now, in youth's buoyant, merry round,
  With quickened pulse my steps advance,
Where music, wine, and wit abound,
  And blooming beauty leads the dance,
    Let me pass.

Now, blest with children, wife and friends,
  Ambition urging to the van,
I strive to walk where duty tends,
  With love of God, good-will to man.
    Let me pass.

And now my better home draws nigh;
Free from presumption and despair,
But weary, faint, I want to die,
And leave this world and all its care.
Let me pass.

### Jonathan Dorr Bradley

Jonathan Dorr Bradley was born in Westminster April 17, 1803; he was a graduate of Yale College and fitted for the legal profession. He was married to Miss Susan Crossman in 1829, and first practiced law at Bellows Falls, but the most of his professional life—about thirty years—was passed in Brattleboro, where he died September 8, 1862.

He, in some specialties, had no equal in his profession in this county, if in this state. His knowledge of mechanics—extensive scientific attainments and willingness to impart the same to others—rendered him an almost inexhaustible source of information upon matters imperfectly understood by the learned, as well as those of more ordinary attainments, and those who met him, in controversy at the bar or elsewhere, learned that his mental exercises in the sciences did not render him a less formidable antagonist in debate.

In the days of Andrew Jackson he acted with the democracy, but he was not a radical or so governed by prejudice as not to candidly weigh and examine the views of his opponents. His devotion to truth was ardent and unremitting.

Mr. Bradley early left the Democratic party, acted with the dominant party in this state in sustaining the flag, and shortly before our Civil War —in 1856-1857—he represented this town in the State Legislature. It was there he became noted by his able action in the state house question. There was healing in his presence before tumultuous assemblies and heated clashing of opinions. He was on the first board of directors of the Vermont & Massachusetts Railroad Company.[1] No one in this place exerted so powerful an influence in forwarding the construction of that road to Brattleboro and his simple presence at railroad meetings in towns on the route was to all a harbinger of success; but when came forth in earnest tones his arguments, honest convictions and prophecies, all doubts of success vanished.

In him was seen a perfect master of the science of adaptation to all grades of intellect. The countenances of the hodcarrier, mechanic, scholar, farmer and merchant all assumed a more happy and elevated expression so long as the sound of his voice could be heard. When address-

[1] He invested largely in this enterprise at a loss that impoverished his latter days.

ing a juvenile assembly, he would hold the attention of little boys and girls, who could seem to see nothing but his genial countenance and hear nothing but his words of wisdom, so attractively and ingeniously adapted to their comprehension. Upon one such occasion, in the Goodhue oak grove, in July, 1842, a stranger to Mr. Bradley, from Ohio, remarked, at the conclusion of Mr. Bradley's address: "The gentleman who gave the last address has uttered the fewest words, but he has really said more than the five gentlemen who have preceded him. He is certainly a Christian, for he has given us the whole law and gospel. Who is he and what is his business?" To young professional brethren information was imparted in so modest and inquiring a manner that it seemed as if he was the learner and prevented, so far as possible, a feeling of obligation from his inferiors. From his inexhaustible mental resources came forth telling arguments, with playful flights of wit. After some twenty-five years' practice of the law, his friend, Roswell M. Field, the noted lawyer of St. Louis, reproved him for not giving the Yankee proof of success in life.

"Roswell," said he, "I have laid up my treasure in Heaven, where moth and rust doth not corrupt nor thieves break through and steal."

Another instance of his ready wit is the following:

Coming hastily into the law office of Mr. Field, he inquired for Chitty on Contracts.

"What do you wish to know?" asked Mr. Field, placing one finger on his forehead; "I carry my book here."

"I see," said Mr. Bradley, "bound in calf."

Soon after he entered on his professional career, he received from a friend the gift of a noble mastiff, named Jowler, to which he became much attached. About that time a motion was made in the Legislature to tax dogs, which gave rise to the following *jeu d'esprit* from his pen. The effect was to defeat the motion, and it was laid aside for many years; indeed, until he became a member himself, when it was again introduced, and he recited, at the request of a colleague, the lines to Jowler, with the same effect as above. After his decease it passed into a law. There is a likeness of Jowler in the possession of Mr. Bradley's family, painted by his friend Fisher.

To My Dog Jowler

Jowler! they have taxed you, honest friend!
Assessed you, put you in the roll,
To exile every dog they'll send,
Unless some friend will pay his poll.

By all that's good, the rascals meant
Betwixt us two to breed a strife,
And drive you into banishment,
Or bribe your friend to take your life.

But, Jowler, don't you be alarmed!
If politicians do neglect you,
Confound their tax! you shan't be harmed,
I know your worth and I'll protect you!

But taxes by the constitution
Convey the right to represent,
So, dogs by this same resolution,
Might just as well as men be sent.

Now, dogs and men and voters hear!
That Jowler's put in nomination
To go, upon the coming year,
And aid in public legislation.

Jowler, avoid the demagogues,
Keep out of the minority;
Take care to smell of other dogs,
And vote with the majority.

From *The Vermont Watchman* of September 19, 1862:

It is with great sorrow that we record the death of this distinguished gentleman, at his residence in Brattleborough, on the eighth inst. We learn that he was taken severely ill with fever some three weeks since, and that his disease made rapid progress, until it quenched one of the most cultivated intellects and genial hearts that our state has produced. He had a discerning, rapid and comprehensive mind, an elegant and varied culture. He was quick and ardent in his sympathies, a lover of truth and justice, and a fervid hater of all shams and hypocrisy. He was a member, for Brattleboro, of the House of Representatives for two years, in which the State House controversy was waged, and distinguished himself as leader in that most brilliant conflict.

If it had not been for his deafness, which prevented his hearing all points of discussion, no man that Vermont has produced would have surpassed him in the debate in the halls of legislation. But whatever might have been the qualities that fitted him for a public career, he was

most eminent in social and private life. His rare store of information and culture were open to his friends, and he had few equals in the genial exchanges and conversations of social life. His reading was extensive and *recherché,* his memory was retentive, his style of conversation was playful and captivating and always appropriate to his theme, his perceptions were quick and vivid, his illustrations apt and beautiful, and his whole air and manner reminded us of the school of elder times in which he had his training. The death of such a man is a public calamity, and in common with his nearer associates and neighbors and friends, we would lay a small tribute of our high appreciation of his worth upon his fresh made grave.

Susan Mina Crossman, wife of J. Dorr Bradley, was born July 25, 1811, at Peacham, Vermont, a small town near Northfield. She remembered nothing of her mother, and of her father little more than his presence at the fireside. She was taken by her aunt, Mrs. Elisha Phelps, to her home in Windsor, where she lived until she was placed in the school of Mrs. Seaton, an English lady, at Cornish, New Hampshire.

At the age of eighteen she was married to Mr. J. Dorr Bradley. She died November 10, 1892, aged ninety-six.

She was a woman of a rare beauty of character, quiet and evenly balanced, exerting always an indescribable influence of gentleness and benignity on those who were privileged to have her acquaintance. She was one of the original members of the Unitarian Church, in which her interest never failed.

Children:

William C., born December 17, 1831; died May 2, 1908. (See p. 729.)

Richards, born January 25, 1834; died October 1, 1904. (See p. 730.)

Stephen Rowe, born March 15, 1836; died August 6, 1910. (See p. 732.)

Arthur C., born September 13, 1849; died November 2, 1911. (See p. 732.)

### Judge Royall Tyler

Son of Chief Justice Royall Tyler, a distinguished lawyer and jurist whose professional and official career extended over the period of half a century, was the third in descent to bear the name given him. He was the ninth child in the family of eleven children, was born at the family homestead at Brattleboro April 19, 1812, and lived to survive all his brothers and sisters. His name was originally Charles, and this was changed to Royall after the death of a brother who bore it, in pursuance of an inherited family desire that it should be preserved through the oldest living

representative. He began his education in the neighborhood schools, and when thirteen years of age took employment in the store of a brother in Boston. Shortly after, he entered Phillips Exeter Academy, and later Harvard College, from which he was graduated in 1834. He read law under the preceptorship of Charles C. Doring, an accomplished practitioner, and was admitted to the bar in 1837. Returning to Vermont, he was admitted to the bar of Windham County, and the next year became the law partner of Asa Keyes, under the firm name of Keyes & Tyler, at Brattleboro. He intermitted his practice for a year to care for business interests in Newfane and his return home marked the beginning of his public career.

In 1842 he was elected state's attorney; in 1844 was register of probate; was representative to the Legislature in 1846. He was elected judge of probate for the district of Marlboro in 1846, the election being by the Legislature, and from this time he was successively reëlected during the remainder of his life, a full half-century, the greater part of the time by popular vote, in accordance with the provisions of the new constitution. This phenomenal term of service was almost coincident with his service as county clerk, to which office he was elected in 1851 and which he also held during the remainder of his life. When he was elected to the position last named he relinquished his law practice and gave his undivided attention to his official duties. In discharge of these he was precise and methodical, and he commanded the confidence of the people in an unusual degree. Never forgetting what the law required of him, he went beyond that requirement in his goodness of heart and warm sympathy and gave to the distressed widow, the perplexed heir and the timid executor the benefit of his broad legal knowledge as to their rights and obligations, saving hundreds of families from annoying and expensive litigation. Known throughout the district as a man of deep knowledge and incorruptible integrity, he was frequently called upon to act as referee or commissioner in cases of great importance.

Judge Tyler grew old gracefully and beautifully. A lover of the best literature from his boyhood, he cultivated this taste to the last, keeping closely in touch with the thought of the day, yet turning delightedly, ever and again, to the classics of his youth. He was the personification of unaffected dignity, yet withal genial, loving and lovable. He was a sincere Christian and was one of the founders of St. Michael's (Protestant Episcopal) Church, in which he was for many years a warden and vestryman.

Judge Tyler was married April 29, 1840, to Laura B. Keyes, daughter of Judge Asa Keyes, and at the same time Ellen Keyes, a sister of the

bride, was married to Frederick N. Palmer. Judge Tyler died October 27, 1896. Mrs. Tyler died June 5, 1907. Their residence on the Terrace was built about 1852.

Children:

Gertrude, married December 29, 1863, Allan D. Brown, Commander United States Navy (see p. 922); she died September 18, 1877, leaving two children, Helen Tyler and Ethel; the latter married June 26, 1896, Reverend George J. Sutherland, who had been a missionary in Labrador and was seven years rector of the Episcopal Church in Northfield, Vermont, five years in mission work at Waynesville, North Carolina, before taking a parish in Oxford, Connecticut.

Helen, died at the age of four years.

Edith, married September 2, 1877, George W. Platt of Greenfield, Massachusetts, a druggist with Henry A. Willard in Brattleboro and afterwards of Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Children: Gertrude, married Arthur Leon Moore of Newark, New Jersey; Royall Tyler Platt, born September 9, 1881, married Miss Gertrude L. Elliman; Laura Willard Platt, married Ernest Lawrence, who died in December, 1917.

## The Mead Family

The Meads in England were an ancient and honorable family. Many persons of the name emigrated at an early period from England to America, among whom was Gabriel Mead, otherwise called "Goodman" Mead, who settled in Dorchester, Massachusetts, probably about 1635. His son, Matthew, resided in Lexington.

Among the houses that were plundered by the British soldiery on the eventful nineteenth of April, 1775, at Lexington, was that of Matthew Mead. Fortunately it was not destroyed, though much of the furniture was broken up. Two pieces of the latter, however, escaped destruction, namely, a desk and a chest of drawers. Both once graced the old "Mead tavern" at the Center Village in Chesterfield.

Levi Mead, son of Matthew, in October, 1800, purchased of Asa Britton of Chesterfield what is known as the "Mead Farm," having a frontage on the main street at the Center Village, extending from the old "back road" (leading westward and now disused) to the "Dr. Tyler place." In the spring of 1801 he came with his family and occupied the next house south of the Tyler place, which he kept as a tavern. In 1816 he built the present tavern at the Center Village, long known as the "Mead tavern." In 1802 he was appointed deputy sheriff for Cheshire County and held this office many years. He died April 29, 1828, and was buried with imposing Masonic ceremonies.

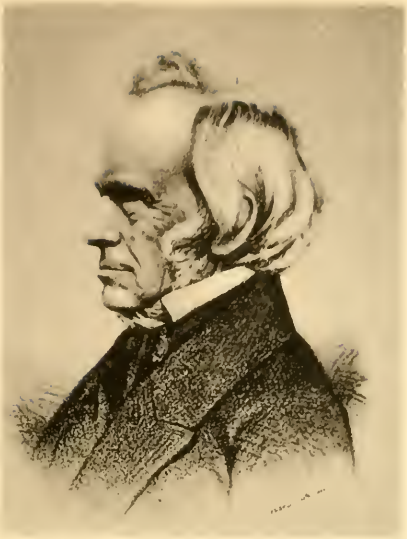
### Honorable Larkin Goldsmith Mead

Honorable Larkin Goldsmith Mead, son of Levi (1), was born at Lexington, Massachusetts, October 2, 1795; he married June 8, 1829, Mary Jane, daughter of Honorable John and Polly (Hayes) Noyes, of Putney, Vermont, who was born September 16, 1806, and died at Scotch Plains, New Jersey, August 24, 1876. He was educated at the Chesterfield Academy and at Dartmouth College, and read law with Honorable Phineas Handerson. For many years he was a prominent member of the Cheshire bar. He was a man of culture and possessed rare business qualities, which commanded the respect and confidence of his fellow townsmen.

He removed to Brattleboro in 1839, where he was employed in closing up the affairs of the Brattleborough Typographic Company. He practiced law in the courts of Cheshire County, New Hampshire, and Windham County, Vermont, during a large portion of the thirty years in which he lived in Brattleboro. He was a prominent Whig in the Harrison campaign of 1840 and was chosen senator from this county in 1846. He procured the charter for the first savings bank in this state, now known as the Vermont Savings Bank of Brattleboro, and was the first treasurer of that institution, was chairman of the first prudential committee and was chosen to carry into effect the present system of graded schools in 1841. Shortly after resigning the office of treasurer of the bank he became president. He died July 6, 1869.

Comparatively few persons have passed a more successful, cheerful, hopeful life of full rounded measure, beyond, by some years, the allotted age of man. In his domestic relations was, apparently, much of happiness and cause for congratulation. The wisdom he showed in the selection of his life partner was fully manifested in the conduct and characteristics of the nine children composing this gifted family.

The eldest, John N. Mead, born April 2, 1831; died August 15, 1850, while in his fourth year at Harvard College, at the age of nineteen years. He seemed naturally to possess capabilities such as others can rarely acquire by years of effort. He was, with William C. Bradley, II, and others, of that brilliant circle of scholars which gave much pride and satisfaction to the teachers and a high character to the schools of the early school system. In the sciences, languages, music, drawing, painting, mathematics and mechanics, he surprised everyone by his proficiency. With an easy comprehensive grasp his mind seemingly swept the whole field of human effort, giving reason to wonder what kind of an intellectual giant he would become in the coming years. All problems and difficulties were fearlessly met and conquered with no show of egotism or vanity.



LARKIN G. MEAD

PHILIP WELLS

HONORABLE EDWARD R. KIRKLAND

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

REVEREND ADDISON BROWN

CAPTAIN WILLIAM S. BROOKS

DOCTOR FRANCIS J. HIGGINSON

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

Even "the great teacher," Death, never found a mortal subject who met him more calmly and philosophically.

His classmates at Harvard gave evidence of their high estimation and affection by erecting a monument to his memory, on which is inscribed:

The autumn winds rushing
Waft the leaves that are serest;
But our flower was in flushing
When blighting was nearest.

He made the four sketches,—"Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, Senior," copies of which found a place on the walls of every home of old Brattleboro.

Children of Larkin G. and Mary J. Mead:

Charles Levi, born January 21, 1833. (See p. 544.)

Larkin Goldsmith (8), born January 3, 1835. (See p. 718.)

Elinor Gertrude, born May 1, 1837; married December 24, 1862, in Paris, France, William Dean Howells, born March 1, 1837, at Martins Ferry, Ohio, then United States consul at Venice, where they resided until 1865. Mr. Howells was assistant editor of *The Nation,* 1865-1866; assistant editor of *The Atlantic Monthly,* 1866; "Editor's Study" of *Harper's Magazine,* 1886-1891, later of "The Easy Chair," and was author of more than seventy works, including novels, essays, poems. Mrs. Howells died in March, 1910. Mr. Howells died May 11, 1920. Children: Winifred, died; Mildred; John Mead, architect, married Abby, daughter of Horace White. Children: John Mead; William W.

Albert, born March 18, 1840; died September 16, 1856, aged sixteen. "A lad of attainments and high promises."

Joanna Elizabeth, born March 30, 1842; married September 25, 1862, Augustus D. Shepard of New York City, president of the American Bank Note Company, who died September 30, 1913, aged seventy-eight. She died February 3, 1914. They lived in Plainfield, New Jersey. *The Plainfield Press* said after their deaths: "In a short time there have been thus removed two of the most gracious and influential personalities who have enriched the life of the community for the past forty years." Children: Daisy, married Osborne W. Bright of Gibbonsville, North Carolina; Eleanor M., married John Doull Miller of Plainfield, New Jersey. Children: Mildred H.; Margaret W.; Robert M.

Mary Noyes, born June 6, 1844; died February 25, 1910.

William Rutherfurd, born August 20, 1846. (See p. 722.)

Frederick Goodhue, born March 19, 1848; married April 29, 1886, Marie L., daughter of Lawrence Myers of Plainfield, New Jersey. He was a member of the American Bank Note Company, died May 21, 1890. Children: Elinor; Lawrence Myers; Frederica.

The Mead homestead was sold in 1870 and removed to Chapin Street Extension.

Charles Levi Mead was born in Chesterfield, New Hampshire, January 21, 1833. He came to Brattleboro with his parents in 1836, at the age of three years. When a young man he went to Springfield, Massachusetts, and for a short time was clerk in the bookstore of G. & C. Merriam. Returning to Brattleboro he spent some time assisting his father in keeping books, but later went to Providence, Rhode Island, where he was employed in the same business.

In 1857 Mr. Mead bought an interest in the rule factory of E. A. Stearns & Company. The company was then making rules which excelled because of the use of special machinery which was operated in rooms to which outsiders had no access. About the time this business was taken to New Britain, Connecticut, by the Stanley Rule and Level Company, Mr. Mead received a commission on the staff of the adjutant-general of Vermont.

At the close of the war the Stanley Rule and Level Company secured his services, making him a director and electing him treasurer, which position he held continuously up to his death.

Mr. Mead married May 12, 1864, Miss Isabel Martin of Walpole, New Hampshire. Children: Catherine Lois, born in New Britain, Connecticut, and died in New York February 5, 1906; Albert, died 1871, aged six; Larkin G., born June 29, 1874; Mabel C.

Mr. Mead united with the Congregational Church of Brattleboro November 19, 1857, by letter from the church in Providence, Rhode Island, where he had experienced a conversion which became the motive power of his entire life and which was the means of strengthening the religious life of his parents, brothers and sisters. He was the first superintendent of the Centre Church Sunday school, and for about two years he was one of the church trustees. At the time of his death he was a deacon and member of the board of trustees of Broadway Tabernacle in New York City, vice-president of the American Missionary Association and a trustee of Hampton Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Virginia.

He died August 19, 1899.

### Honorable Edward Kirkland

Honorable Edward Kirkland was the son of Samuel and Dorcas Kirkland, and was born in Warwick, Massachusetts, June 24, 1808; he graduated at Amherst College in 1831 and the first three years after graduation studied law in Worcester, under the direction of Judge Merrick. He then located himself in Templeton, Massachusetts, where he practiced successfully in the legal profession until 1838. He undertook a business agency for the Brattleborough Typographic Company, and removed to Louisville, Kentucky, where he remained until 1842, when he returned to the East and resumed the practice of law in Brattleboro.

Mr. Kirkland was successful in his profession, and as a citizen and public-spirited man was always ready to lend his hand and heart for the promotion of good objects, whether political or religious. He was often active in the labors of political campaigns, and was a good deal in demand as a "stump" orator.

Reverend Doctor George P. Tyler of Brattleboro wrote of him: "During twelve years in which I was his pastor, he was a prompt, useful, faithful member of the church. In the various causes of Christian benevolence, he was energetic and generous. He was thoroughly acquainted with the great foreign and domestic missionary enterprises and promoted them with constant effort and success. As a lawyer, he stood among the first; as a citizen, he was often entrusted with public duties at home, and represented his town in the State Legislature with great credit in 1854. He was state's attorney in 1847-1849 and a member of the Vermont Senate, 1862-1863. Beyond his professional studies, Mr. Kirkland was a man of much literary culture, fond of historical studies and *belles-lettres*. He left a considerable library of carefully selected books of this character. He devoted a good deal of time to Biblical research, and always taught a Bible class and for several years superintended our Sabbath school. Such a man could not fail to be missed from the bar, the church and the community."

His life was marked repeatedly by sad scenes of desolating bereavement, which put into requisition the supports of a Christian faith and which he met as a Christian.

Mr. Kirkland was married May 24, 1836, to Catherine P., daughter of Honorable Jonathan Robinson of Wardsboro, who died in Louisville, Kentucky, April 15, 1840; he married, second, October 21, 1844, Miss Frances S. M. Robinson of Templeton, Massachusetts, who died in Brattleboro October 12, 1858. October 18, 1859, he married, third, Mary E., daughter of Captain Joseph and Sylvia Webster Slate of Bernardston, Massachusetts, born December 21, 1830. (See p. 900.) The last two or

three years of Mr. Kirkland's life were marked by a gradual decay of his bodily and mental powers, owing to repeated attacks of paralysis, which terminated his life January 6, 1866.

Children of Edward and Mary E. Kirkland:

Doctor Edward B., born March 31, 1861, graduated from Hahnemann Medical College, Philadelphia, 1886, practicing in Bellows Falls, Vermont, from 1888; married Miss Mary Chase of Acton, Massachusetts. Children: Edward C., graduate of Dartmouth; Isabel.

Samuel W., married November 20, 1903, Miss Maud A. Dickey of Dorchester, Massachusetts. They have a son, John.

Theodore W., married, first, August 14, 1894, Isabel B., daughter of J. Wilder Smith, who died September 23, 1898, aged thirty-four. Their son, Hugh Maxwell, was born June 6, 1895. He married, second, Miss Blanche Sheldon.

### Captain William Smith Brooks

Captain William S. Brooks, born in Medford, Massachusetts, March 5, 1781, went on his first voyage at sea with his uncle at the age of nine years. He was captain of a merchant vessel in the days when it was a highly honorable and lucrative calling and made a comfortable fortune, which was easily reduced when he applied it to land enterprises for which his life at sea gave him no training. He was in France during the French Revolution and also at the time Napoleon the First was at the height of his power. Once, when in the Cove of Cork, he was pressed into the English navy, and served six months in the royal frigate *Diamond*. At another time, while cruising in the English Channel, he was captured twice in one day—first by the English and then by the French. By the latter he was retained in prison six months, a part of which time was occupied in making sails for French ships. On his return from France, President John Adams appointed him a lieutenant in the navy, which office he declined. He was engaged for some time in commerce, as commander of a merchant vessel, at a period when the American flag did not always command of foreign nations the respect that it now does, and many were the adventures and "hairbreadth 'scapes" that he used to relate in the later years of his life.

On retiring from the sea, he settled at Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he was postmaster four years. He engaged in the manufacture and sale of cotton goods with Jacob Peabody of Salem. In August, 1821, he moved to Chesterfield, New Hampshire, and entered upon the manufacture of cotton goods at Factory Village, causing a village to spring up about him which was known for many years as Chesterfield Factory. He continued his business at the factory several years, until 1850, after his

removal to Brattleboro in 1839. June 20, 1807, he married Miss Eleanor Forman of Middletown, New Jersey, who died in 1841. He died in April, 1865.

Children:

William F. Brooks, born at West Cambridge, Massachusetts, August 29, 1811, began his career as clerk in the store of Gardner C. Hall at Putney, between 1829 and 1830. He was captain of the Brattleborough Light Infantry the same year.

From 1834 to 1836 he was in mercantile business in Manchester, England, with his cousin, Samuel R. Brooks. On his return to America, he made some important inventions, seamless brass and copper tubing the most important, patents therefor having been sold to the amount of $500,000; improvements called Gibbs Breech-Loading Firearms, etc. He married Miss Harriet Bradford Stewart Whiting of New Haven in 1834. Children:

Captain Charles Stewart, born in 1841; enlisted in the only regiment California furnished for the Civil War and was transferred to the regular army; died of typhoid fever at Fortress Monroe July 7, 1862.

Eleanor Forman, born March 13, 1846; married James Platt of Utica; died January, 1876.

Horace Brooks, born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, February 16, 1815, was early in life a clerk for Gardner C. Hall in his Putney store. He married November 5, 1846, Mary Emerson, daughter of Honorable A. L. Emerson of Portland, Maine, and formed the partnership Persse & Brooks, which became the largest house in the paper business in this country. Besides having a wholesale house in New York, they were large manufacturers of printing papers, and were the builders and owners of the great paper mill erected at Windsor Locks, Connecticut. They also established as selling agency a partnership in San Francisco consisting of the two brothers, George J. and Francis W. Brooks, under the name George J. Brooks & Company.

His was a noble character. He began when quite a young man to assist the careers of younger brothers and gave a home in Brattleboro to his unmarried sisters. This devotion to the family tie was extended to sisters and brothers-in-law, which brought him often to this town, where he died August 13, 1878.

To his children Brattleboro has been a second home among a large family connection, where they have taken advantage of educational opportunities in our private schools. Children:

Mary E., born August 31, 1847. She attended the school of Mrs.

Howland in the early sixties; married February 22, 1868, Lieutenant Bernhard Oscar von Funcke of Dresden, Saxony, general major commander of the Royal Saxon Artillery Brigade in 1871, and finally commandant of the garrison at Dresden. She died November 26, 1919.

William Leonard, born November 6, 1849; married Miss Katherine L. Huntington.

Isabel, married August 23, 1881, Doctor A. M. Hurlburt of Stamford, Connecticut.

Emerson, born November 19, 1860; married Miss Alice M. Kunkel.

Clarence, born November 26, 1862; died July 5, 1883.

The last two were pupils of Miss Amelia Tyler.

Mr. Brooks died in Brattleboro August 13, 1878. Mrs. Brooks died October 19, 1886.

Ellen Malvina, born June 13, 1817; died March 12, 1884; lived in Brattleboro with her father, and after his death at the Brooks House with her brother, George J. Brooks.

George J., born in Cambridge August 28, 1818; died December 23, 1886. (See p. 897.)

Francis W., born in Boston May 14, 1821. (See p. 926.)

Mary E., born at Chesterfield July 13, 1823; married October 26, 1847, Colonel Francis Goodhue. (See p. 683.)

Lucy Quincy Tarbell, born at Chesterfield December 13, 1825; married December 13, 1853, Norman F. Cabot. (See p. 740.)

### Francis John Higginson, M.D.

Francis John Higginson, M.D., was the eldest son and the grandson of two Stephen Higginsons, well known as Boston merchants from the time of the Revolution till about 1822.

The children of Stephen and Louisa Storrow Higginson, his parents, born in Boston, were:

Francis John, born May 6, 1806; Stephen, died 1870 or 1871; Anna Storrow, born December 11, 1809; died November 17, 1892.

Waldo, born in 1814, graduated at Harvard College in the famous class of 1833, studied law and engineering, was overseer of the university from 1869 to 1873. He married Mary Davies, daughter of William Davies of Boston; was engineer of Boston & Lowell Railroad, 1845-1853, and president of insurance companies. He was stricken with paralysis in 1853, and died May 6, 1894.

Susan Louisa Channing, born March 10, 1816; died August 27, 1875.

Wentworth, born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, December 22, 1823;

graduated from Harvard College in 1841, the Divinity School in 1847. He was pastor of the Congregational Church, Newburyport, but left on account of his antislavery preaching; he was pastor of the Free Church, Worcester, 1852-1858. For his part in the attempted rescue of a fugitive slave he was indicted for murder, with Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips and others. He aided in the organization of free-state emigrants to Kansas in 1856, serving as brigadier-general on James H. Lane's staff in the free-state forces. He became captain of the Fifty-first Massachusetts Regiment, September 25, 1862, and on November 10 was made colonel of the First South Carolina Volunteers (afterwards called the Thirty-third United States colored troops), the first regiment of freed slaves mustered into the national service. He married Miss Mary Elizabeth Channing, the original of Aunt Jane in "Malbone"; married, second, Miss Mary Thacher, author of "Room for One More" and "Seashore and Prairie." A daughter of this marriage, Margaret, was born in 1881. He was an earnest advocate of woman suffrage, and of the higher education of both sexes. He was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, 1880-1881, and in 1881-1883 a member of the state board of education.

Doctor Higginson was named for his two earliest American ancestors, Francis and John, both ministers of Salem in the seventeenth century and famous for eloquence and piety. His parents were living in affluence when he was born, but the Embargo of 1811 was the cause of a failure from which the family suffered loss of personal possessions, and which caused them to make several changes of residence in and around Boston. From 1819 to his death in 1833, Stephen Higginson, the father, had important official connection with Harvard College, where Francis was graduated in 1825 after a commencement dinner of sixty persons representative of his extensive family and social prestige. Francis married Miss Susan Channing.

After trying his fortune in the West, he came to Brattleboro in 1842, bringing with him Madame Channing, the mother of his wife, who, "stately and reserved, but sweet and gracious," became a cherished presence in their home; his aunt, Miss Nancy Storrow (born June 24, 1784; died in Brattleboro May 20, 1862),—the title of aunt accorded to her not only by relatives, but by a large circle of loving and admiring friends, —his sisters, Anna and Louisa, and his daughters, Eliza Channing and Louisa. In 1843 his mother came to be near her son.

For thirty years he practiced his profession in this village, where he was respected and beloved for those qualities of ability and character which have belonged to his family in successive generations. His gentle instincts were specially valued in his profession. He lived in the house where Green Street curves towards High, on land terraced and planted

with shrubs and evergreen trees. It was built by Asa Green and was sold by Doctor Higginson in 1866 to Doctor O. R. Post. In 1867 he removed to Brookline and died there March 9, 1872. Mrs. Higginson died May 14, 1877.

Doctor Stephen Tyng described Doctor Higginson's mother in the bloom of young womanhood as "the most beautiful being his eyes ever rested on." She had passed through vicissitudes of fortune and the loss by death of husband and several children when she became known in Brattleboro as Madame Higginson, but her simplicity, vivacity and refined courtesy brought forth reverence and affection from everyone, however distant in relationship.

A sister Paula soon joined this family galaxy—a remarkable woman whose influence extended beyond her social circle wherever misfortune and suffering called.

In a brief memoir of Madame Higginson by her daughter Louisa we catch a glimpse of their first residence in Brattleboro "during the palmy days before the beautiful old sycamores were cut down in its streets; before the flaunting heels of fashion had profaned its wild woods and turfy roadsides." Again, "there was much of primitive hospitality in the place, and chance had collected there a more than usually large proportion of agreeable and cultivated people." She "would rather be sick in Brattleborough than well anywhere else." She lived in "a large, roomy, old-fashioned house (near that of Doctor Higginson) on a height, an oak grove in front, with a long, sloping, sunny garden behind, in a neglected state, where there were a few stunted mulberry trees in alleys," and where she planted choicest roses. Boscobel was her name for the place.

In 1845 her third son, Wentworth, the distinguished abolitionist, soldier and author, brought his bride to Boscobel. In 1854, owing to the expense and care of the place, they moved to the small Elizabethan cottage on Asylum Street,[1] which some younger member of the family facetiously dubbed "Boxobel."

And here when "a masterpiece of felicitous opportunity," as Wentworth called the Civil War, presented itself in the autumn of 1863, he came to be sure of the consent of his mother, without which any part he could take in the war "would be impossible." In August, 1864, as Colonel Wentworth, he returned on a furlough from illness, and eighteen months later, when he resigned his commission. He was chiefly remembered here by his contemporaries for his preëminent social gifts, which included dancing.

Una Hawthorne, the daughter of Nathaniel Hawthorne, who inherited

[1] Now owned by John C. Howe.

HIGGINSON COTTAGE ASYLUM STREET

MISS HOWLAND'S SCHOOL ASYLUM STREET

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

RESIDENCE OF
N. B WILLISTON

RESIDENCE OF
EDWARD KIRKLAND

OAK STREET

RESIDENCE OF
HENRY BURNHAM

RESIDENCE OF RILEY BURDETT

COCKAYNE, BOSTON

some of the elements of her father's genius, wrote a very beautiful description of Brown's Woods during a visit to this house.

Eliza Channing Higginson, born June 24, 1834, came with the family to this town when she was five years old. Removing to Brookline with her parents in 1867, she remained faithful to the thirty-three years of her life spent in Brattleboro, returning every year, long after relatives and friends of her generation had passed away, and when only the river and mountain were left unchanged. She died January 15, 1911.

A guest at Linden Lodge with her cousin, "Miss Lizzie," as she was known to the people here, was Blanche H. E. Channing, daughter of Reverend William Henry Channing, pastor of the Unitarian Church in Liverpool, England. He preached in the church here in August, 1880, and later made political addresses urging the election of Garfield and Arthur on broad international grounds.

Blanche Channing had the refinement of spirit we associate with the Channing name; she was the author of several books for children, which she illustrated with originality and taste. She died in August, 1904, and is buried in Prospect Hill Cemetery. Another daughter of Doctor Channing, Fanny G., married Sir Edwin Arnold, and a son, Sir Francis Channing,[1] has been a member of Parliament since 1885. He came to Brattleboro in October, 1904, to visit his sister's grave.

Louisa, daughter of Doctor Francis and Susan Channing Higginson, married Francis Cabot of Boston.

Of their children:

Marion, born September 24, 1857; married February 15, 1886, Doctor James Jackson Putnam of Boston, son of Charles and Elizabeth Cabot (Jackson) Putnam, born October 3, 1846; died in November, 1918. Children: Charles Pickering, Elizabeth Cabot, James Jackson, Marian Cabot, Louisa Higginson, Frances Cabot, born October 20, 1897; died December 11, 1913.

Francis Higginson, born in Boston, graduated from Harvard College. He married April, 1893, Miss Maud Bonner of New York, and lives in that city, with a summer home near Murray Bay, Canada. Children: Francis Higginson, Junior, George Bonner, Quincy Sewall, Maud.

Margaret C., married May 20, 1897, Joseph Lee of Boston, son of Henry and Elizabeth P. Cabot Lee.

[1] President of the British National Peace Conference, 1915. He has since (1914) enjoyed the distinction of being the first American-born citizen to receive a patent from an English King creating him a peer of the realm.

Louisa Higginson, married John Richardson of Boston.
Susan, married Arthur Lyman of Boston.
Frederick Pickering, graduated from Harvard College, 1890, and the Law School; of firm of Hurlburt, Jones & Cabot; was assistant United States attorney, 1896-1897; judge of the Boston Juvenile Court.
Stephen.
Amy N., artist, of Boston.

### Miss Anna Higginson

A Tribute from Reverend Doctor George Leon Walker.

To the Editor of *The Phœnix:*

It cannot be without an emotion of sincere regret that, with the death of Miss Anna Higginson, Brattleboro sees the disappearance of that honored family name from the roll of her inhabitants. It is a name which for nearly fifty years past has brought none but sweet and worthy associations to the place. Some still live in your village to whom the memory of the venerable Madame Higginson, Miss Anna's mother, is still fresh; and to whom also the quaint, interesting figure and the benign, gracious face of her sister, "Aunt Nancy Storrow," comes back with welcome distinctness. Many remember Doctor Higginson, so courteous in demeanor and kindly in utterance that he was a beloved physician in a large share of your households.

And for a like period of time who of all lovers of good things and of good people has failed to think of "Miss Anna" whenever the best that Brattleboro had to be thought of came up to mind? It was one of the very choicest privileges the town had to give to be admitted to the fellowship of that pleasant home where she lived amid the association of books and family treasures, and of friends of culture and refinement. A most modest and retiring soul, but how potential an influence for all things good and lovely! As kind-hearted a woman as one may ever hope to see, but how her indignation flashed at every obtruded display of snobbishness or wrong!

Hers was a home where the old-fashioned art and habit of rational conversation preserved its traditions undecayed. One could be sure in going there of an alert and responsive interest in every topic of literature or of public concern. No place for telltale gossip was that sunny sitting-room in the cottage. Reticent about her own private affairs she had no curiosity about the private affairs of others. That habit which is the most considerable drawback oftentimes to the satisfaction of village life when compared with life in larger communities—the habit of making

one's neighbor's doings the topic of extended and frequent discourse—got no footing in that home. Other, wider and more important themes crowded out any of that character. A high, pure and elevating influence always dwelt in that home as its characteristic atmosphere.

There is no need to speak of the charities of the benevolent hand and the kindly deeds for which Miss Higginson will be long remembered by the poor and suffering. These were traits, indeed, of marked and beautiful prominence. But these, thank God, are not uncommon among our New England homes. Nor was the quiet and steadfast sincerity of her religious life—unfaltering, unobtrusive, but too plain ever to be questioned—a feature to set her especially apart from many good women who live among us and who die in the blessedness of a Christian hope. The Master has many children, though called often by different names; and the characteristic virtue of a really good soul can shine through any surroundings, high or low.

But the thing—to my memory looking back over all the time the Higginsons have lived in Brattleboro—which made their presence there a public good, and which especially in the case of our beloved "Miss Anna" made her life a benefit and benediction to the community, was the power of refined, cultivated intelligence and pure, elevated manners and sentiments. It has been worth to many young people more than the schools they have attended or the books they have read to have known a woman so high-hearted, noble and truly lady-like as our friend who has just left you.

In that modest, secluded plot of ground on your beautiful Cemetery Hill where Miss Anna used so faithfully to carry some floral tokens of remembrance, and where she herself now rests, lie some of your village's choicest treasures. Last, and of her kin perhaps best beloved as longest known, she carries away from familiar sight the name of a family which for almost half a century has been an honor and blessing to the community where they lived, and among whom, dead, they are buried.

George Leon Walker.

Hartford, November 20, 1892.

## Nathan Lawrence

Nathan Lawrence was born in 1789 in Marlboro, Massachusetts. He married Cynthia, daughter of Thomas Baker, a farmer and cooper of New Marlboro. He had a farm in Chester, Vermont, until his death in 1842.

Mrs. Lawrence was born in 1789 in Old Marlboro, one of a family of thirteen children, of whom she was the last survivor. When she was six

years old her father moved to Nelson, New Hampshire, and here she lived until 1808, when, at the age of nineteen, she married Nathan Lawrence, and the young people took up their residence on the farm in Chester, and lived there until after the death of her husband, when Mrs. Lawrence removed to Brattleboro where her two sons, George and Charles G., were living, five children in all having been born to her. Her life in Brattleboro covered a period of nearly fifty years.

Stated in the usual way her life was a quiet and uneventful one, but it was nevertheless one of ceaseless activity, full of human sympathy, of devoted care of her children and their families, and of intense interest in everything which concerned her friends, the community and her country. Of short, compact stature, her physical preservation was remarkable, and her mental faculties were perfectly preserved to the last. Some eight years before her death the loss of her eyesight began, and for several years she was entirely blind, but this infirmity did not chill her warm, energetic nature or lessen her interest in the affairs of life. Receiving the devoted care of her grandson, she also enjoyed the tender regard and unremitting attention of many friends who found no greater pleasure than in frequent visits to her, in listening to her cheery, intelligent conversation, and her reminiscences of her early life. To all who knew her she was always "Grandma" Lawrence, and in this expression the universal affection felt for her was voiced. She was a lifelong member of the Congregational Church, and with her this connection was no mere form. Her religion was a thing of her life, and after her years of darkness and confinement came on, one of her greatest pleasures was in the visits of her pastor and the administration of the Lord's supper at stated intervals. Her children and grandchildren were of the Unitarian faith, but in this fact she found no reason for argument or reproof. With her the life was the test.

In politics she was a Republican of the Republic; and not only this, she was a stalwart of the stalwarts. To the last she had the daily papers read to her, and it is a fact not without its amusing side that to the day of her death she could see no good in the Democratic administration.

Mrs. Lawrence's death occurred at the home of her grandson, H. R. Lawrence, on South Main Street, Brattleboro, May 21, 1888, within a year and a half of her centenary.

Children:

George C. Lawrence, born in Chester, Vermont, October 14, 1812. In his boyhood he learned the printer's trade, at which he worked in North Springfield, Vermont, and in Charlestown, New Hampshire. About the year 1835 he came to Brattleboro and was employed as clerk in the general merchandise store of John R. Blake & Company.

Afterwards he became a partner, and later he and his brother Charles succeeded to the business, in the G. H. Salisbury Block, the style of the firm being G. C. & C. G. Lawrence, continuing until 1850, when he went out of trade. He was leader of the Unitarian Church choir and actively interested in the affairs of that society as well as those of the community in general. He married August 12, 1839, Frances E., daughter of Samuel Root, born December 17, 1817; died February 23, 1871. He died December 16, 1883. George C. Lawrence was a man of an unusual degree of business sagacity. Children:

Elizabeth, born April 20, 1840; married September 18, 1872, John McIntyre, born April 20, 1846; died in Chicago May 23, 1874. She died in Chicago December 14, 1873. A son, Lawrence, born November 15, 1873.

Richard, born July 23, 1843. He was a member of the Sixteenth Regiment Vermont Volunteers, nine months' men, and was mustered out of service after the battle of Gettysburg. He went to Chicago, was employed in a railroad office in that city, but soon enlisted again. He was ordered to Georgia, where he contracted malarial and brain fever. The last years of his life he was a confirmed invalid. He died February 5, 1878, aged thirty-four.

Harry R., born August 27, 1853, was clerk in the Vermont National Bank from the age of fourteen to twenty-two, followed by a partnership of four years with I. K. Allen in the lumber business, when he engaged in the Brattleboro tool and sewing machine industries. With William H. Minor, Charles Barrett and Edward G. Frost he bought out the Newman & Tyler shop in 1888. This company continued until 1893. He has devoted later years to the development of the Morgan breed of Vermont horses. Mr. Lawrence has been an active agent and promoter of several enterprises of importance to the town. To him is due the credit of securing plans and ripening public sentiment for changing the old town hall into the commodious and attractive auditorium, superintending every minute detail of the work.

Charles G., born July 16, 1816; married July 1, 1843, Betsey, daughter of Lemuel G. Bemis (a son was William Bemis, the expressman), born February 10, 1819; died January 25, 1879; she was born in Dummerston but her whole life was spent in Brattleboro, where she and her husband were connected, as managers, with the Phœnix House, the old Brattleborough House, the American House and the Brooks House. Sons: Albert, Frank.

Charles G. Lawrence was identified with the successful management of Brattleboro hotels for forty years.

### James Fisk

James Fisk, son of Samuel, was born in Smithfield, Rhode Island, in 1812. At three he removed with his parents to Adams, Massachusetts, and was subsequently in manufacturing there until 1837, when he moved to Pownal and to Bennington, where he engaged in the manufacture of woolen goods.

About 1843 he came to Brattleboro and resided there until his death, June 14, 1883, at the age of seventy-one. For twenty-four years he sold goods on the road with his son James. A notice of his annual spring exhibit was given in a *Phœnix* of 1857 as follows:

1857 JAMES FISK

Annual Spring Exhibit of Fisks peddlers.
Friday afternoon, escorted by Brattleborough Cornet Band.
9 wagons "handsome & convenient" (freight
wholly of dry goods valued at from
$25,000 to $30,000) drawn by
6 white horses, ribands in hands of
Tom Miner (the stage driver) followed by
2 coaches filled with solid business men;
then team with Fisk himself drawn by
4 bays—followed by
9 wagons of goods.

He also had at one time six or eight two-horse teams on the road—his trade extending over southern Vermont and New Hampshire, eastern New York and western Massachusetts and Connecticut. Silk dress goods were a leading article in this trade, and it was said to have been no unusual thing for Mr. Fisk to sell from his own cart $200 to $300 worth of these fabrics to the farmers' wives and daughters in a single day.

*The Vergennes Citizen,* July 11, 1857, had the following notice:

Messrs. Fisk of Brattleborough, with their caravan of fine horses and gorgeously decorated wagons, have been stopping for a few days at Stevens; their business, which today enables them to exhibit such a magnificent display of wealth, dates its success back to the early life of the proprietor, whose perseverance has built it up from a single package of silk goods retailed by him from house to house. They are probably at the head of the silk trade in Vermont.

He built the Revere House in 1849. In 1850, when under his management, it was opened as a temperance house and a great celebration was

made for the occasion, participated in by pastors of churches and influential citizens.

Soon after the opening of the war, when his son became a member of Jordan, Marsh & Company, Mr. Fisk went South and for three or four years was engaged in buying cotton for that firm. His responsibilities were very great and his faculties were weakened by the strain so that from this time to his death, he had times of invalidism. However, he was able to travel for three years through the West in the interests of the Putnam Manufacturing Company, and the Double-pointed Tack Company.

He made several inventions, one a contrivance for releasing runaway horses from a carriage so as to safeguard the driver or occupant. In 1880 he put up a mammoth tent on a Western Avenue lot and had there a magnificent chariot with carvings for the purpose of exhibiting his invention. The chariot was prepared at A. J. Miller's shop and the carvings were the work of Charles Henkel. The patent harness was a single harness for the summer traveling exhibit made by Heustis & Burnap with solid gold mountings—all the parts and ornaments being of gold fourteen and sixteen carats fine and made by leading New York jewelers. On Sunday afternoons he used the tent for religious services, which he conducted for audiences of from three hundred to five hundred. Copper lightning rods were another of his inventions. In connection with his lectures on temperance he sold Bibles.

He married Miss Love Crowl Ryan, who was born in Putney, May 15, 1809. Her father died when she was very young, and her mother married Major Stephen Greenleaf. She married, first, in 1832, a Mr. Ball who lived in Grafton, Massachusetts; in 1836 she married, second, James Fisk, then of Bennington. James Fisk, Junior, a child by a first marriage was then two or three years of age. To the stepson Mrs. Fisk gave a mother's unstinted love and devotion, and in his mature years he repaid it with a devotion as strong, having known no mother's care but hers.

Mr. and Mrs. Fisk lived in West Brattleboro on Greenleaf Street, afterwards the Frost homestead. After two or three years they removed to this village, where nearly the whole of their later life was spent. They owned and lived in different houses here, until Mr. Fisk built the Revere House, in which they lived for many years.

A daughter was born of the second marriage, Mary, who married Colonel George W. Hooker, and to them was born a son, James Fisk Hooker. For a few years, about the time of the death of Colonel James Fisk, Junior, Mr. and Mrs. Fisk lived in New York with Colonel and Mrs. Hooker, but they always turned to Brattleboro as their home.

Mrs. Fisk was a woman of gentleness and genuine kindness of heart, with an innate dignity which grew in her later years into a rarely charming and benignant presence. She had a fondness for young people, and a lively interest in what concerned those around her, which kept her own heart young and made her always a delightful companion, especially to the friends of her early life. After the death of her husband Mrs. Fisk's home was with her daughter, Mrs. G. W. Hooker. She died July 2, 1893, aged eighty-four.

James Fisk, Junior, was born in Pownal, Vermont, April 1, 1831; he married November 30, 1854, Miss Lucy D. Moore of Springfield, Massachusetts; he died January 7, 1872, from the effects of a shot fired by Edward S. Stokes of New York, jealousy of a woman said to have been the cause of the altercation. Mrs. Fisk died February 18, 1912, aged seventy-six.

Fisk began his individual career with Van Ambergh's circus, afterwards being in partnership with his father, and still later on a small salary with Jordan, Marsh & Company. But he soon appeared in New York in combination with Jay Gould (and Daniel Drew), where they became directors of the Erie Railroad and swayed the stockholders and the one thousand Erie employees to fulfill their ends of financial success. Fisk was also a power in the Narragansett Steamship Company. He was colonel of the Ninth New York Regiment. He became greatly interested in theatrical affairs, owned Pike's Opera House, was a large owner of the Fifth Avenue Theater from 1868, and at one time had opera bouffe presented there before Mr. Daly took the management, and had the exclusive control of the musical services, at $10,000 a year, of Levi, the concert player. His interest in the Grand Opera House was valued at $750,000.

Fisk's appearance was very striking, and in his box at the opera or driving four-in-hand in the Park or on Fifth Avenue he was for many a year a conspicuous figure in New York City.

He had a great deal of native wit and kindliness. His showy tastes were not appreciated by his Brattleboro contemporaries in his earliest days among them, and he was made to feel their disapproval. He may have resented their attitude as, when asked to subscribe to a fence to go around the cemetery (where he now lies) he declined with the remark that he saw "no reason for having a fence, because those who were inside couldn't get out and those who were outside did not want to go in."

An incident of the great Chicago Fire and James Fisk, Junior, is worthy of record. He ordered the loading of a big train with provisions and clothing while the city was burning, and when it was ready he commanded

that the tracks be cleared. He sent for the best engineer on the Erie, and said: "Jim, what is the best time to Buffalo?"

"Seventeen hours," replied Jim.

"Make it in fourteen," said Fisk.

The relief train, covered with bunting, was welcomed by 50,000 people with shouts that rent the welkin.